THE

LADIES OF THE COVENANT.

MEMOIRS OF DISTINGUISHED

SCOTTISH FEMALE CHARACTERS,

EMBRACING THE

PERIOD OF THE COVENANT AND THE PERSECUTION.

BY REV. JAMES ANDERSON.

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PREFACE.

In collecting materials for "The Martyrs of the Bass," published some time ago, in a volume entitled "The Bass Rock," it occurred to the author, from the various notices he met with of ladies who were distinguished for their patriotic interest or sufferings in the cause of nonconformity, during the period of the Covenant, and particularly, during the period of the persecution, that sketches of the most eminent or best known of these ladies would be neither uninteresting nor unedifying. In undertaking such a work at this distance of time, he is aware of the disadvantage under which he labors, from the poverty of the materials at his disposal, compared with the more abundant store from which a contemporary writer might have executed the same task. He, however, flatters himself that the materials which, with some industry, he has collected, are not unworthy of being brought to light; the more especially as the female biography of the days of the Covenant, and of the persecution, is a field which has been trodden by no preceding writer, and which may, therefore, be presumed to have something of the freshness of novelty.

The facts in these lives have been gathered from a widely-scattered variety of authorities, both manuscript and printed. From the voluminous manuscript records of the privy council,

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deposited in her majesty's general register-house, Edinburgh, and from the Wodrow MSS., belonging to the library of the faculty of advocates, Edinburgh, the author has derived much assistance. The former of these documents he was obligingly permitted to consult by William Pitt Dundas, Esq., deputy-clerk of her majesty's register-house. And to the Wodrow MSS., he has, at all times, obtained the readiest access, through the liberality of the curators of the advocates' library, and the kind attentions of the librarians. He has also had equally ready access to such books in that invaluable library, many of them rare and expensive, as served to illustrate his subject. In the course of the work, he has had occasion to acknowledge his obligations to several gentlemen, from whom he has obtained important information. As to some of the ladies of rank here noticed, there probably exist, in the form of letters, and other documents, materials for more fully illustrating their lives, among the family manuscripts of their descendants, to which the author has not had access. The publication of such papers, if they exist, or of selections from such other papers as relate to the civil and ecclesiastical transactions of Scotland in the olden time, which may be lying, moth-eaten and mouldering away, in the repositories of our noble families, would furnish valuable contributions to this department of the literature of our country; and an example, in this respect, well worthy of imitation, has been set by Lord Lindsay, in his very interesting work entitled, "Lives of the Lindsays."

These Biographies it has been thought proper to precede by an Introduction, containing various miscellaneous observations bearing on the subject, but the chief object of which is to give a general view of the patriotic interest in the cause of religion taken by the ladies of Scotland, during the period which these inquiries embrace. The Appendix consists of a number of papers illustrative of passages in the text; some of which have been previ-

ously printed, and others of which are now printed from the originals, or from copies, for the first time.

In compiling these memoirs it has been the aim of the author throughout to reduce within moderate limits his multifarious materials, which might easily have been spread over a much larger surface. At the same time, he has endeavored to bring together the most important facts to be known from accessible sources respecting these excellent women, and has even introduced a variety of minute particulars in their history, which he was at considerable, and, as some may think, unnecessary pains to discover. But he believes that careful research into minute particulars, in the lives of ladies so eminent, and who were closely connected with so important a period of the history of our church, as that of the struggles and sufferings of the Scottish Covenanters in the cause of religious and civil liberty, is not to be considered as altogether unnecessary labor. "As to some departments of history and biography," says Foster, "I never can bring myself to feel that it is worth while to undergo all this labor; but," speaking of the English Puritans, he adds, "with respect to *that noble race of saints*, of which the world will not see the like again (for in the *millennium* good men will not be formed and sublimed amidst persecution), it is difficult to say *what* degree of minute investigation is too much — especially in an age in which it is the fashion to misrepresent and decry them."* This remark is equally applicable to the Scottish covenanters. Their pre-eminent worth warrants and will reward the fullest investigation into their history, independent of the light which this will throw on the character and manners of their age. Of course, it is not meant to affirm that they were exalted above the errors and infirmities of humanity, or that we are implicitly to follow them in everything, whether in sentiment or in

* Foster's Life, vol. ii., p. 127.

action, as if we had not as good a right to act on the great protestant principle of judging for ourselves, as they had; or as if they had been inspired like prophets and apostles. But it may be safely asserted that, though not entitled to be ranked as perfect and inspired men, they had attained to an elevation and compass of Christian character, which would have rendered them no unmeet associates and coadjutors of prophets and apostles; and even many of their measures, ecclesiastical and civil, bore the stamp of such maturity of wisdom, as showed them to be in advance, not only of their own age, but even of ours, and the defeat of which measures, it may be said, without exaggeration, has thrown back the religious condition of Britain and Ireland for centuries.

J. A.

Edinburgh, *September*, 1850.

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INTRODUCTION.

The period embraced in the following sketches is the reigns of James VI., his son, and two grandsons; but more particularly the reigns of his two grandsons, Charles II. and James VII., the materials for illustrating the lives of such of our female worthies as lived during their reigns, being most abundant. All the ladies here sketched, whether in humble life or in exalted stations, were distinguished, by their zeal or by their sufferings, in the cause of religious truth; and it is by this zeal and these sufferings that the most of them are now best known to us. Our notices, then, it is obvious, will be chiefly historical, though not so exclusively historical as to forbid the introduction of such illustrations of the personal piety of these ladies as time has spared; and of such portions of their domestic history as may seem to be invested with interest, and to furnish matter of instruction.

It is first of all worthy of special notice, that the peculiar ecclesiastical principles contended for, or sympathized with, by all these ladies, were substantially the same. This arose from the circumstance that all these monarchs sought to subvert substantially the same ecclesiastical principles. Bent on the acquisition of absolute power, they avowedly and perseveringly labored to overturn the presbyterian government of the Scottish church, which, from its favorable tendency to the cause of liberty, was an obstruction in their path; and to impose, by force, upon the Scottish people, the prelatic hierarchy, which promised to be more subservient to their wishes. As to the means for attaining this object, all these monarchs were unprincipled and unscrupulous; and each, more degenerate than his predecessor, became, to an increasing degree, reckless in the measures he adopted. James VI., who plumed himself on his king-craft, endeavored, by corrupting and overawing the general assemblies of the church, to get them to destroy their liberties, by introducing with their own

hands, prelacy, and the ceremonies of the Anglican church. Charles I. adopted a more bold, direct, and expeditious course, attempting to impose a book of canons and a liturgy by his sole authority, without consulting any church judicatory whatever; in which, however, he failed of success, his tyranny issuing in the triumph of the cause he intended to destroy. Charles II., following in the steps of his father, proceeded, on his restoration, to establish prelacy on the ruins of presbytery in like manner by his sole authority; and, having more in his power than his father, to enforce conformity by the exaction of fines, by imprisonment, banishment, torture, public executions, and massacres in the fields. James VII., who went even further than his brother, father, or grandfather, attempted to exercise absolute power in a more unmitigated form than they had ever done, and determined, what none of them had ventured to do, to make popery the established religion throughout his dominions. And in this infatuated course he obstinately persevered, till he alienated from him the great body of his subjects of all ranks, and till, after a short reign of three years, he was driven from his throne. Thus, the same ecclesiastical principles being assailed by all these monarchs, the testimony of our presbyterian ancestors, under all their reigns, was substantially the same. The great principles for which they contended may be reduced to these three, from which all the rest flow as corollaries: First, that Christ is the alone king and head of his church, having the alone right to appoint her form of government; secondly, that presbytery is the only form of church government which he has instituted in his word; and thirdly, that the church is free in her government from every other jurisdiction, except that of Christ. These principles, all the ladies sketched in this volume either maintained or sympathized with; and many of them suffered much in their behalf. During the whole extent of the period we have embraced, there is evidence of the existence of a public religious spirit among the women of Scotland, and as we advance downward, we find this spirit becoming more generally diffused.

In the reign of James VI., ladies in every station of life warmly espoused the cause of the ministers who opposed the monarch in his attempts to establish prelacy. Some of them even wielded the pen in the cause with no small effect. The wives of Mr. James Lawson and Mr. Walter Balcanquil, ministers of Edinburgh, wrote vigorously in defence of their husbands, who had been compelled to fly to England for having publicly condemned in their sermons the *black acts*, as they were called, of the ser-

vile parliament of 1684, by which presbytery was overthrown, and the liberties of the church laid at the feet of the king. They boldly entered the lists with Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St. Andrews, who had written in condemnation of the conduct of their husbands, and answered him in a long paper, exposing with energy, acuteness, and success, the falsehood of his assertions and the imbecility or fallacy of his reasonings; treating him at the time with little ceremony. As to the old and common reproach, they say, against God's servants—troublers of commonwealths, rebels against princes, irreverent speakers against those in authority, they may bear with it, since their Master was similarly reproached, yea, was even accused of speaking by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils. "We will say but this much shortly," they add, "as Elias said to Ahab, 'It is thou and thy father's house that trouble Israel.' It is thou and the remnant of you, pharisaical prelates, because ye are not trained up in the place of popes that would mix heaven and earth, ere the pomp of your prelacies decay."* The power of this defence may be estimated from the irritation which it caused the prelate, and from the manner in which he met it. So completely had "the weaker vessel" pinned him, that though he "had manie grait giftes, bot specialie excellit in the toung and pen,"† he shrunk from encountering these spirited females with their own weapons, and, skulking behind the throne, directed against them the thunderbolt of a royal proclamation, which charged them instantly, under pain of rebellion, to leave their manses. This they accordingly did, selling their household furniture, and delivering the keys of their manses to the magistrates. By the same proclamation, several other ladies of respectability, who are described as "worse affected to the obedience of our late acts of parliament," are commanded, under the same pains, "to remove from the capital, and retire beyond the water of Tay, till they give farther declaration of their disposition."‡

The ardent and heroic attachment to the cause of presbytery displayed by Mrs. Welsh, the wife of Mr. John Welsh, minister of Ayr, and the wives of the other five ministers, who, with him, were tried at Linlithgow, in 1606, on a charge of high treason, for holding a general assembly at Aberdeen, in July the preceding year, is also worthy of special notice. When informed that a verdict of guilty was brought in by a corrupt jury—a verdict which inferred the penalty of death, "instead of lamenting their

* Calderwood's History, vol iv., p. 127. † James Melville's Diary, p. 293.
‡ M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i., p. 327.

fate, they praised God who had given their husbands courage to stand to the cause of their master, adding, that like him, they had been judged and condemned under covert of night."* Of these ladies, Mrs. Welsh, who was the daughter of our illustrious reformer, John Knox,† is best known. The curious interview which took place between her and King James, when she petitioned him for permission to her husband to return to his native country for the benefit of his health,‡ must be too familiar to our readers to be here repeated.

* M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. ii., p. 271.

† Her name was Elizabeth. She was his third and youngest daughter by his second wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, a nobleman of amiable disposition, and his steady friend under all circumstances. A curious anecdote connected with Knox's marriage to Lord Ochiltree's daughter, is contained in a letter written by Mr. Robert Millar, minister of Paisley, to Wodrow, the historian of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, dated November 15, 1722: and, as it has never before been printed, it may be here inserted: "Mr. John Campbell, minister at Craigie," says Mr. Millar, "told me this story of Mr. Knox's marriage, so far as I mind it. John Knox, before the light of the Reformation broke up, travelled among several honest families in the west of Scotland who were converts to the protestant religion; particularly he visited oft Stewart, Lord Ochiltree's family, preaching the gospel privately to those who were willing to receive it. The lady and some of the family were converts; her ladyship had a chamber, table, stool, and candlestick, for the prophet, and one night about supper, says to him, 'Mr. Knox, I think you are at a loss by want of a wife;' to which he said, 'Madam, I think nobody will take such a wanderer as I;' to which she replied, 'Sir, if that be your objection, I'll make inquiry to find an answer against our next meeting.' The lady accordingly addressed herself to her eldest daughter, telling her she might be very happy if she could marry Mr. Knox, who would be a great reformer and a credit to the church; but she despised the proposal, hoping her ladyship wished her better than to marry a poor wanderer. The lady addressed herself to her second daughter, who answered as the eldest. Then the lady spoke to her third daughter, about nineteen years of age, who very frankly said, 'Madam, I'll be very willing to marry him, but I fear he will not take me;' to which the lady replied, 'If that be all your objection, I'll soon get you an answer.' Next night, at supper, the lady said to Mr. Knox, 'Sir, I have been consulting upon a wife to you, and find one very willing.' To which Knox said, 'Who is it, madam?' She answered, 'My young daughter sitting by you at table.' Then, addressing himself to the young lady, he said, 'My bird, are you willing to marry me?' She answered, 'Yes, sir, only I fear you'll not be willing to take me.' He said, 'My bird, if you be willing to take me, you must take your portion of God's providence, as I do. I go through the country sometimes on my foot, with a wallet on my arm, a shirt, a clean band, and a bible in it; you may put some things in it for yours if, and if I bid you take the wallet, you must do it, and go where I go, and lodge where I lodge.'—'Sir,' says she, 'I'll do all this.'—'Will you be as good as your word?'—'Yes, I will.' Upon which the marriage was concluded, and she lived happily with him, and had several children by him. She went with him to Geneva, and as he was ascending a hill, as there are many near that place she got up to the top of it before him, and took the wallet on her arm, and, sitting down, said, 'Now, goodman, am not I as good as my word?' She afterward lived with him when he was minister at Edinburgh. I am told," adds Mr Millar, "that one of that Lady Ochiltree's daughters, a sister of John Knox's wife, was married to Thomas Millar, of Temple, one of my predecessors."—Letters to Wodrow, vol xix., 4to., No. 197.

‡ Welsh and the other ministers had been banished the king's dominions for life.

Among the ladies of rank who, in the reign of James VI., were distinguished for their piety and devotedness to the liberties of the church, were Lady Lilias Graham, countess of Wigton, to whom Mr. John Welsh, who intimately knew her, wrote that famous letter from Blackness castle, which has been repeatedly printed and often admired;* Lady Anne Livingstone, countess of Eglington, who, "although bred at court, yet proved a subdued and eminent Christian, and an encourager of piety and truth;"† Lady Margaret Livingstone, countess of Wigton, the friend and patron of Mr. John Livingstone, and whom, together with the two preceding, he classes among "the professors in the church of Scotland of his acquaintance, who were eminent for grace and gifts;" and, omitting many others, Lady Margaret Cunningham (sister to the marchioness of Hamilton), who was married, first to Sir James Hamilton of Evandale, secondly to Sir James Maxwell of Calderwood; a lady, whom Robert Boyd, in recording her death, which took place about September, 1623, describes as "that virtuous lady, equal, if not beyond any I have known in Scotland," "a woman of an excellent spirit, and many crosses through her whole life," "diligent and active, and a fearer of God."‡

In the reign of Charles I, a public-spirited interest in the cause of religious and ecclesiastical freedom prevailed still more among women of all classes in our country. Those in the humbler ranks became famous for their resolute opposition to the reading of the "black service-book," which was to be read for the first time by the dean of Edinburgh, in the old church of St. Giles, on Sabbath, July 23, 1637. To witness the scene, an immense crowd of people had assembled, and among the audience were the lord-chancellor, the lords of the privy council, the judges and bishops. At the stated hour, the dean ascended the reading-desk, arrayed in his surplice, and opened the service-book. But no sooner did he begin to read, than the utmost confusion and uproar prevailed. The indignation of the people was roused: "false anti-Christian," "wolf," "beastly-bellied god," "crafty fox," "ill-hanged thief," were some of the emphatic appellations which came pouring in upon him from a hundred tongues, and which told him that he occupied a perilous position. But the person whose fervent zeal was most conspicuous on that occasion, was an humble female who kept a cabbage-stall at the Tron Kirk, and who

* Select Biographies, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. i., p. 18.
† Ibid., vol. i., p. 347.
‡ Wodrow's Life of Boyd, printed for the Maitland Club, p. 266.

was sitting near the reading-desk. Greatly excited at the dean's presumption, this female, whose name was Janet Geddes—a name familiar in Scotland as a household word, exclaimed, at the top of her voice, "Villain, dost thou say mass at my lug?" and suiting the action to the word, launched the cutty-stool on which she had been sitting at his head, "intending," as a contemporary writer remarks, "to have given him a ticket of remembrance, but jouking became his safeguard at that time."* The same writer adds: "The church was immediately emptied of the most part of the congregation, and the doors thereof barred at the commandment of the secular power. A good Christian woman, much desirous to remove, perceiving she could get no passage-patent, betook herself to her bible in a remote corner of the church. As she was there stopping her ears at the voice of the popish charmers, whom she remarked to be very headstrong in the public practice of their anti-Christian rudiments, a young man sitting behind her began to sound forth, 'Amen.' At the hearing thereof she quickly turned her about; and, after she had warmed both his cheeks with the weight of her hands, she thus shot against him the thunderbolt of her zeal: 'False thief,' said she, 'is there no other part of the kirk to sing mass in, but thou must sing it at my lug?' The young man being dashed with such a hot, unexpected rencounter, gave place to silence in sign of his recantation. I can not here omit a worthy reproof given at the same time by a truly religious matron; for, when she perceived one of Ishmael's mocking daughters to deride her for her fervent expressions in behalf of her heavenly Master, she thus sharply rebuked her with an elevated voice, saying, 'Wo be to those that laugh when Zion mourns.'"†

At that period, the gentler sex were particularly unceremonious toward turn-coat or time-serving ministers. Baillie gives a very graphic account of the treatment Mr. William Annan, the prelatic minister of Ayr, met with from the women of Glasgow: "At the outgoing of the church, about thirty or forty of our *hon-*

* "The immortal Janet Geddes," as she is styled in a pamphlet of the period (Edinburgh's Joy, &c., 1661), survived long after her heroic onslaught on the dean of Edinburgh. She kept a cabbage-stall at the Tron Kirk, as late as 1661. She is specially mentioned in the *Mercurius Caledonius*, a newspaper published immediately after the Restoration, as having taken a prominent share in the rejoicings on the coronation of Charles II., in 1661. See Wilson's Memorials of Edinburgh in vol. i., pp. 92, 93, and vol. ii., p. 30.

† "Brief and True Relation of the Broil which fell out on the Lord's day, the 23d of July, 1637, through the Occasion of a black, popish, and superstitious Service-Book, which was then illegally introduced and impudently vented within the Churches of Edinburgh:" published August thereafter. Printed in Rothe's Relation, &c., Appendix, pp. 198, 199.

estest women, in one voyce, before the bishope and magistrats, did fall in rayling, cursing, scolding, with clamours, on Mr. William Annan; some two of the meanest were taken to the Tolbooth. All the day over, up and down the streets where he went, he got *threats* of sundry in words and *looks*; but after supper, when needlesslie he will goe to visit the bishope, he is no sooner on the causey, at nine o'clock on a week night, with three or four ministers with him, but some hundreds of *inraged women* of all qualities are about him, with neaves, and staves, and peats, but *no stones*; they beat him sore; his cloak, ruff, hatt, were rent; however, upon *his cryes*, and candles set out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds; yet he was in great danger even of *killing*."*

In this, and in some other instances, the indignation of the "honest women" of those days at renegade or persecuting clergymen, may have carried them somewhat beyond the bounds of moderation. On other occasions, acting more decorously, they assembled peaceably together to petition the government for liberty to the nonconforming ministers to preach wherever they were called or had opportunity.† And, though precluded from bearing a part in public debates, they contemplated with the deepest interest those ecclesiastical movements, which, guided by men of great talents, firmness, and spirit, issued in the glorious triumph of the church over the attempts of the court to enslave her. Nor was this interest limited to women in the humbler and middle classes of society. The baronesses, the countesses, the marchionesses, and the duchesses, of the day partook of it, and encouraged their husbands and their sons to stand by the church in her struggles for freedom, regardless of the frowns and the threats of power. The zeal with which the marchioness of Hamilton, Lady Boyd, and Lady Culross, maintained the good cause, appears from the brief notices of their lives which have been transmitted to our time, and to these might be added the names of other ladies in high life, many of whom would doubtless have gladly subscribed the national covenant of 1638, had it been the practice for ladies to subscribe that document.‡

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. i., p. 21. † See p. 185.

‡ Many of the subscribed copies of the national covenant, as sworn at that period, have been carefully examined by David Laing, Esq., Signet Library: and, from the absence of the names of ladies, it appears not to have been customary for ladies to swear and subscribe it. In describing some of the numerous copies of that covenant signed in different parts of the country in 1638, he, however, took notice, some time since, in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries, of one in the society's museum, which seems to be quite peculiar in having the names of several ladies. From the notarial attestations on the back of a great many persons, in the parish of

In the reign of Charles II., the fidelity of the presbyterians was put to a more severe test than it had ever been before. Charles became a ruthless persecutor. Inclining at one time, in matters of religion, to popery, and at another to Hobbism, it was natural for him to persecute. Popery, the true antichrist, which puts enmity in the seed of the serpent against the seed of the woman, is essentially persecuting. Hobbism, which maintains that virtue and vice are created by the will of the civil magistrate, and that the king's conscience is the standard for all the consciences of his subjects, just as the great clock rules all the lesser clocks of the town, is no less essentially persecuting. Whether, then, Charles is considered as a papist or a Hobbist, he was prompted by his creed to persecute. In addition to this, it is to be observed that the presbyterian church of Scotland had excited his irreconcilable hatred, not only from its being unfriendly to despotism, but from its strict discipline, the experience of which in early life had made a lasting impression on his mind. All these things being considered, the motives inducing his determination, a determination from which he never swerved, to destroy the Scottish presbyterian church, are easily explained. To assist him in this work, a set of men, both statesmen and churchmen, pre-eminently unprincipled, of whom Middleton, Lauderdale, and Sharp, may be considered as the representatives, were at his service. Many of these had sworn the "Solemn League and Covenant," and had been zealous for it in the palmy days when its champions walked in silver slippers. But they were too worldly-wise to strive against wind and tide. They were, in fact, just such men as Bunyan describes in his "Pilgrim's Progress," my Lord Turn-about, my Lord Time-server, Mr. Facing-both-ways, Mr. Anything, Mr. Two-tongues, Mr. Hold-the-world, Mr. Money-love, and Mr. Save-all. Such servile agents, it is evident, were in no respect actuated, in persecuting the presbyterians, by motives of conscience, as some perse-

Maybole, who adhered to the covenant, but were unable to write, he inferred that this copy had been signed in that district of Ayrshire. In the first line of the signatures toward the right-hand side, along with the names of Montrose, Lothian, Loudoun, and Cassillis, are those of *Jeane Hamilton*, evidently the sister of the marquis of Hamilton, and wife of the earl of Cassillis—and of *Margaret Kennedy*, their daughter, who afterward became the wife of Bishop Burnet. Lower down, toward the right hand of the parchment, are the names of other ladies, who can not now be so readily identified—Margaret Stewart, Jeane Stewart, Grizil Blair, Isabill Gimil, Helene Kennedy, Elizabeth Hewatt, Anna Stewart, Elizabeth Stewart, Dame Helene Bennett, and Janet Fergusone. For the information contained in this note I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Laing, whose extensive acquaintance with Scottish history is so much at the service of others.

cutors have been, but solely by corrupted and interested views. Had the king changed his religion every half year, they would have changed theirs, and have been equally zealous in persecuting all who refused to make a similar change.

But this fiery ordeal, the faith, the devotedness, and the heroism, of the pious women of Scotland stood. We find them, in every station of life, maintaining their fidelity to their conscientious convictions in the midst of severe sufferings. With the ejected ministers they deeply sympathized; and their sympathy with them they testified in many ways; nor did they feel, or show much respect to, the intruded curates. This was true even as to the more ignorant of women in the lower ranks. Many of this class signalized themselves by their opposition to the intrusion of the curates, as in Irongray, where a body of them boldly assailed a party of the king's guard, who came to that parish with the view of promoting the intrusion of a curate into the place of their favorite ejected minister, Mr. John Welsh. "A party with some messengers," says Mr. John Blackadder, "was sent with a curate, to intimate that another curate was to enter the kirk for their ordinary. Some women of the parish hearing thereof before, placed themselves in the kirkyard, and furnished themselves with their ordinary weapons of stones, whereof they gathered store, and thus, when the messengers and party of rascals with swords and pistols came, the women so maintained their ground, defending themselves under the kirk dike, that, after a hot skirmish, the curate, messengers, and party without, not presuming to enter, did at length take themselves to retreat, with the honorable blae marks they had got at that conflict."* Nor was this by any means a singular case, for the same writer adds: "Many such affronts did these prelates' curates meet with in their essays to enter kirks after that manner, especially by women, which was a testimony of general dislike and aversion to submit to them as their ministers." In a similar way does Kirkton speak. After stating that "the first transgressors of this kind were (as I remember) the poor people of Irongray," and that "the next offenders were in Kirkcudbright, where some ten women were first incarcerate in Edinburgh, and thereafter set with papers on their heads," he goes on to say: "But these were followed by, I believe, a hundred congregations up and down the country, though the punishment became banishment to America, cruel whipping, and heavy fines." He, however, at the same time adds: "These extravagant practices of the rabble were no way approven by the

* Blackadder's Memoirs, MS. copy in Advocates' Library.

godly and judicious presbyterians; yea, they were ordinarily the actions of the profane and ignorant; but I think they were enough to demonstrate to the world what respect or affection the curates should find among their congregations."*

This favorable disposition to the suffering cause was not, however, limited to *ignorant* women in the lower ranks. It was partaken of more largely, and displayed more intelligently, by the great body of *well-informed* women, in the lower and middle ranks, and even by many of them in the higher, to some of whom the reader is introduced in this volume. At field-meetings they were often present. "Not many gentlemen of estates," says Kirkton, "durst come, but many ladies, gentlewomen, and commons, came in great multitudes."† The agents appointed by the government throughout the country, for putting in execution the laws for suppressing conventicles and other "ecclesiastical disorders," had upon all occasions represented to the privy council that women were "the chief fomenters of these disorders."‡ Besides supporting the persecuted cause of presbytery themselves, these ladies, by their intelligent piety and firmness of mind, had a powerful influence in infusing the principles of noncomformity into their husbands, and in sustaining on many occasions their wavering resolution. Archbishop Sharp complained heavily of this, and it gave peculiar energy and bitterness to his hatred of presbyterian women, whom he was in the habit of branding with every term of opprobrium and contempt. In a letter to a lady, who acquired notoriety in her day by the vigorous suppression of conventicles, and of whom we shall afterward speak more particularly,‖ he says: "I am glad to find your husband, a gentleman noted for his loyalty to the king, and affection to the church, is so happy as to have a consort of the same principles and inclinations for the public settlement, who has given proof of her aversion to join in society with separatists, and partaking of that sin, to which so many of that sex do tempt their husbands in this evil time, when schism, sedition, and rebellion, are gloried in, though Christianity does condemn them as the greatest crimes."§

* Kirkton's History, pp. 162, 163.

† Ibid., pp. 352, 353. "A vast multitude," says the editor of Kirkton, "of the female sex in Scotland, headed by women of high rank, such as the duchess of Hamilton, Ladies Rothes, Wigton, Loudon, Colvill, &c., privately encouraged or openly followed the field preachers."

‡ Register of Acts of Privy Council, January 23, 1684.

‖ This was Anne Keith, a daughter of Keith of Benholm (brother to Earl Marischall), and, by the courtesy of the time, styled Lady Methven, her husband being Patrick Smith of Methven. Sharp's letter to her is dated St. Andrews, March 27, 1679.

§ Kirkton's History, pp. 355–361.

The unyielding steadfastness displayed by so many of the women of Scotland in the cause of nonconformity was a perplexing case to the government. Imprisonment they saw would not remedy the evil, for they could not find prisons to hold a tithe of those who were guilty. The method they adopted in making the husband responsible for the religious sentiments of his wife, and in punishing him, though a conformist himself, for her nonformity, if not more effectual, proved, as may easily be conceived, a prolific source of domestic contention and misery. "Many husbands here," says a writer of that period, in relating the sufferings of Galloway and Nithsdale in 1666, "who yield to the full length, are punished by fining, cess, and quarter, for their wives' nonobedience, and ye know, sir, that it is hard. There are many wives who will not be commanded by their husbands in lesser things than this; but I must tell you this hath occasioned much contention, fire, and strife, in families, and brought it to this height, that some wives are forced to flee from their husbands, and forced to seek a shelter elsewhere, and so the poor good man is doubly punished for all his conformity."* Another writer of that period also says: "When these delating courts† came through the country, husbands were engaged to bring their wives to the courts, and to the kirk, or to put them away, and never to own them again, which many of them did. So after the women had wandered abroad, and when they came home again, their husbands and other relations took them by force to the kirk. Some of them fell a sound when they were taken off the horses' backs; others of them gave a testimony that enraged the curate."‡ Finding, after the persecution had continued for more than twenty years, that the zeal of the ladies against prelacy was by no means abated, and that the methods hitherto adopted in meeting the evil had proved singularly unsuccessful, the government came to the resolution of meeting it by severely fining the husbands of such ladies as withdrew from their parish churches. Such a punishment, they imagined, was better calculated than any other to strike terror, and to make husbands active in their endeavors to persuade their wives to attend the church. Many husbands were thus fined in heavy sums for their wives' irregularities. The case of Sir William Scot, of Harden, was very severe. His wife,

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xxvii., 4to, No. 6.

† These were circuit courts, held in various parts of the country, for discovering and punishing nonconformists.

‡ An account of the sufferings in Tunnergirth and other parishes in Annan, Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxvii., 4to, No. 14.

Christian Boyd, sixth daughter of Lady Boyd, who is noticed in this volume, having declined to attend the curate, Sir William was on that account fined by the privy council in November, 1683, in the sum of fifteen hundred pounds sterling,* and long imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. He was forced to compromise and pay the fine, which in those days was an enormous sum. He desired the privy council to relieve him of responsibility for his wife's delinquencies in future, as she would on no consideration engage to hear the curates. But the council held that husbands were to be accounted masters of their wives *de jure*, whatever might be the case *de facto*. Lady Scot was under the necessity of leaving her husband, and she retired into England, and died at Newcastle.†

But the making husbands responsible for the conformity of their wives, and thus throwing a bone of contention into families, was only a small part of the sufferings endured by many nonconforming women of that period, on account of their principles. The sufferings of a few and only a few of them are recorded in this volume. None of our female worthies were indeed subjected to the torture of the boot or of the thumbscrew, though some of them were threatened with the former punishment.‡ But they were cruelly tortured in other ways. In the parish of Auchinleck, a young woman, for refusing the oath of abjuration, had her finger burned with fire-matches till the white bone appeared. In the same parish, Major White's soldiers took a young woman in a house, and put a fiery coal into the palm of her hand, to make her tell what was asked her.‖ Hundreds of women were fined in large sums of money. Hundreds of them were imprisoned. Hundreds of them were banished to his majesty's plantations, and discharged from ever returning to this kingdom, under the pain of death, to be inflicted on them without mercy; and before being shipped off, they were in many cases burned on the cheek, by

* Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i, p 243.

† Wodrow MSS., vol xl., folio, No. 3.

‡ Mrs Crawford, Mrs Kello, a rich widow, and Mrs Dunean, a minister's widow, were so threatened. After Mr Mitchell's attempt on the life of Archbishop Sharp, they were imprisoned, under suspicion of knowing who the intended assassin was; and, on being brought before the council, and strictly interrogated concerning houses that lodged whigs or kept conventicles, or if they knew the name of the assassin, they were, on refusing to answer, threatened with the boot; and the last of those ladies would no doubt have actually endured the torture, had it not been for the duke of Rothes, who told the council that it was not proper for gentlewomen to wear boots.—Kirkton's History, pp. 283, 284. Dalziel also threatened Marion Harvey with the boot.

‖ Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxvii, 4to, No. 1. This paper was communicated to Wodrow by Mr. Alexander Shields.

the hands of the hangman, with a red-hot iron; while some of them, being too old to banish, after lying in prison till their persecutors were weary of confining them, and grudged the expense of supporting them, were whipped, burned on the cheek, and dismissed.* Hundreds of them, to escape imprisonment, banishment, and other hardships, were under the necessity of leaving their houses in the cold winter season, and of lodging in rocks and caves, amid frost and snow. And not to mention those women who were put to cruel deaths, hundreds more, even when the hostility of the government was not directed against themselves personally, were greatly tried, from the sufferings to which their husbands, from their opposition to or noncompliance with the oppressive measures of the government, were subjected. In how many instances, while the husband was compelled to flee for safety, did the wife suffer the execrable barbarity of savage troopers, who, visiting her house, would abuse and threaten her in the very spirit and language of hell; seize upon her corn and meal, and throw them into the dunghill, or otherwise destroy them; plunder her of her poultry, butter, cheese, and bedclothes; shoot or carry away her sheep and cattle, reducing her and her family to great distress! If the husband was fined, intercommuned, imprisoned, tortured, banished, forfeited in life and property, or put to death, the wife suffered; and who can calculate the mental agony and temporal privations which many a wife with her children then experienced, in consequence of the injustice and cruelty perpetrated upon her husband? Such were the sufferings endured for conscience' sake during that dark period, by thousands of the tender sex in our unhappy country.

Never, indeed, did a severer period of trial pass over the church of Scotland, than during the persecution. Previously she had fought, with various success, many a battle against kings and statesmen. But even when she had sustained defeat, she again mustered her forces, and by persevering effort recovered the ground she had lost. During the persecution it was different. It was all disaster. She was not indeed destroyed, which was what her enemies aimed at. But she was laid prostrate, a bleeding and a helpless victim. All she could do was to exercise constancy, patience, and fortitude, under the fury of her enemies. Had the period of suffering been of short duration, these graces it would have been easier to exercise. But it lasted for nearly a whole generation. It was "The Twenty-eight Years' Conflict," and a conflict of a very different sort from "The Ten Years' Con-

* Registry of Acts of Privy Council, July 14, 1685.

flict" of our own day. The latter was running with the footmen in the land of peace; the former was contending with horses in the swelling of Jordan.

It is extremely gratifying to find that our countrywomen, who submitted to such sufferings in the cause of presbytery, were generally distinguished for sincere and enlightened piety. Apart from this, knowledge, zeal, courage, and self-sacrifice, even to the death, are of little estimation in the sight of God, and of little advantage to the possessor. "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity (love), it profiteth me nothing." But this charity, this love in its most extensive sense, embracing both God and man, was the predominating element in the character of those of whom we now speak. Their piety was indeed the true reason, and not obstinacy or fanaticism, as their enemies calumniously affirmed, why they submitted to suffer what they did for matters of religion. The fear of God, and respect to his authority, were their governing principles; and so long as these principles held the sway in their understandings, consciences, and hearts, they could not, at the bidding of any man, renounce what they believed to be the truth of God, and profess as truth what they believed to be a lie, whatever it might cost them. Nor were the persecutors ignorant of the fact that the sufferers were generally distinguished for godliness. They knew it well, it resembling in disposition the first murderer Cain, who was of the wicked one, and slew his brother because his own works were evil and his brother's righteous, it was chiefly this which prompted them to hate and murder their inoffensive victims. So well did they know it, that they regarded irreligion or profanity as sufficient to clear a man or woman of all suspicion of the taint of presbyterianism. As a proof of this, we may quote the following passage from Kirkton's history, in reference to what took place in the parish of Wistoun, in Clydesdale: "The church," says he, "being vacant, and a curate to enter, the people rose in a tumult, and with stones and batons chased the curate and his company out of the field. A lady in that parish was blamed as a ringleader in the tumult, and brought before the council; she came to the bar, and after her libel was read, the chancellor asked if these accusations were true or not. She answered briefly, 'The devil one word was true in them.' The councillors looked one upon another; and the chancellor replied, 'Well, madam, I adjourn you for fifteen days'—which never yet had an end, and there her persecution ended: such virtue there was in a short curse, fully to satisfy such governors; and many thought it good policy to demonstrate

themselves to be honest profane people, that they might vindicate themselves of the dangerous suspicion of being presbyterians."*

In our sketches we have included several ladies, who, though not sufferers during the persecution, either in their own persons or in their friends, sympathized with and relieved the sufferers. Nor was it only from such ladies as the duchess of Hamilton, the duchess of Rothes, and others who favored the persecuted principles, that the evil-entreated covenanters met with sympathy and relief, but even from many ladies who, though not attached to the presbyterian cause themselves, were enemies to intolerance and persecution. Many of the wanderers could bear the same testimony to the generosity and humanity of woman, which is borne by a celebrated traveller:† "To a woman," says he, "I never addressed myself, in the language of decency and friendship, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. If I was hungry or thirsty, wet or sick, they did not hesitate, like men, to perform a generous action. In so free and kind a manner did they contribute to my relief, that, if I was dry, I drank the sweetest draught; and if hungry, I ate the coarsest morsel with a double relish." Of this, so numerous were the examples that were constantly occurring during the persecution, as to corroborate the evidence upon which the poet‡ pronounces compassion as peculiarly characteristic of the female heart:—

"Wherever grief and want retreat,
In woman they compassion find;
She makes the female breast her seat,
And dictates mercy to the mind."

But true as this eulogium on the female character may be in the main, instances are to be met with in which even the heart of woman has become steeled against every humane feeling; and such instances, though happily of rare occurrence, were to be met with during the period of the persecution. The countess of Perth was one of these instances. Her treatment of the wife of Alexander Hume, portioner of Hume, in the close of the year 1682, was revoltingly atrocious. Mr. Hume was a nonconformist; and, though nothing criminal was proved against him, he was condemned to die at the market-cross of Edinburgh upon the 29th of December. He was offered his life if he would take the test, which he refused to do. By the interest of his friends at court, a remission was, however, procured from the king, which

* Kirkton's History, pp 354, 355. † Mr. Ledyard. ‡ Crabbe.

came down to Edinburgh four or five days before his execution; but it was kept up by the earl of Perth, a relentless persecutor, who was then chancellor. On the day of Hume's execution, his wife went to the chancellor's lady, and begged her, in such moving terms as might have softened even a cold and hard heart, to interpose for her husband's life, urging that she had five small children. But the heart of the countess was harder than the nether millstone. She had no more feeling for the afflicted wife and her children than if they had been so many brute beasts. Not only did she refuse to comply with her prayer, but with infernal cruelty, barbed and venomed the refusal with language so coarsely savage as is hardly to be repeated. Her answer was, "I have no more regard to you than to a bitch and five whelps!"*

Lady Methven, formerly referred to, is another instance. To put down a large field conventicle on her husband's ground, she boldly marched forth, armed with a gun and sword, at the head of her vassals, swearing by the God of heaven that she would sooner sacrifice her life than allow the rebellious whigs to hold their rebellious meeting on his ground. But this intrepid energy, for which the enemies of the covenanters have held her up as a heroine, was nothing more than animal courage, the mere effect of iron nerves. From her letters, it is evident, if we are to judge from the oaths with which they are interlarded, that she was a profane, godless woman; and it is no less evident from them that inveterate malignity to the covenanters was her impelling principle. In a letter to her husband, then at London with the marquis of Montrose, dated Methven Wood, October 15, 1678, she thus describes her exploits:—

"My Precious Love: A multitude of men and women, from east, west, and south, came the 13th day of this October to hold a field conventicle, two bows'-draught above our church; they had their tent set up before the sun upon your ground. I seeing them flocking to it, sent through your ground, and charged them to repair to your brother David, the bailie, and me, to the Castle hill, where we had but sixty armed men: your brother with drawn sword and bent pistol, I with the light horseman's piece bent, on my left arm, and a drawn tuck in my right hand, all your servants well armed, marched forward, and kept the one half of them fronting with the other, that were guarding their minister and their tent, which is their standard. That near party that we yoked with, most of them were St. Johnston's† people; many of

* Her answer is not recorded in Wodrow's History (vol. iii., p. 417), but it is given in his MSS., vol. xxxvii., 4to, No. 31.

† Perth.

them had no will to be known, but rode off to see what we would do. They marched toward Busbie: we marched be-west them and gained ground, before they could gather in a body. They sent off a party of an hundred men to see what we meant, to hinder them to meet. We told them, if they would not go from the parish of Methven presently, it should be a bluddie day; for I protested, and your brother, before God, we would ware our lives upon them before they should preach in our regallitie or parish. They said they would preach. We charged them either to fight or fly. They drew to a council amongst themselves what to do: at last, about two hours in the afternoon, they would go away if we would let the body that was above the church, with the tent, march freely after them; we were content, knowing they were ten times as many as we were, and our advantage was keeping the one half a mile from the other, by marching in order betwixt them. They seeing we were desperate, marched our the Pow, and so we went to the church, and heard a feared minister preach. They have sworn not to stand with such an affront, but resolve to come the next Lord's day; and I, in the Lord's strength, intend to accost them with all that will come to assist us. I have caused your officer warn a solemn court of vassals, tenants, and all within our power, to meet on Thursday, where I intend, if God will, to be present, and there to order them, in God and our king's name, to convene well armed to the kirkyard on sabbath morning by eight hours, where your brother and I, with all our servant-men, and others we can make, shall march to them, and, if the God of heaven will, they shall either fight or go out of our parish.* . . . . My blessed love, comfort yourself in this, that, if the fanatics should chance to kill me, it shall not be for naught. I was wounded for our gracious king, and now, in the strength of the Lord God of heaven, I'll hazard my person with the men I may command, before these rebels rest where ye have power. Sore I miss you, but now more than ever. . . . . This is the first opposition that they have rencountered, so as to force them to flee out of a parish. God grant it be good hansell! There would be no fear of it if we were all steel to the back. My precious, I am so transported with zeal to beat the whigs, that I almost forgot to tell you my lord marquis of Montrose hath two virtuous ladies to his sisters, and it is one of the loveliest sights in all Scotland, their nunnery."

This letter is dated "Methven Wood, the 15th instant, 1678."†

* In another letter to her husband she says: "They are an ignorant, wicked pack; the Lord God clear the nation of them!"

† Kirkton's Hist., pp. 355-361.

About a year after this, Lady Methven met with a melancholy death. She fell off her horse, and her brains were dashed out, upon the very spot where she opposed persons going to that meeting, namely, at the southwest end of Methven Wood.*

Of a very different character were the ladies whose memoirs we have attempted. So far from hating, maligning, and adding to the hardships of the persecuted, they protected and relieved them, and in many cases shared in their sufferings. They were indeed distinguished by general excellence of character, and are entitled to both the grateful remembrance and imitation of posterity. They form a part of the great cloud of witnesses with which we are encompassed. Though belonging to past generations, whose bodies are now sleeping in the dust, and whose spirits have gone to the eternal world, they yet speak. By their piety toward God, not less than their benevolence toward man; by the exemplary part they acted in every relation of life—as daughters, as sisters, as mothers; by their liberality in supporting the ordinances of the gospel, and in encouraging its faithful ministers; by the magnanimity with which they suffered either personally or relatively in the cause of truth, often rivalling the most noble examples of Christian heroism to be found in the church's history—they become instructors to the living generation in passing through this scene of temptation and trial. They have especially, by the magnanimity with which they suffered in the cause of truth, emphatically taught us the important principle that we are in all things and at all times to do what is right; and as to the disapprobation, opposition, and persecution of men, in whatever way manifested, or to whatever extent, we are to let that take its chance—a principle, the importance of which it is difficult to over-estimate; which lies at the foundation of all that is great and good in character; which has enabled the greatest and the best of men, by the blessing of God, to achieve the great purposes they have formed for advancing the highest interests of mankind, and upon which it is necessary for the good soldier of Christ to act in every age—in an age in which the church enjoys tranquillity, as well as when she suffers persecution.

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxiii., folio, No. 143.

THE

LADIES OF THE COVENANT.

LADY ANNE CUNNINGHAM,

MARCHIONESS OF HAMILTON.

Lady Anne Cunningham was the fourth daughter of James, seventh earl of Glencairn, by his first wife Margaret, second daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchy.* Her ancestors on the father's side were among the first of the Scottish peers who embraced the reformed doctrine. In 1640, her great-great-grandfather William, fourth earl of Glencairn, and her great-grandfather, then Lord Kilmaurs, afterward fifth earl of Glencairn, appear among the converts of the reformed faith. Her great-grandfather in particular, whose piety and benevolence procured him the honorable appellation of "the good earl,"† was an ardent and steady promoter of the Reformation, for which he was eminently qualified by his superior learning and abilities, as well as by the influence of his high station; and he carefully instructed his children in its principles. He regularly attended the sermons of John Knox, on the reformer's returning to Scotland, in 1551; and in 1556, he invited him to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper after the manner of the reformed church, in his baronial mansion of Finlayston, in the parish of Kilmalcolm, when he himself, his countess, and two of their sons, with a number of their friends, partook of that solemn ordinance.‡

* Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i., p. 636.

† There is a portrait of this nobleman in Pinkerton's Scottish Gallery of Portraits, vol. ii.

‡ M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i., p. 178. Knox's History, Wodrow Society edition, vol. i., p. 250. "The silver cups which were used by Knox on this occasion are still carefully preserved, and the use of them was given at the time of dispensing the sacrament in the parish church of Kilmalcolm, so long as the Glencairn family resided at Finlayston."

He also assisted the reformers by his pen, being the author of a satirical poem upon the Roman catholic monks, entitled, "An Epistle Direct from the Holy Hermit of Allarit* to his Brethren the Grey Friars." Nor did he shrink from drawing the sword for their protection. In 1559, when the reformers took up arms at Perth to defend themselves from the queen-regent, who had collected an army and had advanced to Perth, to avenge the destruction of the popish images by the populace of that town, he raised twelve hundred horse and thirteen hundred foot in the west, and the passes being occupied, conducted them through the mountains, travelling night and day till they reached Perth; which proved a seasonable aid to the reformers, and by the consternation with which it inspired the queen-regent, prevented the effusion of blood. This nobleman often visited Knox on his death-bed; and he died in 1574.

Lady Anne's father, James, seventh earl of Glencairn, was also a friend to the liberties and religion of his country. He was one of those noblemen, who, when the duke of Lennox, an emissary of the court of France, had acquired a complete influence over James VI., soon after his assuming the reins of government, and had effected an entire change in the court, filling it with persons devoted to popery and arbitrary power, resolved to take possession of the king's person, and removing Lennox, and another favorite, the earl of Arran, from him, to take upon themselves the direction of public affairs. With this view, on meeting with the king returning from hunting in Athol, several of them invited him to Ruthven castle, where they effected their purpose; and hence this enterprise was called the Raid of Ruthven.

Of the early life of Lady Anne we possess no information. In the beginning of the year 1603, she was married to Lord James, the son and heir-presumptive of John, first marquis of Hamilton. By her marriage contract, dated 30th January, 1603, which received the consent of both their fathers, the marriage portion is forty thousand merks, and the yearly jointure fifty-six chalders of victual, and five hundred pounds of money-rent.†

Lady Hamilton inherited from her father's family an ardent zeal for presbytery. During the first part of her life an almost continued contest existed between James VI. and the church of Scotland, in reference to that form of church government. As

* Thomas Douchtie of Allarit or Loretto, near Musselburgh. This person was the founder of the Chapel of our Lady of Loretto, 1533. Knox's History. Wodrow Society edition, vol. i., pp. 72, 75.

† Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 201.

has been said in the introduction, James commenced that struggle for absolute power, which was resolutely persevered in by his son and his two grandsons; and to reach his purpose he deemed it necessary to undermine the presbyterian government of the church of Scotland. With his usual profanity, he asserted that monarchy and presbytery agreed as well as God and the devil. No assertion could be more unfounded. It can not indeed be denied that the republicanism of presbyterian church government is unfriendly to absolute or despotic monarchy. The fundamental principle of presbytery—that spiritual power is lodged exclusively in the church courts, uncontrolled by the civil magistrate—greatly limits the power of monarchs, saying to them when they reach the borders of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther," and naturally leads men to conclude that, by parity of reason, temporal power should be lodged in a parliament. But that presbytery is hostile to limited monarchy, is disproved by the whole of its history in Scotland; for no body of people was ever more devoted to the throne than the presbyterians; and indeed they often carried their loyalty to a reprehensible and extravagant excess. It was not, however, a limited but an absolute monarchy on the erection of which James's heart was set; and seeing clearly enough that presbytery was the enemy of such a monarchy, he made every effort to overthrow it, and to introduce prelacy, which he well knew would be a more effectual instrument in advancing his design. These efforts he was not permitted to make without opposition. A body of ministers, respectable for number, and still more respectable for their talents, piety, and zeal, resolutely and perseveringly resisted him till the close of his life. They maintained, that by attempting to impose upon the church the form of government and mode of worship which were most accordant with his inclinations, and by endeavoring to control her in her administration, he was invading the prerogative of Christ, the sole king and head of the church, who alone had the right to settle the form of her government, and by whose authority alone she was to be guided in her administration. By threats, bribes, imprisonment, and banishment, James labored hard to get them to yield to his wishes; but animated by a high sense of duty, they were not to be overborne, and largely imbued with the spirit of martyrs, they preferred enduring the utmost effects of his royal wrath, rather than make the unhallowed surrender. So much importance did they attach to their principles, as to deem them worthy even of the sacrifice of their lives. "We have been even waiting with joyfulness,"

said one of them, "to give the last testimony of our blood in confirmation thereof, if it should please our God to be so favorable as to honor us with that dignity."* It is the courage, zeal, and self-sacrifice, with which this party contended for the rights and liberties of the church, during the reigns of James VI. and Charles I., that imparts to this portion of our ecclesiastical history its principal charm.

To this party the marchioness of Hamilton adhered with great zeal, actuated by sympathy with the principles contended for, as well as by sympathy with the character of the men themselves, who, besides being the most gifted, were the most pious, active, and faithful ministers of the church of Scotland, in their day.

Her husband, the marquis of Hamilton, was not equally steadfast with herself in maintaining the liberties of the church. Facile and ambitious, he was induced, from a desire to please his sovereign, to become an advocate for conformity to the five articles of Perth, and to exert his influence to obtain their ratification in the Scottish parliament of 1621, where he was his majesty's high commissioner. This nobleman was cut off in the prime of life, having died at London on the 2d of March, 1625, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.† "Small regret," says Calderwood, "was made for his death, for the service he made at the last parliament."

The marchioness survived the marquis many years, during which time she was eminently useful as an encourager of the faithful ministers of the gospel, whom she was ever ready to shield from persecution, and to countenance in every way competent to her. When Mr. Robert Boyd, of Trochrig, had, a few months after his being admitted minister of Paisley, been driven out of that town by the mob, who showered upon him "stones and dirt"—Paisley being then, as Row describes it, "a nest of papists"‡—she was earnestly desirous to take that great and good man under her protection, and invited him to accept of the charge of the parish of Cambuslang, which was at that time vacant. Mr. James Bruce, writing to him from Glasgow, in October, 1626, says: "The parish of Cambuslang is now vacant, and the lady marchioness is earnestly desirous to have you there. Her joint-

* These are the words of Mr. John Welsh, when a prisoner in Blackness castle, in reference to himself and his brethren who was proceeded against by the government for holding a general Assembly at Aberdeen in July, 1605, in opposition to the wishes of the monarch. Select Biographies, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. i., p. 23.

† Calderwood's History, vol. vii., pp. 469, 489, 630.

‡ Row's History of the Kirk of Scotland, p. 438.

ure lies there: it is within three miles of Glasgow, has a reasonable stipend, besides the lady's pension, which she will rather augment than diminish. You will live easier, and at more peace there, than at Paisley; you will have the lady marchioness's company, which is very desirable. This I leave to your consideration, and the Lord's direction." An end, however, was put to this matter by the growing illness of Boyd, which took him to Edinburgh, to consult with physicians; and on reaching the capital his sickness increased, till it terminated in his death, on the 5th of January, 1627.*

The name of the marchioness stands favorably connected with that memorable revival of religion which took place at the kirk of Shotts, on the 21st of June, 1630, the Monday after the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Indeed, that revival may be said to be directly traceable to the piety of this lady, who was forward to embrace every opportunity of bringing within the reach of others the blessed gospel which she herself so highly prized; and it originated in a circumstance apparently incidental—the breaking down of her carriage on the road, at Shotts. How important the results, for either good or evil to mankind, which, under the government of Infinite Wisdom, have been produced by the most trivial events! The sight of the spider's web and the pigeon's nest at the entrance of the cave in which Mohammed concealed himself diverted his pursuers from searching it, and, saving the life of the false prophet, contributed to entail for ages upon a large part of the world the curse of the Mohammedan superstition; and in the Reformation throughout Europe, incidents equally insignificant have, on the other hand, been big with consequences the most beneficial to mankind. The circumstance of the breaking down of the marchioness's carriage, seemingly casual as it was, resulted in some hundreds of immortal beings experiencing that blessed change of heart which unites the soul to God, and which issues in everlasting salvation. The particulars, in so far as she was concerned, were these: As the road to Edinburgh from the west lay by the kirk of Shotts, she frequently passed that way in travelling from the place of her residence to the capital, and on such occasions she received, in different instances, civilities from Mr. Home,† minister of the parish. At one time, in particular, when, on her passing through Shotts, accompanied with some other ladies, the carriage in which they

* Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, pp. 239, 240.

† Gillies, in his Historical Collections, calls him Mr. Hance, but this is a mistake. Both Livingstone and Wodrow give his name as in the text.

were riding broke down, in the neighborhood of the manse. Mr. Home, on learning the accident, kindly invited them to alight and remain all night in his house, as they were at a considerable distance from any convenient place of entertainment. Having accepted his invitation, they observed during their stay that, besides its inconvenient situation, the manse stood much in need of being repaired; and the marchioness, in return for his attentions, erected for him a new manse, in a more agreeable situation, and with superior accommodations. On receiving so substantial a favor, Mr. Home waited upon her to express his obligations, and desired to know if there was anything he could do by which to testify his gratitude. All she asked was that he would be kind enough to allow her to name the ministers he should have with him as his assistants at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. This request he cordially granted. She accordingly named some of the most distinguished ministers of the day, Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. David Dickson, and some others, who had been remarkably successful as instruments in bringing many to the saving knowledge of the truth. The report that such celebrated men were to assist at the communion at that place soon circulated extensively through the country; and a vast multitude, attracted by their fame, assembled from all quarters, many of them of eminent piety, among whom were the marchioness herself, and other ladies of rank, who attended at her invitation.*

The solemnity to which she was the means of bringing these ministers, and of gathering together so great a crowd of people, was accompanied in a very signal manner with the Divine blessing. For several days before, much time was spent in social prayer. During all the days of the solemn occasion the ministers were remarkably assisted. The devout who attended were in a more than ordinary degree refreshed and edified; and so largely was the spirit of grace and supplication poured out upon them, that, after being dismissed on the sabbath, they spent the whole night, in different companies, in prayer. On the Monday morning, the ministers, understanding how they had been engaged, and perceiving them, instead of returning to their homes, still lingering at the place, as if unwilling to depart from a spot which they had found in their experience to be as it were the gate of heaven, agreed to have sermon on that day, though it was not usual, at that time, to preach on the Monday after the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. The minister whose turn it was to

* Wodrow's Analecta, vol. i., p. 271; Gillies's Historical Collections, vol. i., pp. 309, 310.

officiate having become unwell, the work of addressing the people was, at the suggestion of Lady Culross, laid upon Mr. John Livingstone, then a young man, and chaplain to the countess of Wigton. Livingstone had before preached at Shotts, and had found more liberty in preaching there than at other places; but from the great multitude of all ranks assembled on that occasion, he became so diffident that, when alone in the fields in the morning, he began to think of stealing away rather than address the people. "But," says he, "I durst not so far distrust God, and so went to sermon and got good assistance. I had about an hour and a half upon the points I had meditated on, Ezekiel xxxvi. 25, 26: 'Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh;' and in end, offering to close with some words of exhortation, I was led on about an hour's time in a strain of exhortation and warning with such liberty and melting of heart as I never had the like in public in all my life."* And such was the effect, that, as Mr. Fleming observes, in his "Fulfilling of the Scriptures," "near five hundred had at that time a discernible change wrought on them, of whom most proved lively Christians afterward. It was the sowing of a seed through Clydesdale, so as many of the most eminent Christians in that country could date either their conversion or some remarkable confirmation in their case from that day."† After this the practice of preaching on the Monday following the sacrament became general.

* Life of Mr. John Livingstone, in Select Biographies, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. i., p. 138.

† It may not be uninteresting to quote some notices respecting this communion, given by Wodrow:—

"April 24, 1710. This day being at the Shotts, and discoursing with Mr Law, the minister, he tells me that the sermon was in the west end of the churchyard. He let me see the end of the Craigs to which, it is said, Mr. Livingstone went up to study, the morning before he preached, as the tradition is. Another should have preached on the Monday, but he fell indisposed. It was the lady Culross, who was there, and had special intimacy with Mr. Livingstone, that put the ministers upon employing him. The minister's name, at that time, was Mr. Home, a man of an easy temper, and no persecutor." And, after stating that the sanctimoniousness of Hamilton had conferred some particular favor on Mr. Home; that Mr. Home allowed her to name the ministers he should have with him at the communion (Mr. Dickson, Mr. Bruce, and others), who all came, with a great many Christians, at the lady's invitation, who was herself an excellent woman—Wodrow adds that "he (Mr. Law) hears the particular occasion of the first sensible motion among the people was this: In the time of Mr. Livingstone's sermon there was a soft shower of rain, and when the people began to stickle about, he said to this purpose, 'What a mercy is it that the Lord sifts that rain through these heavens on us, and does not rain down fire and

The marchioness of Hamilton was personally known to Mr. John Livingstone; and in his "Memorable Characteristics" he has given her a place among "some of the professors in the church of Scotland of his acquaintance who were eminent for grace and gifts."* From his "Life" we also learn that whatever influence she had with the court at London, she was well inclined to use it for the protection of the persecuted nonconformists. He informs us that, after he himself, Mr. Robert Blair, and others of his brethren in Ireland, had been deposed, in May, 1632, by the bishop of Down, and when Mr. Blair went to London to represent their cause to the government, he himself, who was to follow Mr. Blair, went previously to Scotland, with the design of procuring letters from the lady marchioness of Hamilton and other persons of rank, to some of their friends at court, vindicating him and his brethren from the charge of stirring up the people to ecstasies and enthusiasm, and requesting for them toleration to preach the gospel notwithstanding their nonconformity.†

During the stirring period when the Scottish people renewed the national covenant, and successfully resisted the attempts of Charles I. to impose upon them a book of canons and a liturgy,‡ the marchioness warmly espoused the cause of the covenant.

brimstone, as he did upon Sodom and Gomorrah!'" He further adds: "This night Mr. George Barclay tells me that he discoursed Mr. Livingstone himself in Holland upon this communion, and he told him that he was such a stranger to all the ministers there, that the lady Culross was the person that put the ministers upon him, the minister that should have preached having fallen sick; that it was somewhat that incidentally he spoke that gave occasion to the motion among the people, and Mr. Barclay repeated the words above: and Mr. Livingstone added: 'Brother, when you are strongly pressed to say anything you have not premeditated, do not offer to stop it—you know not what God has to do with it'"—Analecta, vol. i, p. 271.

There is one point in these two accounts as to which there seems to be some discrepancy. According to Mr. Law, Messrs. Dickson and Bruce were among the ministers present; and, according to Mr. Barclay, Livingstone was "a stranger to all the ministers there." But Livingstone, before he was licensed to preach, knew at least Mr. Bruce, who, as he informs us in his Life, had been in the habit of assisting his father at Lanark at the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

* Select Biographies printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. i., p. 348.

† Ibid, vol. i, p. 146.

‡ The book of canons received the royal sanction and became law in 1635. The service-book, or liturgy, was enjoined to be used by act of privy council, 20th of December, 1636, and the act was the following day proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh; but the liturgy itself was not published till toward the end of May, 1637. These two books were extremely unpopular in Scotland, both because they were forced upon the church solely by royal authority, without the consent of the church herself, or without her having been even consulted, and because of the matter contained in them. The book of canons, among other things objected to, asserted the king's supremacy in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil; enjoined various unwarranted and superstitious rites in the observance of baptism and the Lord's Supper; proscribed sessions and presbyteries; and invested the bishops with uncontrollable power. The service-book was just the English liturgy with numerous alterations, by which it approached nearer the Roman missal.

Possessed of a strong and masculine spirit, she displayed an undaunted heroism in the cause, which neither the sight of personal danger nor the partiality of maternal affection could subdue. When her son James, marquis, afterward duke of Hamilton, who sided with Charles I. against the covenanters, conducted an English fleet to the Forth, in 1639, to overawe them, she appeared on horseback, with two pistols by her side, at the head of a troop of horse, among the intrepid thousands who lined the shores of Leith on that occasion, to resist his landing; and, drawing one of her pistols from her saddle-bow, declared she would be the first to shoot him should he presume to land and attack the troops of the covenant.* It is said that she had even loaded her pistols with balls of gold; but this rests on very doubtful authority.† It is certain, however, that when the marquis cast anchor in the Forth, near Leith, loitering for the king, whose army was marching into Scotland to his assistance, she paid him a visit on board his vessel. The particulars of this interview have not been recorded; but the people anticipated from it the most favorable results. "The son of such a mother," they said, "will do us no harm."‡ Nor did they suffer any harm. The spirited conduct and intercession of his mother, it is supposed, was one cause which prevented the marquis's debarkation of his troops. Other causes, however, seem to have contributed to this. The number of his troops, which amounted only to about three or four thousand, was too small for the occasion. Besides, hearing that a part of the English army, being encountered by the Scots at Kelso, were defeated, with a loss of three hundred men, and put to flight, he was not in a disposition to engage with the covenanters, who gave such decided proofs of earnestness; and soon after a pacification was concluded between them and the king, at the Birks of Berwick.

Respecting this lady, we meet with no additional facts, except that her last will is dated the 4th of November, 1644, and that she died in 1647.‖

It may be added that there is a portrait of the marchioness in Pinkerton's "Scottish Gallery of Portraits," vol. ii. "The por-

* Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 704.

† "The story about the 'balls of gold,' rests on the authority of Gordon of Straloch's MSS. (none of the purest, to be sure); but the manly heroism of the old marchioness is noticed by Spang, *Hist. Motuum*, p 357."—M'Crie's Sketches of Scottish Church History, 2d edition, p. 255.

‡ Whitelock's Memorials, p. 29. Whitelock terms her "a rigid covenanter."

‖ Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 207; Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 704.

trait," says Pinkerton, "corresponds with the masculine character of the marchioness." He adds: "Johnson, the ingenious limner, died before he had finished the drapery of this drawing, which is from a painting by Jameson, at Taymouth."

LADY BOYD.

Lady Boyd, whose maiden name was Christian Hamilton, was the only child of Sir Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, afterward first earl of Haddington, by his first wife Margaret, daughter of James Borthwick of Newbyres. Her father, who studied law in France, was, on his returning to Scotland, admitted advocate, on the 1st of November, 1587; and, soon distinguishing himself at the bar by his talents and learning, he was, on the 2d of November, 1592, appointed a lord of session, by the title of Lord Drumcairn. In February, 1596, he became king's advocate; and in May, 1612, lord clerk register of Scotland. He was next invested with the offices of secretary of state and president of the court of session, which he retained till the 5th of February, 1626, when he was constituted keeper of the privy seal; and on the 27th of August, 1627, he was created earl of Haddington. He died on the 29th of May, 1637, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. By means of the lucrative offices he held, he acquired one of the largest fortunes of his time.*

The subject of this notice was first married to Robert, ninth Lord Lindsay of Byres, who died at Bath, on 9th of July, 1616. To him she had a son, John, tenth Lord Lindsay of Byres, afterward earl of Crawford-Lindsay; and a daughter, Helen, married to Sir William Scot of Ardross.† She did not long remain a widow, having married, for her second husband, in the year 1617, Robert, sixth Lord Boyd,‡ an excellent man, who studied at

* Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., pp. 678, 679. † Ibid, vol. i., pp. 386 679.

‡ The marriage contract between her and that nobleman bears the date of that year. Chalmers' MS. Account of the Noble Families of Scotland, in advocates' library, volume i., p. 22. Lord Boyd was a widower, having been previously married to Lady Margaret Montgomery, daughter of Robert Montgomery of Giffen, and relict of Hugh, fifth earl of Eglinton. (Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii., p. 35.) The marriage contract between him and this lady is dated October, 1614; and in reference to this marriage, writing, June 22, 1614, from London to his cousin, Robert Boyd of Trochrig, then on the continent, he says, "Sir George [Elphingstoun] and Sir Thomas have told me their commission, which is marriage with the earl of Eglinton his wife [widow] and has shown me many good reasons."—Wodrow's life of Robert Boyd of Trochrig, printed by the Maitland Club, p. 114.

Saumur, under his cousin, the famous Mr. Robert Boyd of Trochrig, from whom he seems to have derived, in addition to secular learning, much religious advantage.

Like the marchioness of Hamilton, Lady Boyd joined the ranks of the presbyterians who resisted the attempts of James VI., and Charles I., to impose prelacy upon the church of Scotland. With many of the most eminent ministers of those times, as Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Robert Boyd, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, and Mr. John Livingstone, she was on terms of intimate friendship; and her many Christian virtues procured her a high place in their esteem, and, indeed, in the esteem of all ranks and classes of her countrymen. Experiencing in her own heart the saving influence of Divine truth, she was desirous that others, in like manner, might experience its saving power; and with this view she encouraged the preaching of the gospel, exercising a generous hospitality and liberality toward its ministers, receiving them into her house, and supplying them with money. In his life, written by himself, Mr. John Livingstone speaks of residing for some time, during the course of his ministry, in the house of Kilmarnock, with "worthy Lady Boyd;" and mentions her as one of four ladies of rank* of whom he got at several times supply of money."

During the struggles of the presbyterians in behalf of the liberties of the church, for many years previous to the second Reformation, it was the practice of the more zealous among them, both with the view of promoting their own personal piety and of commending to God the desolate condition of the church, to hold meetings in various parts of the country, for humiliation and prayer, on such stated days as were agreed upon by general correspondence. And such as could not conveniently attend at the particular place fixed upon in the part of the country where they resided, not unfrequently kept the diet either at their own house or at the house of a friend, where a few assembled; and in these cases they endeavored, if possible, to obtain the presence of a minister. Of these private social meetings Lady Boyd was an encourager; and when it was inconvenient or impossible for her to be present at the appointed place of meeting in her locality, she spent the day in humiliation and prayer in her own house. A letter which she wrote to Mr. Robert Boyd of Trochrig, then principal of the college of Glasgow, requesting him to favor her with his presence at her house on one of these occasions, has

* The other ladies were the countess of Wigton, Lady Innerteel and the countess of Eglinton.—Select biographies printed for the Wodrow society, vol. i., p. 148.

been preserved, and may be given as illustrating the pious spirit by which she was distinguished. It is without date, but from the subject matter, it was probably written about 1620 or 1621, and is as follows :—

"Right Honorable Sir: Seeing it hath pleased God, my husband,—my lord is content that I bring the bairns to the landwart,* I thought good to advertise you of it, that you may do me that great pleasure as to come and bring your wife with you, on Thursday, for I would fain have good company that day, since I have great need of help, being of myself very unable to spend that day as I ought. Now seeing it hath pleased God to move your heart to take care of my soul, and to be very comfortable to me, being he to whom only I have opened my secret griefs, and of whom I must crave counsel in those things which my other friends can not and shall not know. It is common to God's children and the wicked to be under crosses, but crosses chase God's children to him. O that anything would chase me to God. But, alas! that which chases others to God, by the strength of sin it holds me further from God; for I am seeking for comfort in outward things, and the Lord will not let me find it there. When I should pray or read God's word, or hear it preached or read, then my mind is possessed with thoughts how to eschew temporal grief, or how to get temporal contentment. But, alas! this doing is a building up of mountains betwixt my soul and the sense of God's presence, which only ministers contentment to a soul; and by thus doing, I deserve to be plunged in infinite and endless grief. Now, Sir, I will not trouble you longer with this discourse. Hoping to see you shortly,

"I rest your loving sister in Christ,

"Badenheath." "Christian Hamilton.†

These religious meetings, which contributed greatly to foster a spirit of opposition to the innovations then attempted to be imposed upon the church of Scotland, the bishops regarded with great jealousy, and they endeavored, if possible, to put them down by forcible means. Mr. Robert Bruce having held two of them in his own house at Monkland, after his return to the south from Inverness, whither he had been banished for several years on account of his principles, he was delated to the king; and though the meetings were private, the number present at them not ex-

*"Landwart." *Scottice* for "country."

† Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, pp. 271, 272. Wodrow says that "she writes in a very fair hand for that time."

ceeding twenty, he was, in consequence, forced to retire from Monkland, and was ultimately again banished to Inverness. Mr. Robert Boyd, the correspondent of Lady Boyd, was also, for patronising such meetings, greatly harassed. After the passing of the Perth articles in the general assembly of 1618, Boyd, though opposed to these articles, had not, owing to the mildness and peaceableness of his disposition, interfered publicly with the controversies thereby occasioned; from which the bishops concluded that, if not friendly to the innovations, he was at least neutral; but his attendance at these meetings in Mr. Robert Bruce's house,* and at similar meetings in other places, excited against him the hostility of the bishops and of the king, who inferring from this his nonconforming propensities, immediately began to contemplate the adoption of harsh measures against him.† In these circumstances, Lady Boyd addressed to him an encouraging letter. It is well written, and bears testimony to the high opinion she entertained of Boyd, as a man and a Christian minister, as well as finely illustrates the heroic spirit by which she was animated, and shows how well qualified she was to cheer up the hearts of such as were subjected to persecution for righteousness' sake. It is dated December 17, but the year is omitted. Its contents, however, indicate that it was written in the year 1621; and it is as follows:—

"Right Honorable Sir: I hear there is some appearance of your trouble, by reason the king's majesty is displeased with you for your being with Mr. Robert Bruce. Since I heard of these unpleasant news, I have had a great desire to see you, for whatsoever is a grief to you is also grievous to me, for, since it pleased God to bring me to acquaintance with you, your good advice and pious instructions have ofttimes refreshed my very soul; and now, if I be separated from you, so as not to have occasion to pour out my griefs unto you, and receive counsel and comfort from you, truly I wot not what to do. And as I regret my own particular loss, much more may I regret the great loss our kirk sustains, and is threatened with. But as for you, if the Lord should honor you, and set you to suffer for his name, I trust in his mercy he shall strengthen you and make his power perfect in your weakness. The apostles rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ, and the apostle says,

* Boyd regarded Bruce with peculiar respect and veneration. Speaking of him, he says, "whom one may call justly the Basile or Bernard of our age."—Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 10.

† Ibid., p. 151.

'Unto you it is given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake.' Now if ye be called to this honor, I pray God give you his grace, that ye may account it your honor, for if ye suffer with Christ, you shall also reign with him. I trust in the mercy of God that all things shall work together for the best to you. If it might please our God, who is merciful, to continue you in your ministry, I humbly crave it; but if he will glorify himself in your suffering, his good will be done. Ye will lose nothing here, and what ye lose it will be recompensed a hundred-fold. The loss will be ours, who are left as sheep without a shepherd, ready to wander and be devoured by wolves. Now if I have a wandering soul, the Lord in mercy pity me! for I am afraid of making defection, if the bread of life be not continued with me. In sincerity, it will not be philosophy nor eloquence will draw me from the broad way of perdition, unless a voice be lifted up like a trumpet to tell me my sin. The Lord give us the spirit of wisdom, even that wisdom that will prove wise in the end, when the wise men of this world will be calling upon the hills and the mountains! O Lord, give us grace to provide our oil here, that we may enter in with the bridegroom, and be made partakers of his riches and joy, when they that have embraced the world and denied Christ shall have their portion with the devil! Sir, I will not trouble you further at this time. If you have leisure I would be glad to see you, or at any other time, and to hear from you. So, remembering my duty to your wife, and commending you and her and the children to God,

"I rest your most affectionate sister at power,

"Badenheath, Dec. 17." "CHRISTIAN HAMILTON.*

From this letter it appears that Lady Boyd sat under the ministry of Mr. Boyd,† which she greatly valued, as she had good reason to do, if we may judge of his pastoral instructions from the specimens of his theological writings which have been published; and Boyd, having become obnoxious to the bishops and the king, she was apprehensive of being deprived of his public ministrations, as well as of his society in private, by his being removed from his charge, and perhaps obliged to leave the country. The result was, that demitting his situation as principal of the college of Glasgow, he retired to his estate of Trochrig, and afterward, to the day of his death, suffered, in various ways, on

* Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, pp. 272, 273.

† At the time this letter was written, Boyd, besides being principal of the college of Glasgow, was minister of Govan.

account of his nonconformity. "It is not easy," says Wodrow, "upon such a subject not to mix a little gall with my ink; but I shall only say, it's a remaining stain, and must be, in the eyes of all that fear God, and know what prayer is, upon the bishops of this period, and the government who were brought, by their importunity, to persecute such eminent persons as Mr. Bruce and Mr. Boyd, for joining in such meetings for prayer, in such a time as this. Mr. Bruce was confined; Mr. Boyd was informed against to the king; and this, as the writer of his life notices, was one main spring of the violent opposition made against him. Such procedure, no doubt, is a reproach upon a protestant, yea, upon a country that bears the name of Christian."*

As another specimen of the pious spirit which breathed in Lady Boyd's epistolary correspondence, we may quote another of her letters to Mr. Boyd, which is without date, but which Wodrow supposes was written about harvest 1622. She thus writes:—

"My husband has written for me to come to your feast, but in truth it were better for me to be called to a fast. I trow† the Lord of hosts is calling to weeping, and fasting, and sackcloth. I pray you, sir, remember me in your prayers to God, that he may supply to me the want of your counsels and comforts, and all other wants to me; and that at this time, and at all other times, he would give me grace to set his majesty before me, that I may walk as in his sight, and study to approve myself to him. Now sir, I entreat you when you have leisure write to me, and advertise me how ye and yours are, and likewise stir me up to seek the Lord. Show me how I shall direct to you, for I must crave leave to trouble you at some times. Now I pray God to recompense ten thousand fold your kindness to me, with the daily increase of all saving grace here, and endless glory hereafter. Remember me to Mr. Zachary; desire him to come, and bear my lord company awhile after ye are settled. I entreat, when you come back again to Glasgow, that you may come here, for I think I have not taken my leave of you yet. Till then and ever,

"I rest your loving sister in Christ to my power,

"Christian Hamilton."‡

In 1628 Lady Boyd was left a widow a second time, Lord Boyd having died in August that year, at the early age of thirty-three. To this nobleman she had a son, Robert seventh Lord

*Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 151. †"Trow," *Scottice* for "believe."
‡Ibid. pp. 273, 274.

Boyd, and six daughters: 1, Helen, who died unmarried; 2, Agnes, married to Sir George Morison of Dairsie, in Fife; 3, Jean, married to Sir Alexander Morison of Prestongrange, in the county of Haddington; 4, Marion, married to Sir James Dundas of Arnistoun; 5, Isabel, married first to John Sinclair of Stevenston, secondly to John Grierson of Lagg; and 6, Christian, married to Sir William Scot of Harden.*

At the period of the attempted imposition of the book of canons and the service-book or liturgy upon the Scottish church, by royal authority, many, both ministers and laity, were subjected to persecution for resisting these invasions on the liberties of the church; and to such persons, as might be anticipated from the benevolence of her character and her ecclesiastical principles, Lady Boyd was at all times heartily disposed to extend her encouragement and aid by letter, word, or deed. When Rutherford was confined to Aberdeen, she maintained epistolary intercourse with him; and that worthy minister repeatedly expresses how much his soul was refreshed by her letters, as well as gratefully acknowledges that she "ministered to him in his bonds."† She also took a friendly interest in his brother, Mr. George, who was a teacher in Kirkcudbright, but who, for nonconformity, had been summoned in November, 1636, before the high commission, and condemned to resign his charge and to remove from Kirkcudbright before the ensuing term of Whitsunday.‡ Rutherford frequently expresses his gratitude to her for her kindness to his brother, who, after his ejection, had taken refuge in Ayrshire. He thus writes to her from Aberdeen, on the 7th of March, 1637: "I think myself many ways obliged to your ladyship for your love to my afflicted brother, now embarked with me in that same cause. His Lord hath been pleased to put him on truth's side. I hope that your ladyship will befriend him with your counsel and countenance in that country where he is a stranger; and your ladyship needeth not fear but your kindness to his own will be put up into Christ's accounts."‖ In another letter to her from the same place, in September, that year, he says, "All that your ladyship can expect for your good will to me and my brother (a wronged servant for Christ) is the prayers of a prisoner of Jesus, to whom I recommend your ladyship, and your house, and children."§ And in a communication to her from St. Andrews, in 1640, a considerable time after he had returned from his confine-

* Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 35.
† Rutherford's Letters, pp. 205, 617, Whyte and Kennedy's edition, 1848.
‡ Murray's Life of Rutherford, pp. 49, 93.
‖ Rutherford's Letters, p. 205. § Ibid, p. 494.

ment in Aberdeen, he thus expresses himself: "I put all the favors which you have bestowed on my brother, upon Christ's score, in whose books are many such counts, and who will requite them."*

Meanwhile she was not neglectful of the cultivation of personal piety. As she advanced in life she continued with increasing ardor to practise the Christian duties, to cultivate holiness of character, to confide in the Savior, and to make sure of eternal life. That such were her Christian aspirations, endeavors, and attainments, is evident from her correspondence with the same excellent man; from which we learn, that as the Father of lights had opened her eyes to discover that whoever would be a Christian in deed and in truth must exercise self-denial, she was resolved to practise that duty,—to pluck out the right eye, and to cut off the right hand, and keep fast hold of the Son of God; that she had not changed in the thoughts she had entertained of Christ; and that her purpose still was by all means to take the kingdom of heaven by violence.† It was indeed her personal piety which excited and enlivened her zeal in the public cause of God; and her valued correspondent, satisfied that the more she improved in the former, she would be the more distinguished for the latter, expresses his desire in a letter to her, in 1640, that she might be builded more and more upon the stone laid in Zion, and then she would be the more fit to have a hand in rebuilding our Lord's fallen tabernacle in this land, "in which," he adds, "ye shall find great peace when ye come to grip with death, the king of terrors."‡ As a means of promoting her spiritual improvement she was in the practice of keeping a diary, in which she recorded her religious exercises and experiences, her defects and attainments, her sins and mercies; an expedient which Christians have sometimes found to be of great utility in promoting their vigilance, humility, gratitude, and dependence upon God. "She used every night," says Mr. Livingstone, "to write what had been the state of her soul all the day, and what she had observed of the Lord's dealing."‖ Such memorandums she, however, appears to have intended solely for her own eye; and no remains of them have been transmitted to posterity.

In the autumn of the year 1640, Lady Boyd met with a painful trial in the death of three of her brothers, and others of her relatives, in very distressing circumstances. Thomas, second earl of Haddington, and Robert Hamilton of West Binning, in

* Rutherford's Letters p. 606. † Ibid, pp. 205, 492. ‡ Ibid, p. 606
‖ Livingstone's Memorable Characteristics.

the county of Linlithgow, her brothers by her father's second wife,* Patrick Hamilton, her natural brother, Sir John Hamilton of Redhouse, her cousin-german, and Sir Alexander Erskine, fourth son of the seventh earl of Mar, brother-in-law to her brother Thomas, all perished at Dunglass castle (in the county of Haddington) when it was blown up on the 30th of August that year. They had attached themselves to the covenanters; and when General Leslie marched into England that same year against Charles I., they were left behind by the Scottish parliament, in order to resist the English incursions: and Thomas, second earl of Haddington, who had the command of the party thus left, fixed his quarters at Dunglass castle. While his lordship, about midday, on the 30th of August, was standing in a court of the castle, surrounded by his friends now named, and several other gentlemen, to whom he was reading a letter he had just received from General Leslie, a magazine of gunpowder contained in a vault in the castle blew up; and one of the side walls instantly overwhelmed him and all his companions, with the exception of four, who were thrown by the force of the explosion to a considerable distance. The earl's body was found among the rubbish, and buried at Tyninghame. Besides this nobleman, three or four score of gentlemen lost their lives. It was reported that the magazine was designedly blown up by the earl's page, Edward Paris, an English boy, who was so enraged, on account of his master having jestingly told him that his countrymen were a pack of cowards, to suffer themselves to be beaten and to run away at Newburn, that he took a red-hot iron and thrust it into one of the powder-barrels, perishing himself with the rest.† One of the most beautiful of Rutherford's letters was addressed to Lady Boyd on this melancholy occasion. "I wish," says he, "that I could speak or write what might do good to your ladyship, especially now when I think we can not but have deep thoughts of the deep and bottomless ways of our Lord, in taking away with a sudden and wonderful stroke your brothers and friends. You may know that all who die for sin, die not in sin; and that 'none can teach the Almighty knowledge.' He answereth none of our courts, and no man can say, 'What doest thou?' It is true that your brothers saw not many summers, but adore and fear the sovereignty of the great Potter who maketh and marreth his clay-

* Her father's second wife was Margaret, daughter of James Foulis, of Colinton, in the county of Edinburgh.

† Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i., p. 680; Scot's Staggering State of Scots Statesmen.

essels when and how it pleaseth him. . . . . Oh what wisdom is to believe, and not to dispute; to subject the thoughts to his ourt, and not to repine at any act of his justice! He hath done : all flesh be silent! It is impossible to be submissive and re-giously patient, if you stay your thoughts down among the con-used rollings and wheels of second causes; as, 'Oh, the place!' —'Oh, the time!'—'Oh, if this had been, this had not followed!' —'Oh, the linking of this accident with this time and place!' ook up to the master motion and the first wheel. . . . I believe, Christian lady, your faith leaveth that much charity to our Lord's udgments as to believe, howbeit you be in blood sib to that cross, iat yet you are exempted and freed from the gall and wrath that s in it. I dare not deny but 'the King of Terrors dwelleth in ie wicked man's tabernacle: brimstone shall be scattered on is habitation' (Job xviii. 15); yet, madam, it is safe for you to ve upon the faith of his love, whose arms are over-watered and ointed with love and mercy to his own, and who knoweth how o take you and yours out of the roll and book of the dead."*

In less than three months after this visitation, Lady Boyd lost er son Lord Boyd, who died of a fever on the 17th of Novem-er, 1640, at the early age of twenty-four.† But her sorrow un-er this bereavement was alleviated from the hope which, on ood grounds, she was enabled to entertain that her son, who was eservedly dear to her, had exchanged the present for a better orld. Trained up in the fear of God, he gave pleasing indica-ons of early piety, and, embracing the sentiments of the cove-anters, entered with all the interest and ardor of youthful zeal nto their contendings against the encroachments of the court on ie rights of the church. To this, ample testimony is borne in Rutherford's letters. Writing to him from Aberdeen, in 1637, Rutherford, hearing of his zeal for the "borne-down and oppressed ospel," affectionately stimulates him to continued exertion in the ame cause; and in a subsequent letter to him he says: "I am lad to hear that you, in the morning of your short day, mind Christ, and that you love the honor of his crown and kingdom. . . . Ye are one of Zion's born sons; your honorable and Chris-an parents would venture you upon Christ's errands."‡ Addres-ing Lady Boyd from Aberdeen, May 1, 1637, Rutherford thus rites: "I have reasoned with your son, at large; I rejoice to ee him set his face in the right airth, now when the nobles love ie sunny side of the gospel best, and are afraid that Christ wants

* Rutherford's Letters, pp. 617, 618. † Douglas's Peerage, vol ii., pp. 635, 636.
‡ Rutherford's Letters, pp. 139, 469.

soldiers, and shall not be able to do for himself."* And in another letter to her he expresses his gratitude to this generous and benevolent youth, "who," says he, "was kind to me in my bonds, and was not ashamed to own me."† Lord Boyd was one of those noblemen who, on the 22d of February, 1638, ascended the cross of Edinburgh, to protest against the proclamation which was that day made, containing his majesty's approbation of the service-book, granting a dispensation to the noblemen and gentlemen who opposed it for their past meetings, and discharging all their meetings for the future under pain of treason.‡ He subscribed the national covenant when renewed on the 1st of March that year, in the Greyfriars' church; and zealously co-operated with the covenanters in their proceedings in opposition to the measures of the court.

In her other son, John, tenth Lord Lindsay, afterward earl of Crawford-Lindsay, Lady Boyd had also much comfort. His religious sentiments coincided with her own, and his active zeal in defending the liberties of the church, was associated with sincere piety and a high character for moral worth, which he maintained unimpaired to the close of a long life. In a letter to him from Aberdeen, in September, 1637, Rutherford writes: "Your noble ancestors have been enrolled among the worthies of this nation as the sure friends of the Bridegroom, and valiant for Christ: I hope that you will follow on to come to the streets for the same Lord."‖ Nor was the hope thus expressed disappointed. He was also one of the noblemen who, on the 22d of February, 1637, appeared at the cross of Edinburgh, to protest against his majesty's proclamation already referred to. He likewise subscribed the national covenant when renewed at Edinburgh a few days after, and cordially supported the covenanters, attending their meetings, and giving them the benefit of his counsel and aid.§ He thus secured a high place in the confidence of his party. Writing of this nobleman, and of Lord Boyd, to their mother, Rutherford says: "Your ladyship is blessed with children who are honored to build up Christ's waste places. I believe that your ladyship will think them well bestowed in that work, and that Zion's beauty is your joy."¶

Some of Lady Boyd's daughters were also distinguished for personal piety, and for a resolute adherence to duty in the face

* Rutherford's Letters, p. 308. † Ibid., p. 548. ‡ Rothes's Relation, &c., p 67.
‖ Rutherford's Letters, p. 466. § Rothes's Relation, &c., *passim*.
¶ Rutherford's Letters, p 605. The letter is dated St. Andrews, 1640. For a further account of Lord Lindsay, see Notice of Duchess of Rothes.

of persecution. The sufferings endured by her daughter Christian, the wife of Sir William Scot, of Harden, in the reign of Charles II., for attending conventicles, have been already briefly stated in the introduction. We also know that another of her daughters, Helen, wife of Sir William Scot, of Ardross, was an excellent woman.

Rutherford when in London, in 1640 and in 1644, corresponded with Lady Boyd, giving her accounts of the state of religious parties there, and informing her of the proceedings of the Westminster assembly, of which he was a member.*

During the latter part of the year 1644, when the marquis of Montrose came into Scotland, and during the greater part of the following year, our country suffered much from that ruthless renegade, who, with an army composed of Highlanders and Irish papists, perpetrated the most atrocious deeds of cruelty, lust, and rapine. But in September, 1645, he was completely defeated at Philiphaugh by Lieutenant-General David Leslie, who had come home with some regiments from England, where the regular troops of Scotland had been engaged. The joy which this victory diffused among our countrymen was great. As an evidence of this, we may mention the following incident, which took place on a sabbath-day at the parish church of Elie, where Lady Boyd was present hearing sermon. About the close of the afternoon's discourse by Mr. Robert Traill, the minister of the parish, David Lindsay, brother to Lord Balcarres, came into the church with a letter to her from her son, earl of Crawford-Lindsay, containing the tidings of Montrose's defeat. Public worship being concluded, he delivered it to her in the church, and the people all staying to hear the news, the letter was read. On hearing its contents, they were so overjoyed, that they all returned into the church and solemnly gave thanks to God for the deliverance vouchsafed to the country by this signal victory gained over an enemy whose successes had made him formidable, and his barbarities very generally detested.†

Lady Boyd died in the house of her daughter Lady Ardross, in the parish of Elie, about the beginning of the year 1646. On her death-bed she was frequently visited by Mr. Robert Traill, minister of that parish, who informs us in his diary that she died very comfortably.‡ Her funeral took place on the 6th of February, and was attended by a large concourse of people of all ranks.

* Rutherford's Letters, pp. 625, 632.

† Extracts from Mr. Robert Traill's Diary, in MS. Letters to Wodrow, vol. xix. No. 68, in Advocates' Library.

‡ Ibid

All the members of parliament, which had been sitting in St. Andrews, were invited to it; and though the parliament closed on the 4th of that month, all its members stayed in town, partly because the next day was appointed to be kept as a day of solemn humiliation through the whole kingdom, and partly to testify their respect for this lady, by following her mortal remains to their last resting-place. Mr. Robert Blair, then minister of St. Andrews, who was well acquainted with her, and who highly appreciated the excellence of her Christian character, also paid to her this last tribute of friendship, and wrote two epitaphs in honor of her memory, the one in Latin and the other in English;* neither of which, however, we have seen. Rutherford, who was at that time in London, attending the Westminster assembly, on hearing of the death of a friend and correspondent he so highly esteemed, addressed to her daughter, Lady Ardross, a consolatory letter: "It hath seemed good, as I hear," says he, "to Him that hath appointed the bounds for the number of our months, to gather in a sheaf of ripe corn, in the death of your Christian mother, into his garner. It is the more evident that winter is near, when apples, without the violence of wind, fall of their own accord off the tree. She is now above the winter, with a little change of place, not of a Savior; only she enjoyeth him now without messages, and in his own immediate presence, from whom she heard by letters and messengers before." He further says: "Ye may easily judge, madam, what a large recompense is made to all her service, her walking with God, and her sorrows, with the first cast of the soul's eye upon the shining and admirably beautiful face of the Lamb that is in the midst of that fair and white army which is there, and with the first draught and taste of the fountain of life, fresh and new at the well-head; to say nothing of the enjoying of that face, without date, far more than this term of life which we now enjoy. And it cost her no more to go thither than to suffer death to do her this piece of service; for by Him who was dead and is alive, she was delivered from the second death. What, then, is the first death to the second? Not a scratch of the skin of a finger to the endless second death. And now she sitteth for eternity mail-free, in a very considerable land, which hath more than four summers in the year. Oh, what spring-time is there! Even the smelling of the odors of that great and eternally-blooming Rose of Sharon for ever and ever! What a singing life is there! There is not a dumb bird in all that large field; but all sing and breathe out heaven, joy, glory, dominion, to the

* Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 180.

High Prince of that new-found land. And verily, the land is the sweeter, that Jesus Christ paid so dear a rent for it, and he is the glory of the land: all which," he adds, for Lady Ardross, as has been said before, was a woman of like spirit with her mother, "I hope, doth not so much mitigate and allay your grief for her part (though truly this should seem sufficient), as the unerring expectation of the dawning of that day upon yourself, and the hope you have of the fruition of that same king and kingdom to your own soul."*

ELIZABETH MELVILL.

LADY CULROSS.

Elizabeth Melvill, a contemporary of the two ladies previously noticed, was the daughter of Sir James Melvill of Halhill in Fife. Her father, who was one of the most accomplished statesmen and courtiers of his age, was embassador from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, and a privy counsellor to King James VI. He was also a man of sincere piety, and as Mr. John Livingstone informs us, "professed he had got assurance from the Lord that himself, wife, and all his children should meet in heaven."† After a long and active life he died on the 13h of November, 1617. Her mother was Christian, seventh daughter of David Boswell of Balmuto.‡ Her husband, James Colvill, was the eldest son of Alexander Colvill, commendator of Culross. On the death of James, second Lord Colvill of Culross, in 1640, he became of right third Lord Colvill, but did not assume that title.

At what period the subject of this notice experienced the renewing grace of the Holy Spirit we are ignorant, but few women of her day became more eminent for exemplary piety and religious intelligence, or more extensively known, and more highly esteemed among the ministers and professors of the church of Scotland. Taking her place among those who resisted the attempts made to wrest from the church her own free and independent jurisdiction, and to bring her in her worship and whole

* Rutherford's Letters, p. 655. See a letter of Mr. Robert M'Ward's to Lady Ardross, in Appendix No. 1.

† Livingstone's Memorable Characteristics in Select Biographies, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. i., p. 346.

‡ Douglas's Peerage, vol., ii. pp. 113, 310.

administration under the entire control of the crown, she interested herself greatly in their contendings. The fortitude displayed by the defenders of truth and freedom commanded her admiration: their sufferings excited her sympathy. To these sentiments and feelings she gave expression in the following sonnet of her own composition, which she sent to Mr. John Welsh, when, for holding a general assembly at Aberdeen in July, 1605, he was imprisoned in the castle of Blackness, and so closely confined as to be secluded from all intercourse with his friends:—

"My dear brother, with courage bear the cross,
Joy shall be joined with all thy sorrow here,
High is thy hope, disdain this earthly dross,
Once shall you see the wishéd day appear.

"Now it is dark, the sky can not be clear,
After the clouds it shall be calm anon;
Wait on his will whose blood hath brought thee dear—
Extol his name, though outward joys be gone.

"Look to the Lord, thou art not left alone,
Since he is thine, what pleasure canst thou take?
He is at hand, and hears thy every groan:
End out thy fight, and suffer for his sake.

"A sight most bright thy soul shall shortly see,
When store of gloir* thy rich reward shall be."†

The pious and generous feeling breathed in these lines could not fail to gratify and encourage this great and good man under his sufferings. In a similar strain she wrote to Mr. William Rigg of Athernie, bailie of Edinburgh, who was imprisoned in Blackness castle,‡ in 1624, for refusing to communicate kneeling, after that practice had been introduced into the churches of the city, reminding him, among other things, by a pleasing and ingenious antithetic play upon the name and gloqm of his prison, that "the darkness of Blackness was not the blackness of darkness."‖

How much her heart went along with the contendings of the presbyterians against the attempts of James VI., to establish prelacy and its ceremonies, as well as how highly she was respected, is also evident from the following incidental allusion to her in Kirkton's History. After stating that King James in his old age undertook a journey to Scotland, to establish the English ceremonies, the historian goes on to say: "So in a corrupt assembly

* "Gloir," *Scottice* for "glory."
† Wodrow MSS., Advocates' library, vol. xxix., 4to. No. 4.
‡ For some account of this castle, see Life of Lady Caldwell.
‖ Livingstone's Characteristics in Select Biographies, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. i., p. 342.

at Perth, he first got his five articles concluded, and thereafter enacted in parliament at Edinburgh, in the year 1621. This parliament was always by common consent called 'The Black Parliament,' not only because of the grievous acts made therein, but also because of a number of dismal ominous prodigies which attended it, the vote itself which accomplished the design of the meeting being accompanied with a horrible darkness, thunder-claps, fire, an unheard-of tempest, to the astonishment of both parliament and city, as was observed by all. The bishops had procured all the dissatisfied ministers to be discharged the town, so divers of them, upon the last day of the parliament, went out to Sheens, near Edinburgh, where in a friend's house they spent the day in fasting and prayer, expecting the event, of which they were as then uncertain. After the aged ministers had prayed in the morning with great straitening, at length a messenger from the city, with many tears, assured them all was concluded contrary to their request. This brought them all into a fit of heaviness, till a godly lady there present, desired Mr. David Dickson, being at that time present, might be employed to pray, and though he was at that time but a young man, and not very considerable for his character, yet was he so wonderfully assisted, and enlarged for the space of two hours, that he made bold to prophesy, that from that discouraging day and forward, the work of the gospel should both prosper and flourish in Scotland, notwithstanding all the laws made to the prejudice of it."* Kirkton has not recorded the name of the lady who suggested that Dickson should be employed in prayer; but Livingstone, who narrates the same incident in his Memorable Characteristics, informs us that Lady Culross told him she was the person by whom the suggestion was made.†

On the preaching of the gospel, Lady Culross attended with exemplary regularity. She was also much in the practice of frequenting sacramental solemnities. In those days the dispensation of the Lord's supper in the parishes of ministers famed for preaching the gospel, was flocked to by vast multitudes from the surrounding districts, so that often many thousands were assembled together to partake of, or to witness, this feast of love. These were interesting occasions. They generally took place in the summer season: and the sermons were preached in the open air. The solemnity of the public services powerfully engaged the attention as well as affected the heart; and in the fer-

* Kirkton's History, pp. 16, 17, 18.
† Select Biographies, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. i, p. 317.

vent love which pervaded the private Christian fellowship of the people with one another, there was exhibited a spectacle on which angels might have looked with delight. The families of the parish, on whom their minister was careful to enforce the duty of entertaining strangers, from the consideration that "thereby some have entertained angels unawares," exemplified an open-hearted and openhanded hospitality. Many of them accommodated so great a number that their domestic circle had the appearance of a small congregation, and it seemed as if the primitive days of Christianity had returned, when the disciples had all things in common. Thus Christians from different parts of the country became acquainted with one another, fraternal love was cultivated, and by their religious conversation and devotional exercises, they strengthened the ardor of their mutual piety. It is no wonder that such seasons were looked forward to with eager expectation, and that they left behind them a refreshing and an ever-cherished remembrance. Few were more in the habit of waiting upon these observances than Lady Culross; and when circumstances prevented her from being present, she frequently secured the services of a friend to take notes of the sermons for her use. She indeed appears not to have been without fears of exceeding in her attendance on sacraments the bounds of duty, and of thereby neglecting the concerns of her family at home. At one time meeting with Euphan M'Cullen, a poor but pious woman in the parish of Kilconquhar, who was well known among the devout of her day, and who is said to have seldom prayed without getting a positive answer, Lady Culross requested her to pray for her in regard to the outward condition of her family. On being inquired at what answer she had got, the good old woman replied that the answer was, "He that provideth not for his own house, hath denied the faith." At which Lady Culross said, "Now you have killed me; for I go to preachings and communions here and there, neglecting the care of my own family." Euphan replies, "Mistress, if you be guilty in that respect, you have reason to be humbled for it; but it was not said in that sense to me; but the Lord said, 'I that have said, he that provideth not for his own is worse than an infidel, will not I provide for her and her house, seeing she is mine?'"*

One of the principal places which Lady Culross frequented for enjoying the sacrament of the Lord's supper, was Lanark, the minister of which parish, at that time, was Mr. William Livingstone, the father of the celebrated Mr. John Livingstone, min-

* Livingstone's Characteristics in Select Biographies, vol. i., p. 339.

ister of Ancrum. Residing in the family of the minister of the parish on these solemnities, and also occasionally at other times, she was struck with the promising piety, the love of learning, and the suavity of manners, which characterized young Livingstone, and seems to have early anticipated his future eminence as a minister of the gospel, as she did that of Mr. David Dickson, when an obscure young man; for among other gifts which distinguished her, she was an acute judge of both character and talents. Livingstone, on the other hand, formed a high estimate of her Christian excellence, as well as of her intellectual endowments; and he records in his life the benefit he derived from her religious conversation and demeanor, during those occasions on which she was a guest in his father's house.* An intimate Christian friendship thus came to be formed between her and Livingstone, which lasted till her death; and an epistolary intercourse was maintained between them. After the grave had closed over her, Livingstone continued to retain a lively and grateful recollection of her talents and piety. In his Memorable Characteristics he has given her a place among the "professors of the church of Scotland, of his acquaintance, who were eminent for grace and gifts;" and he thus describes her: "Of all that ever I saw, she was most unwearied in religious exercises; and the more she attained access to God therein, she hungered the more. At the communion in Shotts, in June, 1630, the night after the sabbath was spent in prayer by a great many Christians in a large room, where her bed was; and in the morning all going apart for their private devotion, she went into the bed, and drew the curtains, that she might set herself to prayer. William Rigg, of Athernie, coming into the room, and hearing her have great motion upon her, although she spoke not out, he desired her to speak out, saying that there was none in the room but him and her woman, as at that time there was no other. She did so, and the door being opened, the room filled full. She continued in prayer, with wonderful assistance for large three hours' time."†

The account here given of Lady Culross's ardent devotional feeling, as it appeared at the communion in Shotts, will perhaps excite the ridicule of some, who may be disposed to regard her as actuated more by ostentation and enthusiasm, than by modest, sincere, and enlightened piety. But a slight attention to the simplicity of the times in which she lived, will show how little ground there is for pronouncing so harsh a censure. More prim-

* Life of Mr. John Livingstone in Select Biographies, vol. i., p. 130.
† Livingstone's Memorable Characteristics in Select Biographies, vol. i., p. 346.

itive in their manners and habits than in the present day, the people of those times are not to be judged of by modern customs, nor condemned for that which, though unfit for imitation in the altered state of society, conveyed to their minds nothing inconsistent with true delicacy. And before we censure her unusual earnestness in prayer, and the uncommon length of time during which the exercise was continued, let us remember that in that age the influences of the Holy Spirit were poured out upon the good in no ordinary measure, imparting to them a high degree of spiritual vitality, and giving a peculiar depth and fervor to their piety.

This consideration alone, not to mention other considerations, will serve to explain why public prayers and sermons, as well as social prayer, protracted to an extent to which the patience of few hearers would now be equal, so far from fatiguing, seemed only to refresh and invigorate our hardier and more devout ancestors. Nor is it to be forgotten, should we feel a tendency to find fault with these simple annals of primitive piety, that on the very day on which this lady was engaged in the manner described, there took place such a remarkable outpouring of the Spirit at the kirk of Shotts, as has hardly been equalled since the days of the apostles; and who can tell how far this was vouchsafed in answer to the prayers of this devout woman—as well as in answer to the prayers of those who passed the night between the sabbath and Monday morning in this exercise—poured forth with great earnestness and importunity to Him, who has promised the effusion of the Spirit upon the church as the fruit of believing prayer? It is also worthy of notice, that, as has been previously stated, it was at her suggestion that the ministers assisting in the celebration of the Lord's supper, on that occasion, laid the work of addressing the people on the Monday, upon Mr. John Livingstone, whose discourse was the instrument, in the hand of the Spirit, of turning so many from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.

These fruits of Mr. Livingstone's ministry served to increase the high estimation in which Lady Culross held him, as an embassador of Christ; and upon the death of Mr. Robert Colvill, minister of Culross, in 1630,* she was very desirous of having him settled minister of that parish. This appears from a letter she wrote to him, dated 25th March, 1631. "I confess," says

* On December 5, 1640 [1630?], this minister's son, Mr. Robert Colvill, in Culross, was restored heir to his father in the lands of Nether Kynnedder, in the regality of Dunfermline. Inquis. Retor. Abbrev. Fife, No. 601.

she, "it is no time for me to quarrel* now, when God is quarrelling with us, and has taken away our dear pastor, who has preached the word of God among us almost forty years, plainly and powerfully: a sore stroke to this congregation, and chiefly to me, to whom he was not only a pastor and a brother, but, under God, a husband and a father to my children. Next his own family I have the greatest loss. Your sudden voyage has troubled me more since than ever, and many of this congregation, who would have preferred you to others, and would have used all means possible if you had been in this land; but now I fear the charm is spilt: yet you can not go out of my mind, nor out of the mind of some others, who wish you here with our hearts to supply that place, and pray for it, if it be the Lord's will, though by appearance there is no possibility of it, for I think they have agreed with another; yet if God have a work, he can bring it about, and work contrary to all means, for there is nothing too hard for him."† The wish expressed in this letter was not however gratified. The parish of Culross was supplied with another minister, Mr. John Duncan,‡ and Livingstone remained in Ireland, but was soon after, in consequence of his nonconformity, first suspended from the exercise of his ministry, then deposed, and next excommunicated by the bishop of Down, and ultimately forced to leave the country.

It has been formerly said that Lady Culross and Livingstone maintained an epistolary correspondence. A number of her letters to him have been lately printed. Written in a homely and quaint phraseology peculiar to that age, they yet contain nothing at variance with genuine good taste or sobriety of feeling. Characterized throughout by the familiar, they occasionally indulge in the facetious, and their prevailing spirit is that of fervent piety, and an ardent attachment to the public cause, for which presbyterians were then contending, combined with a solid and enlightened judgment. As a specimen of her skill and ability in encouraging the ministers of the gospel under their sufferings for the sake of Christ, a part of her letter to Livingstone on the occasion of his being suspended from the ministry, dated "Halhill, 10th December, 1631," may be quoted. It is headed with the following text of Scripture, "Surely the rage of man shall turn to thy praise; the remnant of their rage wilt thou restrain;"

* In the preceding part of the letter she had been blaming Livingstone, who had gone to Ireland in the autumn of the year 1630, for his haste in leaving Scotland.

† Letters from Lady Culross to Mr. John Livingstone, in Select Biographies, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. i., p. 358.

‡ Records of the Synod of Fife, p. 236.

and it begins as follows: "My very worthy and dear brother, I received your letter, and have no time to answer you as I would. I thank the Lord who upholds you in all your trials and temptations. It is good for you to be holden in exercise, otherwise I would suspect that all were not well with you. God is faithful, as you find by experience, and will not try you above your strength. Courage, dear brother, all is in love, all works together for the best. You must be hewn and hammered down, and dressed and prepared before you be a living stone fit for his building. And if he be minded to make you meet to help to repair the ruins of his house, you must look for other manner of strokes than you have yet felt. You must feel your own weakness that you may be humbled and cast down before him, that so you may pity poor weak ones that are borne down with infirmities. And when you are laid low and vile in your own eyes, then will he raise you up, and refresh you with some blinks of his favorable countenance, that you may be able to comfort others with those consolations wherewith you have been comforted by him. This you know by some experience, blessed be God! And as strength and grace increase, look for stronger trials, fightings without, and fears within, the devil and his instruments against you, and your Lord hiding his face. [You are] deeply, almost overwhelmed with troubles and terrors; and yet out of all this misery, he is working some gracious work of mercy for the glory of his great name, the salvation and sanctification of your own soul, and for the comfort of his distressed children there or here, or both, as pleases him. Up your heart then, and prepare for the battle! Put on the whole armor of God; though you be weak, you have a strong Captain, whose power is made perfect in weakness, and whose grace is sufficient for you. What you want in yourself you have in him, who is given to you of God to be your wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, your treasure and treasurer, who keeps all in store. . . . Since he has put his work in your weak hands, look not for long ease here; you must feel the weight of that worthy calling, and be holden under with the sense of your own weakness, that he may kythe* his strength in due time;—a weak man and a strong God, who will not fail nor forsake you, but will furnish strength and gifts, and grace, according to that employment that he puts in your hands. The pain is but for a moment, the pleasure everlasting. The battle is but short, your Captain fights for you, therefore the victory is certain, and the reward glorious. A

* "Kythe," *Scottice* for "show."

crown and a kingdom are worth fighting for. Blessed be his name who fights all our battles, and works all our works for us! Since all is in Christ, and he ours, what would we have more but thankful hearts, and grace to honor him in life and death, who is our advantage in life and death, who guides with his counsel, and will bring us to his glory. To him be all honor, power, and praise, now and for ever. Amen."*

Lady Culross was also the friend and correspondent of Mr. Samuel Rutherford, some of whose letters to her in 1636 and 1637 are preserved in the published collection of his letters. She was then considerably advanced in years, but had seen no reason for changing the sentiments on ecclesiastical questions which she had embraced in early life; nor had her zeal in adhering to them abated. When Rutherford was summoned to appear before the court of high commission at Edinburgh in 1636, more than thirty years had passed over her head since she addressed Mr. John Welsh in the prison of Blackness; but the sufferings of good men in the cause of religious freedom still made her heart swell with emotions of sympathy; and hearing of the unjust proceedings instituted against the minister of Anwoth, she addressed to him a letter giving expression to her sentiments and feelings. Rutherford lost no time in replying, and his answer is written with all the confidence of Christian friendship.†

The best of God's people have sometimes been unequally yoked, and their children, instead of proving a comfort to them, have been the source of their most poignant grief. In these respects Lady Culross was severely tried. Writing to Livingstone from Halhill, 10th of December, 1631, she says: "Guiltiness in me and mine is my greatest cross. . . . . My great temptation now is, that I fear my prayers are turned into sin. I find and see the clean contrary in me and mine, at least some of them.‡ Samuel is going to the college in St. Andrews to a worthy master there, but I fear him deadly. I depend not on creatures. Pray earnestly for a blessing. He whom you know is like to overturn all, and has broken all bands—Lord, pity him! There was some beginning of order, but all is wrong again, for the death of his brother makes him take liberty, so I have a double loss."‖

* Select Biographies, vol i, pp. 361, 362. † Rutherford's Letters. pp. 108, 109.

‡ She had a daughter to whom this complaint did not apply. In a letter to her from Aberdeen, in 1637, Rutherford writes: "Your son in law, W—— G——, is now truly honored for his Lord and Master's cause . . . He is strong in the Lord, as he hath written to me, and his wife is his encourager, which should make you rejoice."—Rutherford's Letters, p. 437.

‖ Select Biographies, vol. i., pp. 362, 363.

It has been said that she "here most probably refers to her son James, whose conduct often occasioned great anxiety to his mother."* We are rather inclined to think that the reference is to her husband.† Five or six years after this, she complains, in a letter to Rutherford, of the heavy trial she met with from the misconduct of one of her sons, who, so far from proving "a restorer of her life and a nourisher of her old age," was to her a source of the bitterest sorrow. Rutherford, writing from Aberdeen in 1637, says in reply: "As for your son who is your grief, your Lord waited on you and me till we were ripe, and brought us in. It is your part to pray, and wait upon him. When he is ripe, he will be spoken for. Who can command our Lord's wind to blow? I know that it shall be your good in the latter end. That is one of your waters to Heaven ye could not go about: there are fewer behind. I remember you and him, and yours as I am able."‡

Whether this letter refers to her third son Samuel, or to another of her sons, we are unable to determine. It is, however, certain that Samuel was far from embracing the principles or following the example of his mother. He was the author of the piece of Scottish "Hudibras" entitled "Mock Poem, or Whigs' Supplication, in two parts," printed at London in 1681; a production which could not have been written by a man of strong sympathies. Its evident object is to provoke the mirth of the reader, by setting forth, in a ludicrous light, the sufferings endured by the presbyterians under Charles II., and their endeavors to obtain the redress of their grievances. This betrays both bad taste and want of feeling. If for men to make themselves merry, in any case, over scenes of oppression and wretchedness, is inconsistent with generous and humane feeling, it is evident that to make the barbarities exercised toward our presbyterian ancestors the means of ministering to our gayety, abstracting altogether from the consideration of their principles, can on no ground be vindicated. It is, in fact, nothing better than would be the spectacle of a man, who, while looking on a fellow-creature under the rack, amused himself by mimicking or by describing, in ludicrous phrase, the writhings and convulsions of the sufferer. Samuel Colvill was also the author of a work entitled "The Grand Impostor discovered: or, an Historical Dispute of the Papacy and Popish Religion; 1. Demonstrating the newness of both; 2. By what Artifices they are maintained; 3. The Con-

* Select Biographies, vol. 1, pp. 362, 363. † See p. 55.

‡ Rutherford's Letters, p. 437.

tradictions of the Roman Doctors in defending them." It was printed at Edinburgh in 1673, and is dedicated to the duke of Lauderdale. In the dedication the author states that he had the honor to be the duke's con-disciple, adding, "at which time it did not obscurely appear what your grace would prove afterward. Also having presented several trifles to your grace, at your two times being in Scotland, you seemed to accept of them with a favorable countenance, which encouraged me to trouble your grace afresh."

As we have already seen, Lady Culross cultivated a taste for poetry. One of her poetical effusions, in particular, attracted the admiration of her friends, and was published at their request so early as 1603. It is a thin quarto, consisting of sixteen pages, and is printed in black letters, with the following title: "Ane Godlie Dreame, compylit in Scottish Meter, be M. M. Gentlewoman in Culros, at the Requeist of her Freindes. Introite per angustam portam, nam lata est via quæ ducit ad interitum.* Edinburgh: Printed be Robert Charteris, 1603." In this poem, as in Bunyan's immortal work, "The Pilgrim's Progress," the progress and conclusion of the Christian's life is described under the similitude of a journey. Written with much liveliness of fancy and description, and with a fluency of versification superior to most of the poetical compositions of that age, it gained her at the time considerable reputation; and, in the opinion of competent judges, it establishes her claims to poetical powers of no mean order. As it is now rarely to be met with, a brief view of its subject-matter may be given, and a few passages may be quoted as a specimen of the poetry of that period. It is introduced with a description of the heaviness of heart which the writer felt, from her solitary musings on the depraved state of the world in her day, which she calls "this false and iron age," and on the bias of her own heart to sin. Troubled with a train of reflections on these and similar topics, she endeavored to pray; but utterance failed her, and she could only sigh, until relieved by the effusion of tears, when she poured forth her lamentations. Thus tranquillized, she retired to bed, and falling asleep, dreamed that her grief and lamentation were renewed, and that with tears she besought God for succor:—

> "Lord Jesus come (said I) and end my grief,
> My sp'rit is vexed, the captive would be free;
> All vice abounds, oh send us some relief!
> I loathe to live, I wish dissolved to be."

* That is, "Enter ye in at the strait gate, for broad is the way that leadeth to destruction."

While with sighs and sobs she was pouring forth her complaint, she thought there appeared to her an angel of a shining countenance and loving looks, who entreated her to tell him the cause of her grief. Her reply is couched in these lines:—

"I sighed again, and said: 'Alas for me!
My grief is great, I can it not declare:
Into this earth I wander to and fro,
A pilgrim poor, consumed with sighing sair.
My sin, alas! increases mair and mair—
I loathe my life, I irk to wander here:
I long for heaven, my heritage is there;
I long to live with my Redeemer here.'"

The angel, pleased with this account of her grief, bade her rise up immediately and follow him, promising to be her guide, and commanding her to refrain from her tears, and to trust in his word and strength. By his endearing accents, and at the sight of his fair countenance, her weary spirit revived, and she humbly desired him to tell her his name. To which he answered (for he was no other person than the Angel of the covenant, the Lord Jesus Christ) that he was her God, adding, in amplification of the gracious relation in which he stood to her, that he was "the way, the truth, and life," her "spouse," her "joy, rest, and peace;" and then exhorting her thus:—

"'Rise up anon, and follow after me:
I shall lead thee into thy dwelling-place—
The land of rest thou long'st so sore to see;
I am thy Lord, that soon shall end thy race.'"

Thanking him for his encouraging words, she declared her readiness to follow him, and expressed an earnest desire speedily to see "the land of rest" which he promised her. He answered that the way to it was strait, that she had yet far to go, and that before reaching it she behooved to pass through great and numerous dangers, which would try her "feeble flesh." She admitted that her flesh was weak, but hoped that her spirit was willing, and besought him to be her guide; in which case she would not be discouraged. She next gives the history of her journey under his conduct:—

"Then up I rose and made no more delay—
My feeble arm about his arm I cast:
He went before and still guide the way;
Though I was weak, my sp'rit did follow fast—
Through moss and mires, through ditches deep we passed,
Through pricking thorns, through water, and through fire:
Through dreadful dens, which made my heart aghast,
He bore me up when I began to tire."

After further describing herself and her guide as climbing high mountains, passing through vast deserts, wading through great waters, and wending their way through wild woods, in which, through the obstruction of briers, it would have been impossible for her, without his assistance, to have proceeded, she says :—

"Forward we passed on narrow brigs of tree,
O'er waters great that hideously did roar;
There lay below that fearful was to see—
Most ugly beasts that gaped to devour!
My head grew light and troubled wondrous sore;
My heart did fear, my feet began to slide;
But when I cried, he heard me ever more,
And held me up—O blessed be my guide!"

Escaping these dangers, and exhausted through fatigue, she at length thought of sitting down to rest; but he told her that she must proceed on her journey; and accordingly, though weak, she rose up at his command. For her encouragement, he pointed to that delightful place after which she aspired, apparently at hand; and looking up, she beheld the celestial mansion, glistening like burnished gold and the brightest silver, with its stately towers rising full in her view. As she gazed, the splendor of the sight dazzled her eyes; and in an ecstasy of joy she besought her guide to conduct her there at once, and by a direct course. But he told her that, though it was at no great distance, yet the way to it was extremely difficult, and, encouraging her not to faint, bade her cleave fast to him. Having described the difficulties and dangers she subsequently met with in the course of her journey, she concludes the poem with an explanation of the spiritual meaning of the dream. The following is one of the concluding stanzas :—

"Rejoice in God, let not your courage fail,
Ye chosen saints that are afflicted here:
Though Satan rage, he never shall prevail—
Fight to the end and stoutly persevere.
Your God is true, your blood is to him dear,
Fear not the way since Christ is your convoy:
When clouds are past, the weather will grow clear;
Ye sow in tears, but ye shall reap in joy."

To the "Godly Dream" there is added a short poem, entitled "A Comfortable Song, to the Tune of 'Shall I let her go?'" which we here subjoin :—

"Away, vain world, bewitcher of my heart!
My sorrow shows my sins make me to smart:
Yet will I not despair, but to my God repair—
He has mercy aye, therefore will I pray;
He has mercy aye, and loves me,
Though by his troubling hand he proves me.

"Away! away! too long thou hast me snared:
I will not tyne more time; I am prepared
Thy subtle slight to flee: thou hast deceived me:
Though they sweetly smile, smoothly they beguile;
Though they sweetly smile, suspect them—
The simple sort they syle,* reject them.

"Once more, away! shows loath the world to leave;
Bids oft away with her that holds me slave:
Loath I am to forego that sweet, alluring foe.
Since thy ways are vain, shall I them retain?
Since thy ways are vain, I quit thee—
Thy pleasure shall no more delight me.

"A thousand times away! Ah! stay no more;
Sweet Christ, me save, lest subtle sin devour:
Without thy helping hand, I have no strength to stand.
Lest I turn aside, let thy grace me guide:
Lest I turn aside, draw near me:
And when I call for help, Lord! hear me.

"What shall I do? are all my pleasures past?
Shall worldly lusts now take their leave at last?
Yea, Christ these earthly toys shall turn in heavenly joys;
Let the world be gone, I will love Christ alone,
Let the world be gone, I care not:
Christ is my love alone, I fear not."

LADY JANE CAMPBELL,

VISCOUNTESS OF KENMURE.

Lady Jane Campbell, Viscountess of Kenmure, was one of the most eminent of the religious ladies who lived during the seventeenth century, and her name is well known to the religious people of Scotland. No female name of that period has indeed been more familiar to them than hers for nearly two centuries. Nor is this owing to her having left behind her any autobiography or diary containing a record of the Christian graces which adorned her character, or of the remarkable events of the times in which she lived; for nothing of this kind is known to have ever existed. It is the letters of the celebrated Mr. Samuel Rutherford—whose wonderful effusions of sanctified genius—which have immortalized her memory, and made her name familiar to the pious peasantry of our land. Who is there that has read the beautiful letters addressed to her by that eminent man, who has not felt the attractions of her character? although it is only indirectly

* "To sile" or "syle," *Scot.* for "to cover" or "to blindfold."

that we can deduce from them the elements which rendered it so attractive.*

Lady Jane Campbell was the third daughter of Archibald, seventh earl of Argyll, by his first wife, Anne, fifth daughter of William, sixth earl of Morton, of the house of Lochlevin.† The precise date of her birth is uncertain, but her parents were married before October, 1594. Descended on both the father's and the mother's side from ancient and noble families of great distinction, she was particularly honored in her paternal ancestors, who were renowned for the zeal with which they maintained the cause of the Reformation. Her great grandfather, Archibald, fourth earl of Argyll, who in extreme old age espoused, among the first of his rank, protestant principles, was one of the lords of the congregation who subscribed the "Band," dated Edinburgh, December 3, 1557, the first covenant or engagement of the Scottish reformers for their mutual defence ;‡ and on his death-bed,‖ he left it as his dying charge to his son Archibald, Lord Lorn, afterward fifth earl of Argyll, "that he should study to set forward the public and true preaching of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, and to suppress all superstition and idolatry to the uttermost of his power."§ This son who was the granduncle of the subject of this notice, had previously embraced the Reformation cause, which he promoted with all the ardor of youthful zeal, and he too was one of the lords of the congregation who subscribed the famous "Band," to which allusion has just now been made. Of her mother little is known. To her, Sir William Alexander, afterward earl of Stirling, inscribed his Aurora, in 1604, and he gallantly says of his amatory fancies, that "as they were the fruit of beauty, so shall they be sacrificed as oblations to beauty." It may also be stated that Park, in his edition of Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, has a portrait of her mother, taken from a painting in the collection of Lady Mary Coke.¶ Of this parent she had the misfortune to be deprived in her tender years. Her father married for his second wife, on the 30th of November, 1610, in the parish church of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, London, Anne, daughter of Sir William Cornwallis of Brome, ancestor

* Rutherford was singularly free from the vice of flattery; and this greatly enhances the value of the illustrations of character which may be derived from his letters. "I had rather commend grace than gracious persons," says he, to Lady Kenmure, in his Dedication of his "Trial and Triumph of Faith" to her; and on this principle he proceeded in writing his letters.

† Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 94. In vol ii., p. 274, her mother is called Agnes.

‡ Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland. Wodrow Society edition, vol. i., pp. 273, 274. ‖ He died toward the close of the year 1558.

§ Knox's History, &c., vol. i., p. 290. ¶ Vol. v., p. 64.

of Marquis Cornwallis, by Lucy, daughter of John (Nevill), Lord Latimer. About eight years after this marriage, he went to Spain, and having entered into the service of Philip III., distinguished himself in the wars of that monarch against the states of Holland. Through the influence of his second wife, who was a papist, he embraced the popish religion, although he had, for the best part of his life, been a warm and zealous protestant. He returned to England in 1638, and died at London the same year, aged about sixty-two.*

In her early years, Lady Jane was of a delicate constitution, and she suffered much from bodily affliction. It was no doubt hard to human nature to languish at a period of life when she might naturally have looked for health and enjoyment; but as we may gather from Mr. Samuel Rutherford's, and Mr. Robert M'Ward's letters to her, this became, by the Divine blessing, the means of impressing upon her youthful mind a deep sense of the importance of religion, and of bringing her to the saving knowledge of Christ. Rutherford writing to her says: "I am glad that ye have been acquainted from your youth with the wrestlings of God."—"I think it great mercy that your Lord from your youth hath been hedging in your outstraying affections, that they may not go a-whoring from himself."—"I knew and saw him (Christ) with you in the furnace of affliction; for there he wooed you to himself and chose you to be his."† And M'Ward in a letter to her, says: "He made you bear the yoke in your youth, and was it not in the wilderness that he first allured you and spoke to your heart? and when come to greater age ye wanted not your domestic fires and house furnace."‡ In youth, too, she imbibed that strong attachment to presbyterian principles, which distinguished her during the whole of her future life.

This lady was first married to Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, afterward viscount of Kenmure. The exact date of this union we have not ascertained; but we find her mentioned as his wife early in 1626. Mr. John Livingstone, who had visited Galloway in the beginning of the summer of that year upon the invitation of Sir John Gordon, informs us in his life, that during the short period of his sojourn in that district, he "got acquaintance with Lord Kenmure and his religious lady."‖ Sir John was a man

* Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 94: and vol. ii, p., 274. Playfair's British Family Antiquities, vol. iii., pp. 127, 247.

† Letters of Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Whyte and Kennedy's edition, Edinburgh, 1848, pp. 8, 45, 58.

‡ Wodrow MSS. vol. lviii., folio, No. 53.

‖ Select Biographies, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. i., p. 135. Douglas is

of accomplishment and piety, and, like his lady, a warm friend to the presbyterian interest. As Rosco, the place of his residence, was situated in the parish of Anwoth, he made no small exertions, and ultimately with success, to effect the disjunction of that parish from two other parishes* with which it was united, and to get it erected into a separate parish, having a minister exclusively to itself. He had first an eye to Mr. John Livingstone as its minister, whom with that view, as we have seen, he invited to Galloway, but who, before the difficulties in the way of its erection into a separate parish were overcome, accepted a call from Torphichen. He, however, succeeded in obtaining for Anwoth, Mr. Samuel Rutherford; nor was his zeal limited to his endeavors to obtain an efficient gospel-minister to his own parish, the extension of the same blessing through the length and breadth of the land being an object in which he felt the deepest interest.† Lady Gordon and her husband were thus placed under the ministry of Mr. Samuel Rutherford. This they accounted a high privilege, and they were in no small degree instrumental, both by the example of a Christian deportment, and by the influence of a high station, in promoting the interests of true religion among their fellow-parishioners.

From the beginning, Lady Gordon formed a very high opinion of Rutherford's talents and piety; and, as the course of his ministry advanced, she appreciated in an increasing degree his pastoral diligence and faithfulness. Rutherford, on the other hand, highly esteemed her for the amiableness of her disposition, the humility of her demeanor, and the sanctity of her deportment, as well as for her enlightened and warm attachment to the presbyterian cause. An intimate Christian friendship was thus soon formed between them; and they maintained frequent epistolary intercourse on religious subjects till the death of Rutherford, the last of whose letters to her, dated July 24, 1660, scarcely eight months before his own death, was written on hearing that her brother, the marquis of Argyll, was imprisoned by Charles II., in the Tower of London. Many of his letters to her have been printed, and are well known. All of them evidently indicate his conviction that he was writing to one whose attainments in religion were of no ordinary kind, as well as the deep interest which he took in her spiritual welfare and comfort; and they abound in grateful acknowledgments of the numerous tokens of kindness and

therefore mistaken in saying in his Peerage, (vol. ii., p. 27), that their marriage took place in 1628.

* These were Kirkdale and Kirkmabreck. † Rutherford's Letters, p. 7.

generosity which he had received at her hands. None of her letters to him have been preserved; but, from the allusions to them in his letters, we gather that they were characterized by a strain of sincere and humble piety, by the confidence of genuine friendship, the warmth of Christian sympathy, and a spirit of active benevolence. She complained that, notwithstanding all the methods adopted by her Savior to teach her, she was yet an ill scholar, lamented her deficiencies in the practice of holiness, and expressed her fears that she had little grace, but encouraged herself from the consideration that God's compassions failed not, although her service to him miscarried.* In all her difficulties, doubts, and trials, she applied to him for advice and comfort, in the happy art of communicating which he was equalled by few. And such was the confidence she reposed in his piety, wisdom, and prudence, that she could communicate the state of her mind to him with more freedom than to almost any other individual with whom she was acquainted. Of all his friends, none took a deeper interest in his welfare than she took. Tender in her feelings, she warmly sympathized with him under his domestic afflictions, under the loss of his children and his wife.† Her influence she was ever ready to exert in his behalf when he was subjected to public suffering in the cause of truth; and instances are not wanting of persons in high places befriending him from a knowledge of the Christian intimacy which subsisted between him and this excellent lady. When he was summoned to appear before the court of high commission in 1630, Mr. Alexander Colville, one of the judges, "for respect to your ladyship," says Rutherford to her, "was my great friend, and wrote a most kind letter to me. I entreat your ladyship to thank Mr. Alexander Colville with two lines of a letter."‡ When he was before the same court in 1636, "the Lord," says he, writing to Marion M'Naught, "has brought me a friend from the highlands of Argyll, my lord of Lorn,‖ who has done as much as was within the compass of his power;"§ an act of generosity which he doubtless owed to his friendship with Lady Gordon; for he was "a poor unknown stranger to his lordship."¶ And when her influence was insufficient to shield him from persecution, he could calculate upon being a sharer in her sympathies and prayers, as his numerous letters to her from Aberdeen, when confined a prisoner there by the high commission-court, fully testify. Writing to her from his place of confinement,

* Rutherford's Letters, pp. 123, 183, 200, 203–205. † Ib., pp. 57, 65, 67. ‡ Ib., p. 21.
‖ Brother to Lady Kenmure, and afterward the marquis of Argyll, who suffered in 1661. § Rutherford's Letters, p. 105. ¶ Ibid., p. 107.

June 17, 1637, he says, "I am somewhat encouraged in that your ladyship is not dry and cold to Christ's prisoner, as some are."* And in a letter to Lady Culross, from the same place and in the same year, he thus writes: "I know also that ye are kind to my worthy Lady Kenmure, a woman beloved of the Lord, who hath been very mindful of my bonds. The Lord give her and her child to find mercy in the day of Christ."†

Lady Gordon, who had suffered much from ill health in the previous part of her life, was, in July, 1628, visited with sickness. Under this affliction, Rutherford reminded her that He who "knew the frame and constitution of her nature, and what was most healthful for her soul, held every cup of affliction to her head with his own gracious hand;" and that her "tender-hearted Savior, who knew the strength of her stomach, would not mix that cup with one dram weight of poison."‡ About the close of the same year, or the beginning of the year 1629, she was bereaved of an infant daughter. On this occasion Rutherford visited her, to administer Christian comfort, and afterward kindly addressed to her a consolatory letter. Among other things, he suggested to her these considerations, so finely expressed, and so well fitted to sustain the afflicted spirit of a mother under such a trial: "Ye have lost a child; nay, she is not lost to you who is found to Christ; she is not sent away, but only sent before, like unto a star, which, going out of our sight, doth not die and evanish, but shineth in another hemisphere. Ye see her not, yet she doth shine in another country. If her glass was but a short hour, what she wanteth of time, that she hath gotten of eternity; and ye have to rejoice that ye have now some plenishing up in heaven. Show yourself a Christian by suffering without murmuring. In patience possess your soul."‖

In the autumn of the year 1629, she and her husband removed from Rosco to London, where they intended to reside for some time.§ The design of Sir John in going to London probably was to prosecute his views of worldly honor and ambition. By right of his mother, who was Lady Isabel Ruthven, daughter of William, first earl of Gowrie, he expected that the honors of the

* Rutherford's Letters, p. 409. † Ibid., p. 438. ‡ Ibid., p. 5. ‖ Ibid., pp. 8–10.

§ Murray, in his "Memoirs of Lord Kenmure," prefixed to an edition of his "Last and Heavenly Speeches," says that they removed to Edinburgh, but this must be a mistake; for Rutherford, bidding Lady Gordon farewell on that occasion, says that he "had small assurance ever to see her face again till the last general assembly, where the whole church universal shall meet"—language which he would not probably have used had she only removed to Edinburgh; and he further says: "Ye are going to a country where the Sun of Righteousness in the gospel shineth not so clearly as in this kingdom."—Rutherford's Letters, p. 10.

house of Gowrie, attainted for high-treason in 1600, would be revived in his person. With the view of making this acquisition, he is said to have sold the lands of Stitchill,* the ancient inheritance of the family, and to have given to the duke of Buckingham, the evening before his assassination by Felton, the purchase price, in a purse of gold, as a bribe to him to support his claims.†

Lady Gordon's change of residence, brought about by these circumstances, in less than two years after Rutherford's induction, was no small loss both to him and to his people; and he lamented her departure as one of the heaviest trials he had met with since the Lord had called him to the ministry; "but," says he, "I perceive God will have us to be deprived of whatsoever we idolize, that he may have his own room."‡

During her absence, she and Rutherford maintained a regular epistolary correspondence. He assured her how exceedingly he longed to hear of her spiritual welfare, and that it was his constant prayer at the throne of grace, that while "deprived," as she then was, "of the comfort of a lively ministry," God might be to her as a little sanctuary; and that as she "advanced in years and stealed forward insensibly toward eternity, her faith might grow and ripen for the Lord's harvest."‖ In her communications to him, she complained of bodily infirmity and weakness; but Rutherford reminds her that "it is better to be sick, providing Christ come to the bedside and draw by (aside) the curtains, and say, 'Courage, I am thy salvation,' than to enjoy health, being lusty and strong, and never to be visited of God."§ He also regrets her absence, for the sake of the interests of religion in her native country. "We would think it a blessing," says he, "to our kirk, to see you here."¶ She and her husband appear to have remained in England till about the close of the year 1631, when they returned to Scotland, and settled at Kenmure castle, a place about twenty miles distant from Anwoth, and which has ever since been the residence of the family.** During her stay in England, notwithstanding reports to the contrary, she "had not changed upon nor wearied of her sweet master Christ and his service;" and Rutherford still "expected that whatever she could do by word or deed for the Lord's friendless Zion, she would do it."††

* He was served heir to his father 20th of March, 1629, his father having died in November, 1628.—Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii., p 27.

† Ibid.

‡ Rutherford's Letters, p. 11.

‖ Ibid., pp. 17, 20, 37.

§ Ibid., pp. 19, 20.

¶ Ibid , p. 17.

** Ibid., pp. 39, 40.

†† Ibid., p. 44.

Early in the year 1633, she was bereaved of another daughter, who died in infancy, as we learn from a letter written to her by Rutherford on the 1st of April that year. "I have heard also, madam, that your child is removed; but to have or want is best as He pleaseth. Whether she be with you or in God's keeping, think it all one; nay, think it the better of the two by far that she is with him."*

By letters-patent, dated 8th of May, 1633, her husband was created viscount of Kenmure and lord of Lochinvar, the title descending to his heirs male whatever bearing the name and arms of Gordon; and she was with him in Edinburgh when he attended King Charles I. at the parliament in June that year; but after staying only a few days, they returned home to their country-seat, the castle of Kenmure. The reason of their early departure was this: In that parliament Charles intended to pass two acts—the one, ratifying the acts of Perth assembly and other acts made for settling and advancing the estate of bishops; and the other, asserting the king's prerogative to impose the surplice and other popish apparel upon ministers.† For neither of these acts could Lord Kenmure, according to his convictions of duty, give his vote; but instead of attending the parliament, and honestly opposing the passing of these acts, as others nobly did, at a juncture when the safety of the presbyterian cause demanded the most decided and energetic measures on the part of its friends, he pusillanimously deserted the parliament, under pretence of indisposition, for fear of incurring the displeasure of his prince, who had already elevated him to the peerage, and from whom he expected additional honors; a dereliction of duty for which at the time, as he afterward declared, he felt "fearful wrestlings of conscience," and which caused him the most bitter remorse in his dying moments.

When in Edinburgh, Lady Kenmure had an opportunity of witnessing the imposing splendor and gayety of a court; but scenes which have so often dazzled and intoxicated others, only served the more deeply to impress upon her mind, what she had long before learned by the teaching of the Spirit of God, the empty and evanescent nature of all the glitter and pageantry of the world. "I bless the Lord Jesus Christ," says Rutherford to her on her return, "who hath brought you home again to your country from that place where ye have seen with your eyes, that which our Lord's truth taught you before, to wit, that worldly

* Rutherford's Letters, p. 56.
† Scot's Apologetical Narration, p. 340; Rutherford's Letters, p. 490.

glory is nothing but a vapor, a shadow, the foam of the water, or something less and lighter, even nothing; and that our Lord hath not without cause said in his word, 'The countenance or fashion of this world passeth away.'"*

Worldly honor and splendor had, however, more attractions for her husband. So great an influence had they of late acquired over his mind, that though there is every reason to believe he was a converted man, yet he had fallen into a state of comparative indifference both as to personal religion and the public interests of the church. Rutherford, it would seem, perceived this, and with his characteristic fidelity urges it upon Lady Kenmure as "a part of the truth of her profession, to drop words in the ears of her noble husband continually of eternity, judgment, death, hell, heaven, the honorable profession, the sins of his father's house." "I know," says he, "he looketh homeward and loveth the truth, but I pity him with my soul, because of his many temptations."† With this counsel, from her eminently religious character, we need not doubt that she would comply.

In the spring of 1634, she lost another daughter, who had become dangerously ill toward the close of the preceding year, and who was only about a year old.‡ Writing to Marion M'Naught, April 25, 1634, Rutherford says: "Know that I have been visiting Lady Kenmure. Her child is with the Lord; I entreat you visit her, and desire the goodwife of Barcapple to visit her, and Knockbreck,‖ if you see him in the town. My lord her husband is absent, and I think she will be heavy." And in a consolatory letter addressed to herself on that occasion he thus writes: "I believe faith will teach you to kiss a striking Lord, and so acknowledge the sovereignty of God in the death of a child, to be above the power of us mortal men, who may pluck up a flower in the bud, and not be blamed for it. If our dear Lord pluck up one of his roses, and pull down sour and green fruit before harvest, who can challenge him?"§

In the autumn of 1634, she met with a still more severe trial in the death of Lord Kenmure. His lordship left Kenmure castle for Edinburgh in the month of August that year, probably on business connected with the earldom of Gorwic, to which he was so desirous of being elevated. But it was the ordination of Providence that his hopes of this preferment should never be realized. After staying some days in Edinburgh, he came home toward the end of August under much indisposition. It turned out to

* Rutherford's Letters p. 76. † Ibid., p. 59. ‡ Ibid., pp. 59, 63.
‖ Robert Gordon of Knockbreck. § Rutherford's Letters, p. 65.

be a fever, of which, after enduring much suffering, he died on the 12th of September, at the early age of thirty-five. Having, as we have just now said, been for some time past less careful in cultivating personal piety, and less zealous in promoting the public interests of the church than in former days, he was painfully conscious of his want of preparation for death; and at first the most poignant remorse took possession of his conscience, causing many a pang of anguish and many a bitter tear to flow. Among the sins which at that solemn period came crowding into his memory, that which occasioned him the greatest agony was his deserting the parliament the preceding year. "Since I did lie down on this bed," said he to Mr. Andrew Lamb, the bishop of Galloway, who visited him, "the sin that lay heaviest on my soul and hath burdened my conscience most, was my withdrawing of myself from the parliament, and not giving my voice for the truth against those things which they call indifferent; for in so doing I have denied the Lord my God." But by the judicious counsels of Rutherford, who continued with him at the castle, almost from the commencement of his illness to his death, he was led to improve the peace-speaking blood of Christ; and thus attaining to the full assurance that God in his abounding mercy had pardoned his sins, he enjoyed much comfort in passing through the dark valley of the shadow of death. A few minutes before its departure, Rutherford engaged in prayer, and "in the time of that last prayer, his lordship was observed joyfully smiling, and looking up with glorious looks, as was observed by the beholders, and with a certain beauty his visage was beautified, as beautiful as ever he was in his life. And the expiry of his breath, the ceasing of the motion of his pulse (which the physician was still holding), corresponded exactly with the Amen of the prayer,—and so he died sweetly and holily, and his end was peace."*

During the whole of his illness, Lady Kenmure watched over him with affectionate tenderness and care. Of her kind and unwearied attentions, as well as of her high Christian excellence, he was deeply sensible. "He gave her, diverse times, and that openly, an honorable and ample testimony of holiness and goodness, and of all respectful kindness to him, earnestly craved her forgiveness wherein he had offended her, desired her to make the Lord her comforter, and observed that he was gone before, and that it was but fifteen or sixteen years up or down." She

* The Last and Heavenly Speeches and Glorious Departure of John Viscount of Kenmure, by Samuel Rutherford.

felt, in a special manner, deeply anxious about the state of his soul. When, on the first night of Rutherford's arrival at Kenmure castle, his lordship expressed to him his fears of death, and desired him to stay with him and show him the marks of a child of God, "for," said he, "you must be my second in this combat;" she judiciously observed, "You must have Jesus Christ to be your second;" an observation in which he cordially concurred. At another time, when, from the hopes of recovery, inspired by the temporary abating of the fever, he became much less concerned about the salvation of his soul than before, it is particularly mentioned in his, "Last and Heavenly Speeches," that this was to her a source of no small distress.

Under this painful bereavement, Lady Kenmure was enabled to exercise a pious resignation to the will of her heavenly Father, all whose dispensations toward her she believed to be in wisdom and love, a consideration which proved her chief support and surest consolation under all her afflictions. In attaining to this desirable state of mind, she was greatly aided by Rutherford, who, while he remained at the castle, allayed her sorrow by his prayers and counsels, and who, on his return home, still addressing himself to the task of soothing her grief, wrote her a very comforting letter two days after the fatal event. "And, albeit," says he, "I must, out of some experience, say the mourning for the husband of your youth be by God's own mouth the heaviest worldly sorrow (Joel i. 8); and though this be the weightiest burden that ever lay upon your back, yet ye know (when the fields are emptied, and your husband now asleep in the Lord), if ye shall wait upon him who hideth his face for a while, that it lieth upon God's honor and truth to fill the field, and to be a husband to the widow." Speaking of Lord Kenmure, he says, "Remember, that star that shined in Galloway is now shining in another world." And, in reference to the past trials of her life, as well as to the present, he observes:—"I dare say that God's hammering of you from your youth, is only to make you a fair carved stone in the high upper temple of the New Jerusalem. Your Lord never thought this world's vain painted glory a gift worthy of you; and therefore would not bestow it on you, because he is to present you with a better portion. I am now expecting to see, and that with joy and comfort, that which I hoped of you since I knew you fully; even that ye have laid such strength upon the Holy One of Israel that ye defy troubles, and that your soul is a castle that may be besieged, but can not be taken. What have you to do here? This world never looked like a

friend upon you. Ye owe it little love. It looked ever sourlike upon you."* In another letter he thus writes, in reference to the same subject:—"In this late visitation that hath befallen your ladyship, ye have seen God's love and care in such a measure that I thought our Lord broke the sharp point off the cross, and made us and your ladyship see Christ take possession and infeftment upon earth of him who is now reigning and triumphing with the hundred forty and four thousand who stand with the Lamb on Mount Zion."† Under this bereavement, she had the kind condolence of "many honorable friends and worthy professors." ‡

To this nobleman, besides the three daughters, who, as we have already seen, died in infancy, she had a son, John, second viscount of Kenmure, who was served heir to his father in his large estates in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, 17th of March, 1635, and whose testamentary tutors were Archibald, marquis of Argyll, and William, earl of Morton.‖ This son was born after his father's death, about the close of the year 1634, or early in the year 1635;§ and died in infancy in August, 1639, at the age of four years and some months. He had long before been in so delicate health as to excite the apprehensions of his mother, whose maternal solicitudes were all concentrated in her tender watchfulness over her infant boy. His death therefore could not be said to have come unexpected, nor could she be altogether unprepared for the stroke. But still the removal of this much loved and caressed child inflicted a deep wound on the affectionate mother's heart. He was her only son and her only remaining child, the heir of his father's wealth and honors, and by his death the honors and estates of the noble house of Kenmure would pass into another family. All these circumstances would naturally intwine her affections around him, and increase the pangs of maternal agony when he was taken from her and laid in the grave. "I confess," writes Rutherford to her, "it seemed strange to me that your Lord should have done that which seemed to ding out the bottom of your worldly comforts; but we

* Rutherford's Letters, pp. 68, 69. † Ibid., p. 72. ‡ Ibid., p. 73.

‖ Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii., p. 27. Besides these children, it is not unlikely she had some others who also died in infancy. Rutherford, writing to her in 1634, says that the Lord had taken away from her *many* children.—Rutherford's Letters, p. 78.

§ In one of Rutherford's letters to her, dated November 29, 1634, obvious allusions are made to her being near the time of her confinement, and the child born was evidently this son; for Rutherford reminds her, after his death, that she had got a four-years loan of him. He would be some months more than four years of age.

see not the ground of the Almighty's sovereignty; 'he goeth by on our right hand, and on our left hand, and we see him not.' We see but pieces of the broken links of the chains of his providence; and he coggeth the wheels of his own providence that we see not. Oh, let the Former work his own clay into what frame he pleaseth! 'Shall any teach the Almighty knowledge?' If he pursue the dry stubble, who dare say, 'What doest thou?' Do not wonder to see the Judge of the world weave into one web your mercies and the judgments of the house of Kenmure. He can make one web of contraries."* God, however, does nothing without wise and holy reasons, and the spiritual improvement of his people is an end of which he never loses sight in all the trials with which he visits them. "But," adds Rutherford, in the same letter, "my weak advice, with reverence and correction, were for you, dear and worthy lady, to see how far mortification goeth on, and what scum the Lord's fire casteth out of you. . . . I do not say that heavier afflictions prophesy heavier guiltiness; a cross is often but a false prophet in this kind; but I am sure that our Lord would have the tin and the bastard metal in you removed; lest the Lord say, 'The bellows are burnt, the lead is consumed in the fire, the Founder melteth in vain'" (Jer. vi. 29). And in the conclusion, he thus counsels her: "It is a Christian art to comfort yourself in the Lord; to say, 'I was obliged to render back again this child to the Giver; and if I have had four years' loan of him, and Christ eternity's possession of him, the Lord hath kept condition with me.'"

Lady Kenmure, on the 21st of September, 1640, nearly a year after the death of her son, married for her second husband the Honorable Sir Henry Montgomery of Giffen, second son of Alexander, sixth earl of Eglinton. This new relation proved a source of happiness to both. Sir Henry was an excellent man; his sentiments on religious and ecclesiastical questions corresponded with her own; and he is described as an "active and faithful friend of the Lord's kirk."† But the union, which was without issue, did not last long: she was soon left a widow a second time, in which state she lived till a very venerable age. The exact time of Sir Henry's death we have not discovered. Rutherford addressed a letter to her on that occasion, from St. Andrews, but it wants the date of the year.‡ Though by this second marriage she became Lady Montgomery, we shall take the liberty still to designate her "Lady Kenmure," as this is the name by which she is most generally known.

* Rutherford's Letters, p. 578. † Ibid., p. 623. ‡ Ibid., p. 623.

Subsequently to this, Rutherford's letters to her furnish few additional facts respecting her history. They contain repeated allusions to her bodily infirmities ; and from their tone, it is manifest that she had attained to much maturity in grace, and that "all the sad losses, trials, sicknesses, infirmities, griefs, heaviness, and inconstancy, of the creature," had been ripening her for heaven. There is also evidence that she continued steadfast in the principles of the second reformation, and adhered in her judgment to the presbyterian party called the "protesters," regarding the policy of the "resolutioners," what it really was, as inconsistent with the obligations of the "Solemn League and Covenant," of which, if she did not enter into it, she cordially approved. "I am glad," says Rutherford, writing to her from Glasgow, September 28, 1651, "that your breath serveth you to run to the end, in the same condition and way wherein ye have walked these twenty years past. The Lord, it is true, hath stained the pride of all our glory, and now, last of all, the sun hath gone down upon many of the prophets. . . . I hear that your ladyship hath the same esteem of the despised cause and covenant of our Lord that ye had before. Madam, hold you there."*

Much would it have gratified both these eminent saints to have lived to see "the despised cause and covenant of the Lord" honored and prospering in the land ; but this neither of them was privileged to witness. Writing to her in the autumn of 1659, Rutherford tells her of the satisfaction it would afford him should God be pleased to lengthen out more time to her, that she might, before her eyes were shut, "see more of the work of the right hand of the Lord in reviving a swooning and crushed land and church."† More time was indeed lengthened out to her, but it was to see, not the work of God in reviving the church, but the work of man in laying it waste, and in persecuting even to the death its ministers and members. Her highly-esteemed correspondent was removed by death on the eve of these calamities, having died on the 20th of March, 1661, just in time to escape being put to an ignominious death for the testimony of Jesus. He was taken away from the evil to come. She survived him above eleven years, witnessing the desolations of the church, and though personally preserved from the fury of persecution, she suffered bitterly in some of her nearest relations.

After Rutherford was laid in the dust, she cherished his memory with affectionate veneration, and in token of her remembrance, liberally extended her beneficence and kindness to his widow

* Rutherford's Letters, p. 679. † Ibid., p. 695.

and only surviving daughter. This we find adverted to in a letter addressed to her by Mr. Robert M'Ward, from Rotterdam, October 2d, but without the date of the year. "Madam," says he, "Mrs. Rutherford gives me often an account of the singular testimonies which she meets with of your ladyship's affection to her and her daughter. If I could (though I had never had those personal obligations to your ladyship which I have, and under which I must die undischarged), I would look on myself as obliged upon this account to pray that God may remember and reward your labor of love shown to the dead and continued to the living."* The letters Rutherford had written to her she carefully preserved; and when, after his death, the publication of a collection of his letters was resolved upon, very desirous that those of them in her possession should be included in the volume, she transmitted them to Holland, to Mr. M'Ward, under whose superintendence the work was published at Rotterdam, in 1664. When it was published, M'Ward sent to her a copy in common binding, and some time after a copy bound in morocco, which, however, never reached her; on learning which, he sent her another copy in the same binding.†

Soon after the restoration of Charles II., a deep wound was inflicted on the heart of Lady Kenmure by the cruel manner in which the government treated her brother, the marquis of Argyll, who, immediately on his arrival at Whitehall, whither he had proceeded from Scotland to offer his respectful congratulations to his majesty, was by his order thrown into the Tower of London, and afterward brought to trial before the Scottish parliament, by which he was condemned to be beheaded.‡ During the course of these proceedings, and subsequently to them, she received kind letters of condolence from several of her friends. Rutherford, on hearing of the imprisonment of her brother in the Tower, wrote to her from St. Andrews, July 24, 1660, saying, among other things, "It is not my part to be unmindful of you. Be not

* Wodrow, MSS., vol. lviii., folio, No 52. † Ibid., folio. No. 56.

‡ The circumstances connected with the apprehension, trial, and execution of the marquis are more fully detailed in the Sketch of the Marchioness of Argyll's Life, which follows. In those days it would appear that, like astrologers, who professed to foretell the fortunes of men from the aspect of the heavens, and the influence of the stars, physiognomists, with equal absurdity, pretended to read men's future destiny in their countenances. The following instance of this may be quoted as an illustration of the foolish superstition which, at that period, existed in the best educated and most enlightened circles of society: "Alexander Colville, justice depute, an old servant of the house, told me that my Lady Kenmure, a gracious lady, my lord's (marquis of Argyll's) sister, from some little skill of physiognomy, which Mr. Alexander had taught her, had told him some years ago that her brother would die in blood."—Baillie's Letters, quoted in Kirkton's History, p. 107.

afflicted for your brother, the marquis of Argyll. As to the main, in my weak apprehension, the seed of God being in him, and love to the people of God and his cause, it shall be well."* After the execution of this nobleman, Mr. Robert M'Ward,† on his arrival in Holland, wrote to her a letter, in which, besides expressing his cordial sympathy with her under this trial, he directs and encourages her, in reference to those dark times which had then come upon the church of Scotland, as well as in regard to those still darker days which seemed to be at hand. After adverting to the many personal and domestic afflictions she had suffered, he adds: "And now, madam, it is apparent what the Lord hath been designing and doing about you in dealing so with you; for, besides that he hath been thereby making your ladyship to be a partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light; besides this, I say, which is common to your ladyship with all saints, he seems to have had this peculiar aim, to fit you for a piece of hard service; and so your ladyship, after these more private and personal conflicts seemed to be over, or were forgotten, hath had the honor amongst the first to be brought upon the stage, though not in your own person, yet in your honorable and deservedly dear relations, there to act a part very unpleasant to flesh and blood, even to see those who were to your ladyship as yourself, slain (I may say it, and it is known to be true upon the matter), for the word of God and their testimony which they held. Thus he hath not hid sorrow from your eyes, and yet there is such a sweet mixture in the bitter cup as no doubt gives it so delectable

* Rutherford's Letters, p. 707.

† Mr. Robert M'Ward, whose name has frequently occurred before, became minister of the outer high church, Glasgow, upon the death of Mr. Andrew Gray, who died in February, 1656. He, and Mr. John Baird, who became minister of Paisley, when studying at the college of St Andrews, were reckoned the two best scholars in all the college: and he maintained, through life, his reputation as a man of talent as well as of piety. Distinguished for the highly oratorical style of his pulpit compositions, on which he bestowed much labor, he was very popular. Referring to his ornate style, a friend observed that he was "a brave busking preacher;" and, on one occasion, Mr. James Row'nt, minister of Kilmarnock, said to him, "God forgive you, brother, that darkens the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ by your oratory." M'Ward was a zealous presbyterian, and strongly opposed to the public resolutions. As might have been expected, he did not long escape persecution after the restoration of Charles II. Incurring the resentment of the government, for the freedom and fidelity with which he expressed his sentiments, in a sermon preached at Glasgow, from Amos iii. 2, in February, 1661, he was brought before the parliament on the 6th of June that year; and, on the 5th or 6th of July, they passed sentence of banishment upon him, but allowed him to remain six months in the nation. Removing to Holland, he became minister of the Scottish congregation in Rotterdam, where, with some temporary interruptions, he continued to labor with diligence and success until his death, which took place about the year 1681 or 1682. He was married to the widow of Mr. John Graham, provost of Glasgow.—Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii., p. 55

and pleasant a relish that it is sweet in the belly, though not pleasant to the taste. Yea, he hath left your ladyship still upon the stage (after that worthy hath been honorably dismissed and taken off with the approbation of 'Well done, good and faithful servant,' leaving his name for a blessing to the chosen of the Lord, and having given a noble example of suffering with joyfulness, and of resisting unto blood, striving against sin; a mercy which few are like to find in this generation, wherein there is so strong a propension amongst all sorts to wrong the cause and wound their conscience before they endanger their persons), I say, your ladyship is left still upon the stage, not only to act patience, and let it have its perfect work as to what is past, and give the world a proof that the grace of God can make a person endure as one whom affliction can not make miserable, whereas one void of such a supporting principle, would in that case carry as if they thought they lived for no other purpose but to see themselves miserable; but that you may act the faith and patience of the saints as to what is present, and in regard to what is approaching, arming yourself with Christian courage and resolution how to carry when ye shall see grief added to your sorrow, while ye behold that beautiful house wherein our fathers and we worshipped, thrown down, and nothing left of all that goodly fabric but some dark vestiges, to be wept over by them that take pleasure in the stones, and favor the dust of Zion. This calls your ladyship some way to forget the decay and (in the world's account, wherein things get not their right names), disgrace of your ever honorable family and father's house, but now more honorable than ever, that ye may remember to weep with Zion, and lament because the glory is departed. O the sad days that your ladyship is like to see if He do not shut your eyes in death, and receive you in amongst the company of them who have come out of great tribulation, and can weep no more because they see God! As for your ladyship's through-bearing in this backsliding time, trust him with that, who hath everlasting arms underneath you to bear you up when ye have no legs to walk. Hitherto hath he helped, and he will not lose the glory of what he hath done by leaving you now to faint and fall off. He will not give over guiding you by his counsel till he have brought you to glory, and put you beyond hazard of misguiding yourself."*

Another of her relatives who suffered from the iniquity of the times was Lord Lorn, the eldest son of her brother, the marquis of Argyll. Lorn, naturally indignant at the cruel treatment which

* Wodrow MSS., vol. lviii., folio, No. 53.

his father and family had received at the hands of the parliament, gave free expression to his sentiments in a confidential letter he sent to his friend, Lord Duffus. This letter being intercepted and carried to Middleton, that unprincipled statesman resolved to make it the foundation of a capital charge against him. Disappointed in his hope of obtaining the estate of the marquis of Argyll, which through the intercession of Lauderdale was gifted to Lord Lorn, who had married Lauderdale's lady's niece, Middleton thought he had now found a favorable opportunity of getting into his rapacious grasp the spoils of the Argyll family. Accordingly, he laid the letter before the estates of parliament, which voted it treasonable, and sent information to his majesty, with a desire that Lorn, who was then in London, should be secured and sent down to Scotland to stand trial before the parliament. Lorn was ordered to return to Scotland, though, at the intercession of Lauderdale, who personally became bail for his appearance, he was not sent down as a prisoner; and arriving in Edinburgh on the 17th of July, 1662, he was immediately charged to appear at the bar of the house on the afternoon of that day; which he did. That same night he was committed prisoner to the castle, and on the 26th of August was sentenced to be beheaded, and his lands, goods, and estate forfeited, for treasonable speeches and writings against the parliament; the time of the execution of the sentence being remitted to the king. He lay in prison in the castle till Middleton's fall, when he was liberated, in June, 1663, and was soon after restored to his grandfather's estate, with the title of earl of Argyll.* During the time of Lorn's imprisonment, M'Ward wrote to Lady Kenmure a letter, in which, among other things, he particularly animadverts upon this additional instance of the injustice and cruelty exercised toward the noble house of Argyll. The portion of it relating to Lorn's imprisonment, may be quoted, as, besides containing a vindication of the prisoner's father, the marquis of Argyll, and describing the true character of the proceedings of that unprincipled government, it illustrates the pious and patriotic spirit of this noble lady. "The men," says he, "who have sold themselves to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord, have stretched forth their hand against your ladyship's honorable and truly noble family. They made that worthy whose name is savory among his people, the butt of their malice, and as if that had not been enough, they persecute with deadly malice his honorable and hopeful posterity, that their name may be no

* Wodrow's History, vol. i., pp. 297, 388; Aikman's History, vol. iv., p. 500; Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 469.

more in remembrance. But have they slain and also taken possession? and will he not bring evil upon them and their posterity for this, and for the provocation wherewith they have provoked him to anger and made Israel to sin? But what wonder that they have stretched forth their hand against his worthies, who have been honored to be singularly useful and instrumental in his work, when it is come to this, that in a land solemnly sworn away to God, the Son of Man hath not so much left him, even by law, as whereupon to lay his head, except it be upon a cold stone in a prison! We have laws now framed by the throne of iniquity and in force, and by these laws he must die or be driven away. The men who have taken first the life and then the lands of him whom God hath taken off the stage with so much true honor; they have spoiled Christ also of his prerogative, and say, by what they do, 'This man shall not reign over us, we have no king but Cæsar;' and his people of their privilege, saying to them, 'Bow down that we may go over you.' I believe, while your ladyship remembers these last, ye forget the first: however, your ladyship, and all the rest of his honorable relations, may be confident and comforted in the hope of it, when he comes to count with these men and cause them answer for that læse-majesty whereof they are guilty against God, he will make inquisition for blood, yea, that blood, and make them sensible how sadly he resents the injuries done to that house, and will, if ever he build up Zion and appear in his glory in the land (as I desire to believe he will), restore the honor of that family with such a considerable overplus of splendor, as shall make them who see it say, 'Verily, there is a reward for the righteous; verily, he is a God that judgeth in the earth." But, madam, I know, since God hath learned to prefer Jerusalem to your chief joy (a rare mercy amid a generation who are crying, 'Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation'), that ye forget to sorrow for your father's house, and weep when ye remember Zion; it no doubt makes your sighing come before ye eat to see the ruins of that so lately beautiful fabric wherein ye, with the rest of his people, worshipped. Who can be but sad that hath the heart of a child to consider how the songs of the sanctuary are turned into howling?"*

From the allusion in the last sentence quoted, the reader will perceive that, at the time when this letter was written, the presbyterian church of Scotland had been overthrown. Charles II., had got it into his head that presbytery was not a religion for a gentleman,—an opinion of which the foundation no doubt was,

* Wodrow, MSS., vol. lviii., folio, No. 59.

what a young monarch of licentious morals could not easily brook, the strict surveillance which the presbyterian church exercised over the manners of all her members without respect of persons; and no sooner was he restored to his throne than he and the base men selected by him for his counsellors, were determined not to suffer the offence and reproach of such an ill-bred religion to remain in the land, no, not even in the form of a dissenting body. Nor was it by gradual encroachments that they resolved to sap the foundations of the Scottish presbyterian church. Too impatient to wait the operation of slow and insidious measures, they proceeded openly, summarily, and by violence. Such ministers as did not conform against a certain day were to be unceremoniously ejected. No soft words were to be employed, no gentle acts of persuasion were to be resorted to with the view of bringing them to submission. The law, with its severe penalties, which were deemed a sufficient argument, was promulgated, and, stern and unbending, it was to take its course on all the disobedient. The majority of the ministers conformed, though they had sworn against prelacy; but a noble army of nearly four hundred of them refused compliance, preferring to suffer rather than to part with their integrity. They were in consequence driven from their people, who were thus deprived of the ordinances of the gospel, and who mourned the loss of their faithful pastors as a family bereavement.

To this calamitous state of things M'Ward, in the same letter, proceeds to advert more particularly. He dwells upon the sorrow which he knew Lady Kenmure felt because her ear did not hear the joyful sound, nor her eyes see her teachers, and that she was not now made glad in the sanctuary, as in former days, when she had been abundantly satisfied with the fatness of God's house, and made to drink with delight of the rivers of his pleasure, his banner over her being love. 'You have now known of a long time," says he, "what it is to live and almost languish in a dry and thirsty land where no water is, where all the streams of creature contentments have been dried up, and diverted by the scorching heat of fiery trials. But this, I know, is the hardest and heaviest of all, that the streams of the sanctuary which did refresh the city of God are dried up, and that these ordinances of life in the use whereof God doth ordinarily set forth and impart much of his loving kindness, which is better than life, are taken away from you." And he concludes by observing that, "though he knew it to be grieving to her to see the faithful feeders put from their work, and God's house of prayer turned into a den of

thieves, who come not in by the door, and how the valley of vision was become a dungeon of Egyptian darkness," yet that it would comfort her in a great measure, notwithstanding all that had happened, if she saw "the ministers of the Lord zealous and carrying like men of understanding who knew the times and what Israel ought to do, and not as asses crouching between the burdens."*

In the welfare and happiness of the ministers ejected from their charges for nonconformity, Lady Kenmure took a deep interest, being warmly attached to the cause in which they suffered. Their integrity and conscientiousness in renouncing their livings rather than do violence to their conscience, excited both her approval and admiration; and if she could not restore them to the places from which they were extruded, she was willing, according to her ability, to mitigate the privations and hardships of their lot. After the death of her son, Lord Viscount Kenmure, and of her second husband, the Honorable Sir Henry Montgomery of Giffen, her pecuniary means were indeed much reduced, but having devoted herself and her all to the Savior who redeemed her, she was liberal in communicating even beyond her ability to the necessities of the suffering presbyterian ministers; and these acts of benevolence and generosity, which she felt to be sacred duties, she performed with a readiness and an alacrity corresponding to the deep sense she had of a Savior's love. Mr. Robert M'Ward, among others, was a sharer of her bounty. She frequently sent remittances to him in his straits when he was in Holland, of which he makes grateful mention in most of his letters to her, as well as refers to her profuse beneficence toward others who suffered for righteousness' sake, and who were in needy circumstances. In one of his letters to her, without date, but which, as appears from internal evidence, was written subsequently to the martyrdom of the marquis of Argyll, and from Holland, after apologizing for taking the liberty of writing to her, he says, "It flows from an affectionate respect which your ladyship's undeserved kindness and bounty toward me in my strait (whereof I hope to cease to be sensible, and cease to be, together), hath made a debt which I can never forbear to acknowledge (though I am not in case to requite it) without the imputation of baseness and ingratitude."† In another letter to her from Rotterdam, in 1668, he writes, "Your ladyship hath put me oft to seek what to say, but never more than by your last. I am truly at a loss for words to express myself about it; and I can assure

* Wodrow MSS., vol. lviii, folio, No. 59. † Ibid., No. 53.

you, madam, that it was a trouble to me to think how prodigal ye have been toward me at such a time. When I know well what the riches of your liberality are to others, and how much they who should give you what God hath made your own pinch you in withholding what they ought to give, what shall I say? but I see I must be among the rest, and with the first of them, who bear record of your doing even beyond power; and to make it appear that ye have, in the first place, given your ownself unto the Lord, ye give, in the second place, yourself and whatever God hath given you, to those whom ye suppose to have given themselves to God. Madam, when I can neither requite these high favors nor deserve them, I desire to have a complacency in the thoughts of what a rich reward abides you from him who is faithful and will never forget your work and labor of love showed toward his name. If he will not forget a cup of cold water, which is given by the hand of him who boiled it before he gave it, in the fire of love to God which burns in his bosom, how much more must these great givings be an odor of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, and well-pleasing unto God!"* Mr. John Carstairs, minister of the high church of Glasgow at the Restoration, had also received tokens of her good will. In a letter to his wife, May 27, 1664, from Ireland, whither he had fled to escape persecution, he says: "Present my humble service and tenderest respects to my noble lady Kenmure. The Lord remember and graciously reward all her labor of love!"†

Mr. M'Ward having come to London about the year 1669, resolved to visit some of his friends in Scotland, and among others Lady Kenmure. In a letter to her, without date,‡ but which was probably written from Edinburgh about the close of the year 1669, or the beginning of the year 1670, after informing her that in the beginning of winter he was advised by friends to withdraw from London, which he did after he had kept himself

* Wodrow MSS., vol. lviii., folio, No. 54.

† Letters of Mr John Carstairs, &c., edited by the Rev. William Ferrie, Anstruther Easter, p. 120.

‡ The following extract from a letter of M'Ward's to Mr. John Carstairs, but without date, may assist us in determining the time when this letter was written to Lady Kenmure. Speaking of Mr. John Dickson, M'Ward says, "I have neither seen nor written to him since the time I went first down with you to Scotland (if I be not mistaken), when that wretched indulgence had its birth (when will we see its burial!)"—Wodrow MSS., vol. lvii., folio, No. 15). The only difficulty here is whether M'Ward refers to the first indulgence, granted in July, 1669, or to the second, granted in September, 1672. But from an allusion to his visiting Lady Kenmure, apparently when he visited Scotland, contained in a letter to her, dated March 5, 1672, more than six months before the second indulgence had an existence (see p. 84), it is highly probable that he refers to the first.

almost a prisoner for some time, and that thereafter he had stayed in another place in England longer than he intended, he says: "The condition, the sad condition of this poor remnant, together with the desire I had once more to see some few friends, among whom I particularly intended to wait upon your ladyship at conveniency, made me adventure to come to this place. I have desired the bearer* (who is the only minister, save one other, residing in this city to whom I have yet made myself known) to inquire at your ladyship when, without being a trouble or disturbance to you, I may wait upon you." He adds: "Madam, I have had some account from him of your condition, and though I know that the things which ye see and hear and daily find are enough to make your ladyship long for a pass, that after all your inward trouble and outward tossings, your tried and weary soul may rest in his everlasting embraces, after whom ye have been made to pant, and for whose coming ye are now looking; yet I can not deny but that I am so cruel as to be content that your ladyship is yet with us to weep and sigh over the dust of Zion; yea, I am confident you will be content to suspend your everlasting satisfaction, which is made sure to you, for some years or days, if you may be but helped, now when the strength of the bearers of burdens is gone, to lift up a prayer for a fallen church, and to grieve over our departed glory."†

On receiving this communication, Lady Kenmure lost no time in intimating to her old friend and valued correspondent when he might wait upon her, and in giving him to understand how welcome would be the sight and converse of one who had suffered for his Master, and by whose letters she had been instructed and comforted. Their meeting was agreeable and refreshing to them both. In M'Ward she found one who had the tongue of the learned, and who could speak a word in season to them that were weary. In her he found a Christian who, trained in the school of affliction, had attained to no ordinary degree of eminence in the Christian graces, and who seemed to feel more deeply the distressed state of the church than the bodily infirmities which were pressing her down to the dust. To this visit he seems to refer in a letter which he addressed to her from Rotterdam, March 5, 1672, in which he mentions it as one thing "which did often refresh and comfort him concerning the reality and greenness of the grace of God in her, when he had occasion to see her upon her bed of languishing, namely, his finding that notwithstanding of all these weights and pressures of bodily infirm-

* Probably Mr. John Carstairs. † Wodrow MSS., vol. lviii, folio, No. 57.

ities under which her outward man was wasting, yet Zion and the concerns of our Lord Jesus Christ had a chief place in her thoughts, she resolving to prefer his interests to her chief joy and greatest sorrows."*

Lady Kenmure was now far advanced in years, and during her lengthened life she had seen many changes in the beloved church of her native land. She had beheld the triumph of its liberties after a protracted struggle of many years, over the arbitrary power of princes, and had seen the banner of the covenant unfurled and floating throughout the length and breadth of Scotland. She had again witnessed these liberties prostrated and trampled in the dust by a monarch who was sworn to maintain them, and a grinding persecution carried on against such as, faithful to their covenant engagement, scorned to surrender them. But time, with its many changes, so far from altering, had only served to confirm her original sentiments on ecclesiastical questions. The good old cause was still the good old cause for her. "Madam," says M'Ward in the letter last quoted, "as it hath been observed by many of your intimate Christian acquaintance that this hath been a piece of his gracious kindness to you to keep you still upon his side in an evil time, and to warm your soul into a good degree of holy heat and jealousy for God, his concerns, crown, and kingdom; so he continues to be gracious to you in this matter still, and to make you a comfort to such who take pleasure in the dust of Zion. How great a mercy is this when the breath of most men, the breath of most professors, nay, alas, the breath of most ministers, who by their fervor should warm the souls of others, is so cold that it doth plainly discover a falling from first love, and a want of divine zeal for him, and fervent desire for the coming of his kingdom in the world! This which he hath given you is a pearl of great price, a jewel of more value than the whole universe, nay, this is something above the reality of grace, and beyond every exercise of real grace. This is to carry like your father's child, when the coming of his kingdom is the inward echo of your soul."†

The precise date of Lady Kenmure's death we have not been able to ascertain. She was alive in August, 1672, for when Mr. John Livingstone, who died on the 19th of August that year, was giving some of his friends an account of God's goodness to him during the course of his earthly pilgrimage the day before his death, and recounting it as one of the divine mercies conferred upon him that he had been acquainted with many eminent Chris-

* Wodrow MSS., vol lviii., folio, No. 62. † Ibid., folio, lviii., No. 62.

tians in his youth, he named two, the tutor of Bonnington, and Lady Kennure, "who is," said he, "the oldest Christian acquaintance I have now alive." But she was at that time in so very weak and infirm a state of health that M'Ward, in a letter to her dated August 30, 1673, expresses his fears that it might possibly be his last letter to her, and whether it might come to her or find her in the land of the living.*

It would no doubt be interesting to know the circumstances connected with the last sickness and death of a lady so eminent for piety; but these have not been transmitted to posterity. We have, however, traced her from early life to advanced age, and we have seen throughout that whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely and of good report, on these things she thought, and these things she practised. Although, then, we lose sight of her at the closing scene, we may be sure that the light of heaven rested upon it, dispelling the darkness of death and the grave; and whether she gave utterance to the triumphant exclamation of the apostle Paul, in the prospect of her departure, or no, that exclamation from her dying lips would have been an appropriate close to a life which so eminently exemplified the Christian graces—faith, purity, humility, charity—"I have fought a good fight, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing."

LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS,

MARCHIONESS OF ARGYLL.

Lady Margaret Douglas was descended from a noble family, of no inconsiderable antiquity and renown. Her great-grandfather, William Douglas, sixth earl of Morton, was "a nobleman who inherited the magnanimity of the Douglases, tempered by the milder virtues of his illustrious relative, the regent Murray. His public conduct was marked by independence. While he maintained all the hospitality and even magnificence of the ancient barons, his domestic arrangements were conducted, and his fine family reared up, in accordance with the purity of his mor-

* Wodrow MSS., vol. lviii., folio, No. 63.

als, and the strict regard which he uniformly showed to the duties of religion. He was a warm and steady friend to the presbyterian church. . . . . The sickness, which soon put an end to his days, prevented him from attending in his place at Perth;* but he expressed his strong disapprobation of the act restoring episcopacy, and with his dying breath predicted the evils which it would entail on the country."† Her father, William, seventh earl of Morton, who was born in 1582, and served heir to his father on the 3d of July, 1605, was a nobleman of good natural talents, which were highly improved by a liberal education, and travels in foreign parts. Previous to the breaking out of the civil wars, occasioned by the disputes between Charles I. and his parliament, the earl of Morton was one of the richest and greatest subjects in the kingdom, and such was the zeal with which he espoused the royal cause, that, to enable him to advance money for its support, he disposed of the noble property of Dalkeith, and other estates, to the value of not less than one hundred thousand pounds Scots of annual rent. He died at Orkney, on the 7th August, 1648, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.‡ By his wife, Lady Anne Keith, eldest daughter of George, fifth earl Marischall, he had a numerous offspring.

Margaret, the subject of this sketch, who was the second daughter, was born about the year 1610. Of her youthful years no memorials are known to exist; but at an early age she was married to Archibald, Lord Lorn, afterward eighth earl and first marquis of Argyll, a nobleman of eminent piety, and a warm friend of the presbyterian interest, to which he adhered with unwavering constancy, and for which he at last was honored to die a martyr. She also was distinguished for piety, and held sentiments on ecclesiastical and religious questions similar to his. We are not exactly informed as to the time and circumstances in which either of them became the subject of serious religious impressions, but in both cases it appears to have been early. True religion shed its hallowed and ennobling influence over their domestic life, sweetening its enjoyments as well as lightening its trials, and rendered their whole deportment a living epistle of Christ, known and read of all men. It was the custom of the marquis to rise at five o'clock in the morning, and to con-

* The reference is to the parliament which met at Perth, in August, 1606, by which the bishops were restored to all their ancient dignities and prerogatives.

† M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. ii. p. 220. James Melville designates him "the guid auld earle of Mortoune."—Melville's Diary, p. 560. See also Calderwood's History, vol. vi. p. 263.

‡ Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii., pp. 193, 274, 275; Row's History, p. 470.

tinue in private till eight o'clock; and, besides family worship and private prayer in the morning and evening, he usually prayed with his lady at the same seasons, his valet and her maid-servant being present.* How beautiful an example of domestic piety! and how excellent a means of training that pious pair for acting a Christian and a noble part amid those tragic scenes through which they had afterward to pass, and in which they acquitted themselves so well! Both of them, too, highly valued the preaching of the gospel, and the society of the eminent ministers of their day. As an instance of this, it may be mentioned that the well-known Mr. David Dickson, with his wife and children, resided two years in their family at Inverary; during which time Dickson and Mr. Gordon, the minister of the parish, divided the services of the sabbath between them, the former preaching in the forenoon, and the latter in the afternoon, while Mr. Patrick Simpson preached on the Thursdays.†

The first family incident we meet with in the history of the marchioness of Argyll is a dangerous illness with which she was attacked at the time of her first confinement. The physicians who attended her, when consulted, gave it as their opinion that her life could not be preserved without destroying that of the child. But from this proposal the heart of the mother recoiled, and on no consideration would she give her consent. In the good providence of God, however, the life both of the mother and of the infant was saved. This child was afterward the earl of Argyll, who suffered in 1685.‡

During the subsequent part of her life, no important facts are known, till we come to the severe domestic trials which she was doomed to suffer. These we shall now proceed to relate. It has been said that every pathetic tale, in order to interest, must have a villain to boast of—a principle well understood by the masters of tragedy, who, while they excite our sympathies by

* Wodrow's Analecta, vol. i., p. 22. Wodrow received this information, May 9, 1702, from Mr. Alexander Gordon, who was minister of Inverary many years before the restoration of Charles II., and who had therefore the best means of knowing. Mr. Gordon also informed him that when the marquis went abroad, though but for one night, it was his practice to take with him his note-book and inkstand, with the English Notes Bible and Newman's Concordance. In another part of the Analecta, we find the following interesting notice relating to Argyll's conversion: "Mr. James Stirling tells me that from good hands he had it, that during the assembly at Glasgow, Mr. Henderson and other ministers spent many nights in prayer with the marquis of Argyll, and that he dated either his conversion, or the knowledge of it, from these times."

† Wodrow's Analecta, vol. i., p. 22. Mr. Gordon, to whom Wodrow was indebted for this fact, also told him that Argyll always took notes of the sermon.

‡ Ibid., vol. ii., p. 138.

the great and varied distresses of the personages they introduce upon the stage, almost never fail to bring prominently forward some character of deep depravity as the cause of these distresses; thus enhancing the interest of the scene, by stirring from their depths other emotions of our nature, such as horror and indignation at hypocrisy, treachery, cruelty, and other forms of vice, which may be elicited in the drama. Of this element of interest the life of this lady is not destitute; and Charles II. was the evil genius who broke in upon its peace and happiness.

The first of her domestic trials which we shall mention is the affecting case of her eldest daughter, Lady Anne. When Charles II. arrived in Scotland in the year 1650, Argyll, though during the second reformation, and down to that year, he had acted a conspicuous part in the defence of the presbyterian cause, and had been almost dictator of Scotland, yet welcomed him with the most devoted loyalty. He, however, at the same time, told him that he could not serve him as he desired unless he gave some decided evidence of his fixed determination to support the presbyterian party, and that he thought this would be best done by marrying into some family of rank known to be entirely devoted to that interest, hinting that this would, in a great measure, remove the prejudices entertained by both Scotland and England against him on account of his mother, who was a papist, and suggesting his own daughter as the most proper match for him.* How strangely does the ambition of worldly honor and power sometimes gain the ascendency over the better judgment of even wise and good men! Argyll must have known enough, and more than enough, of the profligate character of Charles, to convince him that in projecting such a matrimonial alliance, he was exposing to the highest peril the happiness of his daughter for the prospect of gaining her the glitter of a few short years in a corrupt court. But views of ambition, and not the happiness of his daughter, were the motives which appear to have guided him in this matter. Another influence bearing on his mind was the principle of self-preservation. Perceiving that should those men, whom he had unavoidably made his enemies when almost dictator of Scotland, be raised to places of power upon the accession of Charles, he would be in great danger of falling a sacrifice to their malice, he hoped in this way effectually to secure himself from all such peril.

But his hopes of aggrandizement or safety from this source were castles built in the air, and they were destined to suffer a

* Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 97.

severe disappointment. To the proposal Charles indeed consented, and promised all fidelity. But he was too much of the cavalier; he had too strong a liking for the malignant party, ever to think seriously of wedding with a presbyterian's daughter. His promise he never fulfilled, and he never intended to fulfil it. The consequences to the accomplished young lady were very distressing. With the simple and unsuspecting confidence of inexperienced youth, she relied upon his honor and sincerity. Her parents had not taught her to doubt or mistrust him; at least her father had not done so; and, if her mother had warned her of her danger, she heeded it not: and when Charles disappointed her —when he appeared to her in the stern reality of his true character, a heartless deceiver, faithless to her as he proved to the religion he had sworn to maintain—her mental agitation and distress became great; all her enchanting and fondly-cherished prospects of becoming the wife of Charles and queen of Britain, which had been the dream of her young imagination, were dissipated; her tenderest affections were cruelly lacerated by the object around which they were entwined; her earthly hopes and happiness seemed extinguished for ever; her spirits sunk, and her health became impaired; yea, under the extreme mental agitation she daily and hourly experienced, her reason itself began to reel, and she at last became quite insane, fit only "to point a moral or adorn a tale."

In the calamity which befell his daughter, Argyll had too much reason for self-reproach. His worldly policy, which true wisdom condemned, while it accomplished the ruin of his daughter, was defeated in its every object. Kirkton, after stating that the marquis was moved to strike up this match from the hope of securing himself from his enemies, and that all the "poor family had by the bargain was a disappointment so grievous to the poor young lady, that of a gallant young gentlewoman, she lost her spirit and turned absolutely distracted," quaintly, but justly adds, "so unfortunately do the back wheels of private designs work in the puppet plays of the public revolutions in the world."*

This was a severe and a continued living trial to the marchioness. Whether she was favorably disposed toward the match we are not informed, although there is reason to believe she was not, and that she entertained fears that it might be far from issuing in the happy consequences which the marquis anticipated. We know, at least, that plausible and insinuating as the manners of Charles were, she formed a very low opinion of his character

* Kirkton's History, p. 50.

at an early period, indeed long before its dark features were fully developed or discovered, regarding him as at once unprincipled, hypocritical, and revengeful. This will appear from the following anecdote, which rests on good authority. Charles, after he came to Scotland and was crowned, in 1650, became so flagrantly lewd in his conduct, spent so large a part of his time in drinking, and favored malignants so much, notwithstanding his having sworn the Solemn League and Covenant, that the religious people about the court urgently requested Argyll to take the liberty of freely remonstrating with him. Argyll, who had waited long for such an opportunity, did so one sabbath night at Stirling. After supper, he went in with his majesty to his closet, and there, with much freedom, but, at the same time, with much humility, laid before him the sinfulness of his conduct. Charles, so far from appearing to be offended, seemed serious, and even shed tears; and so earnest did the matter to all appearance become, that they prayed and mourned together till two or three o'clock in the morning. The marquis, charitably entertaining the most favorable opinion of the character and professions of Charles, was disposed to congratulate himself upon his success; and when he came home to his lady, who was surprised at his absence, and told him she never knew him stop from home till so late an hour, he said that he had never passed so pleasant a night in the world, and informed her of all that took place. But she put a very different construction upon the adventure, and drew very different conclusions from it. She believed that Charles was both insincere and vindictive; that it was not safe to remonstrate with him, and that her husband had committed an offence which the monarch would never forgive. Such was her belief, and she freely expressed it. No sooner did she hear of Charles's professions of sorrow, and of the tears he shed, than she said that they were "crocodile tears," and that what the marquis had done that night would cost him his head. Nor was she mistaken. When offended at liberties taken to reprove him for his conduct, Charles possessed, in no small degree, the power of suppressing the manifestation of his feelings, and of seeming even grateful to his monitor; but freedoms of this sort he was not accustomed to forgive, and only waited his opportunity to take revenge. From that moment he bore an irreconcilable hatred to the marquis, though the royal hypocrite, in addressing him, still continued to call him "father;" and so deeply did he cherish a vindictive spirit for this honest admonition that, after his restoration, he expressed his resentment of it to some, and resolved to make his

reprover the first victim of his mortal vengeance.* Upon what grounds the marchioness came to such a conclusion respecting the character of Charles, we do not know; but from the accuracy of the judgment she pronounced upon it, she must have discovered facts concerning him, which, painful as it might be to her to entertain such suspicions and feelings concerning him, confirmed all that she had said.

After this she was visited with a severe illness, which threatened her life, as appears from the following quotation:—"When the king resolved to march into England, in June, 1651, the resolution was opposed by Argyll, with reasons of no inconsiderable strength. But, notwithstanding this disapprobation of the measure, he would have gone along with the king, had not his lady been lying at the point of death. This induced him to ask permission to remain behind, which was graciously accorded, and he took leave of the king at Stirling."† From this illness, however, the marchioness recovered.

No additional particulars of importance occur in her history till the restoration of Charles II. That event, which was hailed with unbounded joy by almost all Scotland, she could hardly contemplate with any other feelings than those of alarm. While others were giving way to the most extravagant rejoicings, she must have felt, from what she knew of Charles, that *she*, at least, had rather cause to mourn than to rejoice. Aware that her husband was the object of his mortal hatred, for the reason stated before, as well as on other accounts, she appears to have entertained some degree of anxiety about his safety; to have felt some forebodings that the restoration might be, what it actually turned out to be, the cause of the most poignant affliction of her life. When many noblemen and gentlemen from Scotland went up to London in 1660, to congratulate his majesty upon his happy and safe return to his hereditary throne, the marquis sent up his eldest son, Lord Lorn, but did not proceed to London himself till he got information of the favorable reception of his son, when he was encouraged to repair to the capital. From this it is evident that the family had the impression that the marquis had incurred the displeasure of the monarch, and entertained some apprehension that he was in danger. Nor were these apprehensions un-

* Wodrow's Analecta, vol. i., p. 67. Wodrow introduces this and another anecdote given (p. 36), thus:—"November 11, 1705.—My brother tells me that he has the accounts of the marquis of Argyll from Mr. Hastie, who had them from Mr. Neil Gillies, who was in the family of Argyll, and had them both from the marchioness." See also Analecta, vol. ii., p. 145.

† Douglas's Peerage, vol. i, p. 98.

founded.* No sooner did Argyll arrive at Whitehall, which was on the 8th of July, than, "with an angry stamp of the foot," Charles gave orders for his imprisonment. He was instantly hurried to the Tower, where he was kept close prisoner till toward the close of the year, when he was sent down from London, by sea, to Edinburgh, to be committed prisoner to the castle, and tried before the Scottish parliament for high treason. His trial commenced on the 13th of February, 1661, when his indictment, consisting of fourteen different articles, was read, in which he is charged with calling, or causing to be called, the convention of estates, in 1643, and entering into the Solemn League and Covenant with England; with protesting in parliament against the engagement of 1648, for relieving his majesty Charles I.; with raising an army to oppose the engagers; with corresponding with Cromwell, and submitting to the commonwealth; together with other crimes, which were either a perversion or misrepresentation of facts, or direct calumnies, as, for instance, that he had been accessory to, or acquainted with, the design of the murder of Charles I. These were the ostensible grounds of the proceedings against him; but it was private and personal reasons, not avowed, which impelled the actors in this tragedy. Charles II., as we have seen, hated him for the freedom of his admonitions, as well as because he was opposed to the malignants, and the main support of the presbyterian interest, of which he proved himself the uncompromising champion; and this hatred was deepened from the wrong which Charles was conscious of having done to him and his family in violating his promise of marrying Lady Anne, for unprincipled men uniformly hate those whom they have injured. This throws a flood of light upon the conduct of Charles toward him; it explains "the angry stamp of the foot;" and warrants the assertion that he "died a sacrifice to royal jealousy and revenge."† Middleton, too, who was his majesty's commissioner at the parliament, being at once poor and avaricious, expected to obtain a grant of the estates of the martyr, and hence his anxiety, in order to get them forfeited, and thus wrested from the lawful heirs, that the marquis should suffer as a regicide. It is also to be added, that

* As a curious instance of the superstitious regard paid to omens at that time, we may quote the following passage from Baillie's Letters. Speaking of Argyll, he says: "My good son, Mr. Robert Watson, was with his lady in Roseneath, the night the king landed in England. He told me all the dogs that day did take a strange howling and staring up to my lady's chamber windows for some hours together."—Quoted in Kirkton's History, in a note by the Editor, p 107.

† Kirkton's History, pp. 69, 70.

Middleton's associates in the Scottish government desired to divide the estates among themselves.* Thus it was determined on all hands to make this nobleman a sacrifice.

When the marquis was lying a prisoner in the castle, the marchioness entertained the worst apprehensions as to the intentions of his enemies. She was persuaded that they would be satisfied with nothing less than his life, and she, therefore, with a number of spirited gentlemen, entered into a plan for effecting his escape. In the execution of this plan she herself was to act the principal part. On visiting him she was to put on his clothes and remain in prison, while he was to put on hers and, thus disguised, make his escape, which could be the more easily effected, as they were of the same stature. In order the more effectually to remove suspicion, he kept bed for some days, as if he had been unwell, and one day when she came in a chair to visit him, they resolved to make the attempt. Being left alone, they proceeded to undress and exchange each other's clothes. This done, she was ready to remain in his place, whatever she might suffer from the resentment of the government. But her purpose was defeated by the marquis himself, who, when about to be taken out in the chair, on a sudden changing his mind, said he would not flee from the cause he so publicly owned, and throwing aside his disguise, put on his own clothes, resolving to suffer the uttermost.† Thus she left the prison without having effected the object which lay so near her heart. What she dreaded was soon realized. On Saturday, the 25th of May, he was sentenced to be beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh for high treason on Monday, the 27th, and his head to be fixed on the west end of the tolbooth, where the head of the marquis of Montrose had formerly been exhibited as a spectacle. He was then sent to the tolbooth among the ordinary prisoners for the two short days allowed him to prepare for death.‡

The distress of the marchioness on hearing of this sentence is not to be described. On learning where he was to be confined during the brief period he had to live, she hurried to the prison in order to meet him. She was there before he reached it, and on his entrance a most affecting interview took place between

* Douglas's Peerage, vol i , p 99. Wodrow's History, vol i , p. 131

† Kirkton's History, p 103 Wodrow's History, vol. i . p. 152 Burnet's History, vol. i., p 124 Burnet says, that when the marquis was going into the chair, he apprehended he should be discovered, and his execution hastened, and so his heart failed him."

‡ Wodrow's History, vol i., p. 150. Sir George M'Kenzie's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 40.

them. "They have given me till Monday," said he, on seeing her, "to be with you, my dear, therefore let us make for it." The afflicted wife, in the agony of grief, burst into a flood of tears, and, embracing him, exclaimed, "The Lord will require it, the Lord will require it." On her uttering this appeal to the justice of Heaven, which we conceive was nothing but the simple, unpremeditated, and instinctive outburst of nature, under a sense of such unmerited and grievous wrong, and which neither Christian principle nor Christian feeling condemned, a minister present, doubtless with the best intentions, gently reminded her that we should not be revengeful, to whom she replied: "We need not be so," alluding to the words of Paul, "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves but rather give place to wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord."* Her distress, in these painful circumstances, was so deeply affecting, that even the bailie who accompanied the marquis to the prison, though no great friend to him, was softened into tears, and none in the room could refrain from giving vent in a similar way to their feelings. Meanwhile the marquis, though at first he wept himself, soon became perfectly composed, and endeavored to comfort his beloved and sobbing wife. "Forbear, forbear," said he affectionately to her; "truly I pity them; they know not what they are doing: they may shut me in where they please, but they can not shut out God from me: for my part I am as content to be here as in the castle, and as content in the castle as in the Tower of London, and as content there as when at liberty; and I hope to be as content upon the scaffold as any of them all." He added, that "he remembered a scripture cited to him by an honest minister lately in the castle, and endeavored to put it in practice. When Ziklag was taken and burnt, and the people spake of stoning David, he encouraged himself in the Lord his God."†

After this interview, on the same day, the marchioness went down to the abbey, to Middleton, his majesty's commissioner, to endeavor to obtain a reprieve. The object in asking this reprieve, no doubt, was to get time to apply to the king for a pardon. But when it is considered that the parliament, of which Middleton was the moving spring, refused to accede to the request which the marquis made when at the bar and about to receive his sentence, that the sentence should not be executed till ten days after it was pronounced, there was little ground to

* Wodrow's History, vol. I., p. 153. Wodrow MSS., vol. xxvii., folio, No. 53.
† Wodrow's History, vol. I., p. 182.

hope that his lady would succeed in obtaining for him what she sought. But where his life was involved she determined to make an appeal to Middleton's pity, if not to his sense of justice. She accordingly went down with a heavy heart to Holyrood house, and was admitted to see him. He had been drinking hard, but was in the full possession of his reason, and received her with extreme courtesy and kindness, which was far from his usual manner of receiving supplicants, and it seemed as if there was no favor which he would be unwilling to grant at her request. Her courteous and respectful reception might perhaps awaken in her for a moment hopes that he would commiserate her case; but she had a man to deal with whose heart was never softened by compassion, and who was not accustomed to show mercy. When she proceeded to tell him her errand, pathetic as was the appeal she made in behalf of her condemned husband, he told her that he could not serve her in that particular; that to do so would be as much as his life was worth; and that though he should grant her what she so earnestly desired it would be fruitless, for he had received three instructions from the king which he was imperatively required to carry into effect: first, to rescind the covenants; secondly, to behead the marquis of Argyll; and, thirdly, to sheath every man's sword in his brother's breast. The proverb is, *Post vinum veritas*. Middleton had thus imprudently betrayed the intentions of his master to the marchioness; and the following day, remembering after having slept off his night's debauch, what he had said to her, he became so dejected that for several days he was not to be spoken with, and told some of his friends that he had discovered a part of his secret instructions to the lady of Argyll which would ruin him. But she took no advantage of him, having told this only to Mr. Gillies, who, as Wodrow thinks, was waiting on her at that time; and accordingly it went no farther.*

From what Middleton said to her all her hopes of the life of the marquis were lost. She perceived that his death had been resolved upon, and that nothing was to be expected either from the justice or the compassion of the men who were now at the head of affairs, and who were carrying things with such a high hand. Hastening to the prison, she communicated to him the unsuccessful result of her visit to the palace. But painful as was this death-blow to her hopes of his life, it was in some degree consoling to her that he was prepared for the fate awaiting him. She found him not agitated with fear, nor sinking beneath the

* Wodrow's Analecta, vol. i, pp. 67, 68. See Appendix, No. II.

abject influence of conscious guilt, but, though surrounded by prison walls, and soon to undergo an ignominious execution, yet enjoying that serenity and joy of mind which conscious innocence and the peace of God never fail to impart; and this was the more remarkable from his being naturally of a timorous disposition. She continued with him, it would appear, till sabbath night, when, at his own desire, she took a last farewell.*

In this season of deep distress, the marchioness, like a genuine child of God, betook herself to the throne of grace; and it is an interesting trait in her character to find her there imploring from Him, who "is a present help in the time of trouble," support and comfort, not so much for herself, as for her beloved husband, who, though guilty of no crime, was so soon to suffer a traitor's death. On the forenoon of the day on which he was to be executed, she and Mr. John Carstairs were employed in wrestling with God in his behalf, in a chamber in the Canonsgate, earnestly pleading that the Lord would now seal his charter by saying to him, "Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee!" It is a striking circumstance that, at the very time of their being thus employed, the marquis, while engaged in settling some worldly affairs, a number of persons of quality being present with him, was visited in his soul with such a sense of the Divine favor, as almost overpowered him; and, after in vain attempting to conceal his emotions by going to the fire and beginning to stir it with the tongs, he turned about, and melting into tears, exclaimed, "I see this will not do; I must now declare what the Lord has done for my soul! He has just now, at this very instant of time, sealed my charter in these words, 'Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee!'" This comfortable state of mind he retained to the last, and to this scene he alluded in his dying speech on the scaffold. Can it be doubted that the bestowment of the very blessing, prayed for by this devout lady and that godly minister to the dying martyr, at the very instant in which it was sought, was a signal answer to their believing prayers?†

Surviving friends have naturally a concern that due honor be paid to the dead in the form of a decent and respectable funeral; and after the execution of this noble martyr, the marchioness was anxious that due homage should be paid to his mortal remains. After he was beheaded his headless corpse was delivered to those friends, noblemen, and others, who, at his desire, were permitted to accompany him to the scaffold and be present with

* Wodrow's History, vol. i., p. 153. † Wodrow's Analecta, vol. ii., p. 148.

him on it; and they carried it to the Magdalene chapel, where it was prepared for interment. From the chapel it was attended by a numerous company of friends, in funeral procession, to Kilpatrick, thence transported by water to Dunoon, and finally deposited in its last resting-place, in the family burying-vault at Kilmun.* But it was distressing to the marchioness to think, that the head of the marquis was exposed as a public spectacle, and she was extremely desirous that it should be removed, and interred with the rest of the body. With this view, her daughter, Lady Mary, countess of Caithness, went to Middleton, to supplicate that this favor might be granted to her mother and the family. But he received her in a different manner from that in which he had received her mother. When she was on her knees before him, begging, with all the tenderness of filial piety, her dead father's head to be buried, he brutally threatened to kick her with his foot if she did not rise and depart from his presence.† What a picture of a man (if we may call him a man), who could thus treat with cruel and wanton insult a lady, in circumstances which, one might think, would have excited compassion in the breast of a monster! Argyll's head continued fixed on the west end of the tolbooth till 1664, when a letter came from the king to the privy council, commanding them to take it down, that it might be buried with his body. It was accordingly taken down quietly in the night-time.‡

Under this heavy trial the marchioness was very generally and sincerely sympathized with throughout the country;‖ and her case was well calculated to excite sympathy. What must she have suffered in her mind from the time that the marquis was thrown into the Tower of London, to the time when he was beheaded as a traitor, at the cross of Edinburgh? Can it be doubted that she was made to taste, drop by drop, more than the bitterness of death, in the protracted agony which these proceedings inflicted on her soul? The tragic scene of his execution could not fail often to present itself to her imagination, piercing the heart with the bitterest anguish; and when she turned from that scene to reflect on her own condition, she must have found herself "a widow indeed." But severe though the trial was, she rebelled not against the Supreme Disposer of events, but acquiesced in his determinations, from a persuasion that though these, in some

* Sir George M'Kenzie's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 47. Aikman's History of Scotland, vol. iv., p. 187.

† Kirkton's History, p. 156. ‡ Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 169.

‖ "All did compassionate his religious lady and children."—Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 385.

respects, might be mysterious and incomprehensible to her, they were yet the determinations of her heavenly Father, who doeth all things well. The exemplary resignation she displayed, and which everybody admired, is fully attested by contemporary writers. Law, for example, in his Memorials, when recording the death of the marquis, says: "His lady, Margaret Douglas, a lady of singular piety and virtue, bore this sad stroke with other both personal and domestic afflictions, with great patience, and incredible fortitude, giving herself always to prayer and fasting, and ministering to the necessity of the saints."* Various circumstances connected with the death of the marquis would, no doubt, contribute to produce this desirable state of mind. It was comforting to her to reflect that no evil deed of his had merited such cruel treatment; that he died, not as a traitor to his country or his king, but in reality as a martyr in the cause of Christ. It was comforting to her also to know that he met death with a heroism which has never been surpassed in the annals of martyrdom; a heroism not inspired by a passion for earthly renown, like that of the patriots of Sparta, Rome, and Athens, but by the peace of God which dwelt in his soul, and the hope of eternal glory, with which he was animated.† Her pious friends, both ministers and others, would also contribute much, by presenting to her mind the various sources of consolation opened up in the gospel, to allay the bitterness of her grief, and to produce submission to the Divine will. Among those who were thus useful to her, we must not omit to mention Mr. John Carstairs, a man of strong sympathies, to whom it was always a pleasing duty to condole with, and comfort the suffering, the sorrowful, and the bereaved. Writing to her in reference to this dispensation, he says, "He [God] hath given the highest security 'that all things' (having a special look at all their afflictions, as the context, in the confession of most, if not all, judicious commentators putteth beyond debate) 'shall work together for good to them that love God, and are the called according to his purpose;' where he hath, to speak so with reverence to his majesty, condescended some way to abridge his own sovereignty and absolute dominion, en-

* Law's Memorials, p. 10.

† Sir George M'Kenzie, one of his counsel, having told him, a little before his death, that it was believed he was a coward, and would die timorously, he replied that he would not die as a Roman braving death, but that he would die as a Christian, without being affrighted. In proof of his mental tranquillity on the scaffold, it may be stated that he addressed the spectators without the least apparent agitation, using his ordinary gestures; and that his physician, who touched his pulse, found it beating at the usual rate, calm and strong.—Sir George M'Kenzie's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 47. Burnet's Own Times, vol. i., p. 179.

gaging himself by covenant, that though he may do what he will, yet he shall will to do nothing but what shall be for his people's good; so that in all his dispensations toward them, his absolute dominion and his good will shall be commensurable and of equal extent, the one of them never to be stretched one hair's breadth beyond the other. And even in the most dark, involved, intricate, abstruse, and mysterious providences wherein they can read and take up least of his mind, and wherein he (seeming to walk either in the greatest absoluteness of his dominion, or in the sharpest severity of his justice) refuseth to give a particular account of his matters and motions, he hath wonderfully stooped and condescended to give this general, sweetly satisfactory account, that they shall work for good, even their spiritual good and profit, to the purging of sin, and their further participation of his holiness."* The same writer further says to her, "What possible loss or want is it that can not be made up in Him, who is God all-sufficient, and in whom, whatever is desirable and excellent among the creatures, is to be found in an eminently transcendant and infinitely more excellent way; and from whom, as the inexhaustibly full fountain, and incomprehensibly vast, immense, storeless, boundless, and bottomless ocean of all delightful, desirable, imaginable, and possible perfections, the small drops, and little rivulets of seeming and painted perfections, scattered among the creatures, issue forth."†

Not much longer than a year after the execution of the marquis, she met with another trial in her eldest son, Lord Lorn, who, like his father, was tried before the Scottish parliament, and condemned to be beheaded, but the sentence was not executed.‡

* Carstair's Dedication of Mr. James Durham's Posthumous Treatise on the Ten Commandments "to the right honorable, truly noble, and renownedly religious lady, my lady marchioness of Argyll." In this dedication, Carstairs also says, "Madam, being fully persuaded that this savory, sound, solid, soul-searching, and soul-settling treatise will be acceptable to and improved by your ladyship, for furtherance of this your spiritual good and advantage, beyond what it will be to and by most others, I find no need of any long consultation with myself to whom to address its dedication, you having, in my poor esteem, on many accounts, the deserved preference of many (to say no more) ladies of honor now living; and since, withal, I nothing doubt, had the precious and now perfected author been alive, and minded the publication of it with a dedication to any noble lady, yourself would have been the person; of whom, I know, he had a high esteem, having himself, before his death, signified his purpose of dedicating his piece on the Canticles to your ladyship's noble, and much noted sister-in-law, my lady viscountess of Kenmure. It needs no epistles of commendation to you, who was so thoroughly acquainted with its author; the reading of it will abundantly commend itself, and as a piece, though posthumous, of his work, commend him in the gates."

† Carstair's Dedication of Mr. James Durham's Posthumous Treatise on the Ten Commandments. ‡ See Appendix, No. III.

It may be proper here to say something concerning the worldly circumstances of the marchioness on her becoming a widow. A little before going out to the place of execution, the marquis wrote and subscribed a letter to the king, in which he casts the desolate condition of his poor wife and family upon his majesty's royal favor; "for," says he, "whatever may be your majesty's displeasure against myself, these, I hope, have not done anything to procure your majesty's indignation. And since that family have had the honor to be faithful subjects and serviceable to your royal progenitors, I humbly beg my faults may not extinguish the lasting merit and memory of those who have given so many signal proofs of constant loyalty for many generations. Orphans and widows, by special prerogative and command from God, are put under your protection and defence, that you suffer them not to be wronged."* But notwithstanding this letter, there is reason to believe that had it been left entirely to Charles himself, who cared nothing about orphans and widows, the marchioness and her fatherless children would have remained in poverty, and dependent upon the bounty of others; while Middleton would have been revelling on the rental of their estates. Lauderdale, however, whose lady's niece, as has been observed before,† was the wife of Lord Lorn, the eldest son of Argyll, succeeded in obtaining for the noble widow and her family their rightful property. A writer on that period, speaking of the condemnation, forfeiture, and execution, of the marquis, says: "Nor could all the great power and interest which the duke of Lauderdale had at court ward off this terrible blow, though he procured a gift of the forfeiture from his majesty to the earl of Argyll and his creditors, to be applied in the following manner: 1. Fifteen thousand pounds of free yearly rent was granted to the earl himself. 2. Allowance was made for payment of mortgages or proper wadsetts. 3. For such debts as were owing by the earl himself, or for which he was bound jointly with his father. 4. For my lady marchioness's provision by her marriage settlement, and for the portions of the younger children of the family; and the remainder of the estate was appointed to be equally divided among the late marquis's children."‡

The marchioness of Argyll was thus placed in such circumstances as rendered her independent, and put it in her power to exercise liberality to others to a considerable extent.

* Wodrow's History, vol. i., p. 154. † See p. 79.

‡ Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill, by Mr. John Drummond, pp. 167 170, 195.

She survived the marquis nearly seventeen years, preserving during that period both the form and spirit of widowhood. Taking up her residence at Rosneath, and living for the most part in retirement, she spent the remainder of her days in devotion and good works, conducting her family on the strictest principles of religion, attending the public and private means of grace with great regularity, ministering to the necessities of the diseased, the poor, and the persecuted, with affectionate liberality, bearing all the afflictions which befell her with exemplary patience, and giving evidence by her whole deportment that she was under the influence of pure and undefiled religion.

We are furnished with an account of the manner in which her widowhood was spent, by Mr. Neil Gillies, indulged minister of the parish in which she resided,* in a letter to a friend after her death. The chief design of the letter is to give some account of the circumstances connected with her last illness; but it is preceded by the statement of a few facts relating to her life. After observing that his purpose was not to give any large account of the Lord's dealing with this lady, whom he designates the "truly noble and worthy, now glorified lady marchioness of Argyll," in

* Mr. Neil Gillies had become indulged minister of Rosneath previous to the year 1679. He was afterward removed to Cardross, upon a petition of the heritors and inhabitants of that parish to the privy council.—(Wodrow's History, vol iii., pp. 24, 156.) He continued in Cardross till 1690, when he was translated to the inner high church of Glasgow. In their reasons for his translation the people of Glasgow urge his peculiar fitness on these grounds: "1. The acceptableness of his ministerial gifts to the people here, who have often heard him. 2. His converse since he left the college, these thirty years past, has been not only with the best but also the greatest, and those in most public employments, in both this kingdom and England, and so he must be more fit for such a public place as this. 3. His prudence, patience, meekness, and healing temper, which the animosities and difficulties of this place call so loud for." They add, that "upon the foresaid accounts, the late faithful, now glorified Mr. Rogers, who knew both him and this place so well, did move vigorously for him, while he lived: and on his death bed, and very near his end, being consulted by the eldership about his successor, did seriously recommend him as the fittest he could think upon."—(Wodrow MSS, vol xxviii. 4to, No. 32.) Mr. Gillies died in 1701. He was a very serious and impressive preacher, as may be gathered from the two following anecdotes which Wodrow has preserved: "One time Mrs Luke heard him either preaching on these words, 'Good will to men,' or he cited them, and enlarged on them in a holy rapture; and was running out upon the infinite love and condescension in good will to men, and repeated it once or twice—'Good will to men, and good will to me! O how sweet is this!' A woman long under distress, but serious, cried out, 'And to me also!'—and this was the beginning of her gracious outgate" (her deliverance from despondency).—Wodrow's Analecta, vol iv., p. 45. At another time, "when he heard, betwixt sermons on a sabbath day, that Mr. Robert Langlands, about a year previous transported from the barony to Elgin of Moray, was dead; after singing, when he began prayer, he said to this purpose: 'Lord, what wilt thou do with us? It seems thou art resolved to flit from among us, when thou art packing up some of thy best plenishing!' And the tears dropped down from his cheeks on Mr. Simon Kelly, minister at ———, then precentor, who relates this. It was in 1697 or 1698."—Wodrow's Analecta, vol. ii., p. 336.

her last sickness, but only some brief hints, the writer goes on to say: "Neither shall I stay to tell you before this what is so well known to all who knew or heard tell of her, how much the Lord had enabled her to bear many a heavy cross, through a long tract of time during her widowhood, besides what had passed the rest of her life, which seldom wanted some remarkable cross. Of her it might well be said that she had endured a sore, a tedious, and constant fight of afflictions (old ones continued and new ones frequently superadded), yet was she enabled to bear through with that faith, patience, submission, and Christian magnanimity, that were very visible, commendable, and exemplary, and (which I can not forget, being a thing that I often admired) such diligence and assiduity in following the duties of praying, reading, hearing, praise, all the acts of worship, a constant waiting upon all ordinances and duties, public and private, and even upon the weekly catechizing, at which she delighted to be present, and by which she confessed that she had ever profited much: all these she so attended that it was a rare thing to find her in an omission as to any of them. And as if a child under the inspection of a teacher, or one put to task (and indeed she did task herself), so did she follow and keep close to these duties, being conscious that she had One who stood over her head always, that was witness to all her ways, to whom she must ere long give an account of herself.

"The rest of her time she did spend in overseeing her children or grandchildren (of which there were still a number about her), and Christian entertainment of such as came to visit her, with such exemplary gravity and sobriety, and other good entertainment, as was much observed and commended; and moreover, her cheerfully welcoming and helping such as came for help or advice for their bodily diseases. For this she was so famous, that they came frequently and in great numbers. Of such she never wearied, nor was dissatisfied with their coming, except in so far as they did disappoint themselves (as she in her humility deniedly expressed it) by putting such confidence in her skill, which she said was no skill; yet the experience that so many had, of the Lord's blessing, with good success, the advices and helps she gave brought so many to her, who seldom missed of the intent of their coming, and divers of them would have within some time returned to show what the Lord had done to them by her means, and to give her thanks, for which she was very thankful to Him who had so blessed what she did. And that she might be the more useful this way, she had always good store of medi-

caments beside her—many of them brought from the apothecaries, but most of them she caused make herself, never adventuring to give anything but what she knew was safe, and could do no hurt.

"Neither was she behind any in the generation for charity to the poor distressed, especially to such as were of the household of faith. Great numbers of poor people did flock to her; nor could the coldest weather and most dangerous storms hinder them to come to her from afar, although they knew they were to pass over ferries (the place of her residence being surrounded with waters), and it was the observation of neighbors about that her being there brought multitudes on them; but to these she was so liberal, as I need only say that I am persuaded she gave with as much Christian compassion as any, 'drawing out the soul to the hungry,'* &c., and that the receivers themselves were ofttimes astonished when they got so largely, as that in many miles they got not so much from all as from her alone, and it was the admiration of many how this could hold out with her; but God blessed all. And when sometimes it was told her that many of those she gave to were but cheats and rogues (as indeed many of them were), she would freely answer: 'While we have opportunity, let us do good to all men, but especially to the household of faith,' and that she gave what she gave to them, not as to cheats, but as to needy persons; and that if she gave with a single eye she would be accepted, whatever they were, and whatever use they made of what she gave;† yet did she little regard profane, randy beggars, though even these still got something by her order; and when she met with any whom she had ground to believe were of the household of faith, to these she was most liberal, and gave them with such compassion and kindness as did show what a living member of Christ's body she was.

"While she was daily exercised for most part as I have now hinted, she did not trouble herself with household affairs (except in causing provide things necessary for housekeeping), having

* Isaiah lviii. 10.

† It is obvious that this does not mean that she intended by her liberality to encourage the idle, who, if willing, might have supported themselves, or to furnish the vicious with the means of dissipation; but simply, that when she saw men in misery, she felt herself bound to relieve them, although she could not in every case prevent them from making a bad use of what she gave. Liberality ought, no doubt, to be exercised with discretion as well as with kindness—an important principle to be observed in this department of well-doing: for to give without reflection, or capriciously, may do more harm than good—may make the idle still more indolent, and the vicious still more depraved, and may thus increase wretchedness in the attempt to relieve it. But still, even the profligate and abandoned, when in misery, must not be left to perish.

laid over these matters entirely on some whom she trusted, of whose skill and fidelity she had long experience; and her being exonered of this care and burden she often acknowledged as a great ease to her, and a great help to her, being taken up with things of another nature, which was .her main work and delight."*

Such is the description given of the ornamental character of this lady, by a contemporary who knew her well. Baptized into the spirit of Jesus Christ, who went about doing good, she was not only attentive to the duties of personal piety, but unwearied in the performance of the great duties of charity and benevolence. "When the ear heard her, then it blessed her; and when the eye saw her, it gave witness to her; because she delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon her; and she caused the widow's heart to sing for joy." Imitating Him who "maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust," she made it her business to minister to the welfare of even the undeserving. Such was the temper and conduct inspired by the religion which she professed, and such was the spirit of the religion which Charles and his government misrepresented as fanaticism, sedition, rebellion, and labored, by the violence of persecution, to crush and extinguish.

It thus appeared how eminently instrumental all the afflictive events which had befallen this noble widow had been in promoting her spiritual improvement. Accompanied by the Divine blessing, they were in her case productive of those happy fruits, which, left to themselves, they will never naturally produce. Another minister, Mr. John Carstairs, who was also personally acquainted with her, addressing her only four years previous to her death, bears testimony in like manner to the distinguished progress she had made in Christian excellence, through the influence of adverse dispensations. In the document from which we have before quoted,† after observing that the King of Saints "has imposed upon every cross that his people meet with, not excepting (to say so) vessels of the greatest burden of affliction that sail up and down the sands, as it were, of the troublesome sea of this world, the toll and custom of some spiritual good to

* Wodrow MSS, vol. xxviii., 4to, No. 27. This document is in the handwriting of Mr. Gillies, as appears from comparing it with another paper, which Wodrow marks as in the handwriting of that minister.

† Carstairs' Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to Durham's Posthumous Exposition of the Ten Commandments.

be paid to them," and after giving expression to a wish "that all the graciously sincere lovers of God, and the effectually called according to his purpose, might be persuaded and prevailed with, to set themselves down at the *receipt of these customs*, from the many crosses and afflictions that come in their way, with a fixed resolution to suffer none of them to pass without paying the *custom* imposed by the King," Carstairs goes on to say: "It is now, noble madam, a long time, not far from toward thirty years (whatever was before), since your ladyship was known by some to be helped, through grace, seriously to sit down at the receipt of these customs from the cross and afflicting dispensations which then occurred to you, whereby ye did observably improve, better and increase your spiritual stock and state, some way to the admiration of standers-by; and since that time, for most part of it, you have been, in the holy providence of God, tried with a tract of tribulations, each of them more trying than another, and some of them that, I think (as once the blest author of this treatise, on occasion of a sad and surprising stroke, the removal of the desire of his eyes, his gracious and faithful wife, after a whiles silence, with much gravity and great composure of spirit, said, 'Who could persuade me to believe that this is good if God had not said it?') if all the world had said and sworn it, they could very hardly, if at all, have persuaded you to believe that they were good. But since God, that can not lie, hath said it, there is no room left to debate or doubt of it: let be to deny it. And if your ladyship (as I hope you have) hath been all this while gathering up the customs of spiritual good and gain upon these many, various, and great tribulations, wherewith the Lord, no doubt in a blessed design of singular good to you, hath thought fit to exercise you beyond most persons living, at least of your noble station and extraction, oh, what a vast stock and treasure of rich and soul-enriching precious experiences of the good and profit of all these afflictions and tribulations, must you needs have lying by you!" He further says: "I could, from my own particular, certain knowledge and observation, long ago and of late (having had the honor and happiness to be often in your company, and at some of the lowest ebbs of your outward prosperity), and from the knowledge of others more knowing and observing than I, say more of your rich incomes of gain and advantage, of your improvements, of the countervailings of your damage, and of the upmakings of all your losses this way, than either my fear of incurring the construction of a flatterer with such as do not know you as I do, will permit; or your Christian modesty, sobriety,

and self-denial, will admit. And to undertake to say all that might truly, and without complimenting, be said to this purpose, would be thought by your ladyship as far below you to crave or expect, as it would be above me suitably to perform."

In private intercourse, the conversation of the marchioness was both edifying and interesting. Her acquaintance with the Sacred Writings, and with the subordinate standards of the church of Scotland, enabled her to speak intelligently on questions of theology, and she was able to give a pleasing account of events which had befallen her family, as well as of those which had befallen the church and nation, during the stirring period in which she had lived. "I must not," says Mr. Gillies, "forget to tell that her acquaintance with the Scriptures, and with our Confession of Faith (the book which, next to the Bible, she was most versed in), did sufficiently witness how well she was stored with the knowledge of Divine mysteries; and although she was no great reader of polemic divinity, yet when any head of controversy fell to be spoken of in her presence, she would, upon the sudden, from the Bible and Confession, adduce such allegations and testimonies as were apposite to the things then spoken of, so that the most judicious that were about her were often and much edified by her. She was also well able to give a good account of things that had passed during the late troubles, and many remarkable passages of Providence that fell out in these times, toward the church and kingdom, and toward her own family, to the great satisfaction of those that conversed with her." It is to be regretted that neither she herself, nor Mr. Gillies, has chronicled these "remarkable passages."

The marchioness lived to a considerably advanced age. In her last illness she exhibited the same pious spirit with which she was animated during her past life, and her latter end was peace. Only a few facts, however, relating to her death-bed scene, and the protracted sickness preceding it, have been preserved, and these we shall give in the words of Mr. Gillies, by whom they have been recorded. "Her disease," says he, "of which she died, commenced in April, 1677, and continued during the period of eleven months, till her departure. Yet from April till November she kept her feet, always waiting on duties in public and private, as she was wont to do, bearing the burden of her disease so patiently that none but those that were nearest her and most intimate with her could almost know that anything ailed her. She, however, had death still in view, and her strength was still diminishing gradually till November, at which time

there was the accession of a great cold to her former disease, which forced her to take bed, November 11th. After some days she got up again, having recovered from the effects of that cold; but her old disease still continued and increased, so that from that time forth she never went out of her chamber to the gallery, where she used to appear in public. She therefore appointed the daily worship to be performed in her chamber, where also was performed the sabbath-day's work and week-day's sermon, admitting there all that pleased to come, as she had done in the gallery, never shutting her gates or doors upon any all these times, whatever might be the hazard. During this time she contracted a great cold in the left side of her head, which was caused by the leaving a window open to help the chimney that does not vent well when the wind is at east. This cold brought that side of her head to such a distemper as never left her, and did not a little molest her, while her main sickness did still increase, yet without impairing her judgment, memory, or sense (which were fresh and entire almost unto the last), and without pain or heart sickness, which was a great wonder to herself, and oft acknowledged as God's great mercy to her in his loosing the pins of her tabernacle so gently, that she was yet able to attend and go about any ordinary duty; for all this while she waited on every duty, most part sitting up (and but seldom lying) on her couch in the chamber, going to bed and rising almost at the ordinary times as when in health, continuing to join in all acts of worship, and holding out, in the sabbath-day's work, without wearying, to the admiration of all who saw her weakness, and to her own admiration. And although a heavy disease,"———*

Here Mr. Gillies's account of her last sickness and death abruptly stops. We, however, gather a few facts respecting the subsequent stages of her trouble, from a long poetical tribute to her memory, of his composition, embodying the particulars contained in his prose account of her, the most of which we have extracted, and carrying the narrative down to the moment in which she expired. From this poem we learn, that after this she was afflicted with severe and tedious bodily distress, which she bore with a patience and meekness that beautifully harmonized with the bright exemplifications she had given of these graces under the multiplied afflictions of her life. We also learn from it, that after this she suffered severe mental distress. Satan has often been permitted to disturb the peace of the most eminent of God's people on their death-beds, and by setting their sins, as it

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xxvii., 4to., No. 27.

were, in array before them, he has tempted them to yield to the despairing imagination, that it is presumptuous for them to expect forgiveness and salvation from a God of infinite purity and justice. Such was the temptation with which this pious lady was assailed in the prospect of eternity. But looking away from everything about herself, and trusting to the righteousness of Christ as the only foundation of her hope of eternal life, she was at last relieved; and becoming victorious over temptation and fear, she said, "O my ease is great; great, great is my ease." After this she again endured severe and protracted inward bodily agony. These agonies, says Mr. Gillies, can hardly be "set forth" but as they "expressed her worth, and how much her Savior had trusted to the grace which he had strongly planted in her noble heart." Bystanders were astonished to see one who had suffered so much during life, tried so severely by her heavenly Father to the last. But the days of her mourning were now near an end. Her strength gradually sunk, and on the 13th of March, 1678, after a long experience of the trials and vicissitudes of human life, she breathed out her spirit into the hands of her God and Savior, with the greatest peace and tranquillity, in the sixty-eighth year of her age, bearing testimony with her dying breath to the goodness of the Lord.* The Wodrow MSS., besides Mr. Gillies's poem from which these particulars are drawn, contain another by a different hand, but it is too long to be here inserted, nor has it any claim to poetical merit. It commemorates her as distinguished by a "strong heart, a sound judgment, an active liberal hand," and "a mind most noble." It celebrates the attractions of her person, as well as her "parts, virtues, graces," and her rare exemplary character as "a friend, sister, consort, and mother;" and pronounces her "a public blessing, a universal good." The following lines may be quoted as a specimen:—

"And let us never lose the memory
Of that rich pattern thou wast seen to be
To great and small, he who thy life should view
Saw clear it did the Bible transcript shew,
And who thy steps will follow hard behind
The way to endless bliss is sure to find.
* * * * * * * * * * * *

"You must acknowledge here a light,
A shining star quite carried from our sight.
Never again t' adorn our sphere, whose rays,
While here it shone with us, made gladsome days,
Glad were our hearts; how many warmed by thee,
Esteemed thy presence a felicity.
But thou wilt yet once more return again,
As one of the Redeemer's glorious train."†

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xxvii., folio, No. 80. † Ibid.

These notices of the marchioness of Argyll's character we can not conclude more appropriately than in the words of Mr. Gillies, who has summed it up in a sentence or two. "Her life," says he, "is well known to have been filled with godliness, righteousness, sobriety, charity, and all Christian virtues, with a constant adherence to the truths and ways of God, without any fall or stain upon any part of her life. Yea, which is admirable, she lived to the age of sixty-eight, without ever being slurred through her whole life with any scandal or crime; which the most blameless saints are liable to, and have been sorely afflicted with; yet did none of the worst of her enemies ever adventure to asperse her with any shameful thing, nor did they ever tax her with anything but her principles and avowed profession and practice, her constant open adherence to which was her glory." How few the number over whose graves such a high encomium can with truth be pronounced! How few, through their whole life, from youth to advanced age, have so conspicuously displayed the Christian virtues, and kept themselves so unspotted from the defilements of the world, as that their greatest enemies could find nothing against them except in the matter of their God!

Besides her eldest daughter, Lady Anne, and her eldest son, Archibald, ninth earl of Argyll, formerly noticed, the marchioness had issue to the marquis: 1. Lord Neil Campbell of Armaddie, who, on his brother's invasion, was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. 2. Lady Jean, who was married to Robert Kerr, first marquis of Lothian, to whom she had ten children. 3. Lady Mary, who was married, first at Roseneath, on the 22d of September, 1657, to George, sixth earl of Caithness, by whom she had no issue; and who, after his death, was married on the 7th of April, 1678, to Sir John Campbell, first earl of Breadalbane,* to whom she had one son. These are all her children by the marquis enumerated in Douglas's Peerage;† but besides these, she had to him a daughter named Lady Isabella, who resided with her sister, the countess of Caithness, and who is sometimes mentioned in the epistolary correspondence of that lady.‡

* Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p 298. † Vol. i., p. 100.
‡ Law's Memorials, note by the Editor, p. 10.

MRS. JAMES GUTHRIE, MRS. JAMES DURHAM, AND MRS. JOHN CARSTAIRS.

We shall here cluster together some notices of three excellent women, ministers' wives, who lived during the persecution—Jane Ramsay, the widow of Mr. James Guthrie, who suffered martyrdom in 1661; Margaret Mure, the widow of Mr. James Durham, one of the ministers of the high church, Glasgow; and Janet Mure, wife of Mr. John Carstairs, also minister of the high church, Glasgow. Many facts or incidents of their lives have not indeed been spared by the mouldering hand of time; but even the few which remain are not without interest, particularly when we consider the relation in which these ladies stood to three of the most eminent men who adorned the church of Scotland during the seventeenth century, by the lustre of their talents, the fervor of their piety, and their unswerving faithfulness to the cause of God. These women were in every respect suitable companions for the eminent men to whom they were united. Distinguished for enlightened and ardent piety, they proved main-springs of encouragement and strength to them in the work of the Lord, by their conversation, their demeanor and counsel; and having taken up the cross, instead of tempting them to unfaithfulness to conscience, when trials and difficulties in doing the will of God arose, they encouraged them to steadfastness and resolution, exhibiting that humility, patience, and self-sacrifice, which constitute the genuine spirit of the cross. All of them suffered more or less in the cause of presbytery, and they thanked God that "unto them it was given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake."

Mrs. James Guthrie was more severely tried than the other two. She was the second lady, whom the prelatic persecution made a widow,* Mr. Guthrie having been condemned by the parliament, to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh as a traitor, on the 1st of June, 1661, and his head thereafter to be struck off and affixed on the Nether Bow; which sentence was executed in all its parts. The grounds on which he was condemned, were his owning the "Western Remonstrance," "The Causes of God's Wrath," &c.; but Middleton, who had the chief hand in urging on the proceedings, was actuated by personal malice

* The marchioness of Argyll was the first.

toward Guthrie, who, in 1650, had carried, in the commission of the church, a motion for his excommunication, and who, by appointment of the commission, had publicly pronounced the sentence in his own church at Sterling. On that occasion Mrs. Guthrie exhibited, what was the prevalent governing principle of her life, that strict conscientiousness, which, laying consequences out of view, looks only to the call of duty. When on the morning of the sabbath, on which Mr. Guthrie was to pronounce the sentence against Middleton, a messenger from the king, or, according to some, from a nobleman, arrived at his house, just as he was about to go to church, desiring him to delay pronouncing it, she said to him, on observing him perplexed, "My heart, what the Lord gives you light and clearness to do, that do, without giving a positive answer to the messenger." The high Christian character of this lady is attested in the farewell letter which Mr. Guthrie addressed to her from his prison, on the day on which he was executed. This letter is interesting, both as a relict of a dying martyr, and as a memorial of the lowly piety and supreme devotion to duty, which characterized the person to whom it is affectionately written. It also indicates the sources of comfort suggested to her mind, in her trying circumstances. It is as follows:—

"My Heart: Being within a few hours to lay down my life for the testimony of Jesus Christ, I do send these few lines as the last obedience of unfeigned and spotless affection which I bear unto you, not only as one flesh, but as a member with me of that blessed mystical body of the Lord; for I trust you are, and that God who hath begun his good work in you, will also perfect it and bring it to an end, and give you life and salvation. Whatever may be your infirmities and weakness, yet the grace of God shall be sufficient for you, and his strength shall be perfected in your weakness. To me you have been a very kind and faithful yoke-fellow, and not a hinderer but a helper in the work of the Lord. I do bear you this testimony as all the recompense I can now leave you with;—In all the trials I have met with in the work of the ministry these twenty years past, which have not been few, and that from aggressors of many sorts, upon the right hand and upon the left, you were never a tempter of me to depart away from the living God, and from the way of my duty to comply with an evil course, or to hearken to the counsels of flesh and blood, for avoiding the cross, and for gaining the profit and preferment of a present world. You have

wrought much with your hands for furnishing bread to me and to my children, and was always willing that I should show hospitality, especially to those that bore the image of God. These things I mention not to puff you up, but to encourage you under your present affliction and distress, being persuaded that God will have regard unto you and unto the children of my body, which I leave unto your care, that they may be bred up in the knowledge of the Lord. Let not your wants and weaknesses discourage you: there is power, riches, and abundance with God, both as to the things of the body and things of the soul; and he will supply all your wants and carry you through. It is like to be a most trying time, but cleave you to God and keep his way, without casting away your confidence; fear not to be drowned in the depths of the troubles that may attend this land; God will hide you under his shadow, and keep you in the hollow of his hand. Be sober and of a meek spirit; strive not with Providence, but be subject to him who is the Father of spirits. Decline not the cross, but embrace it as your own. Love all that love the Lord, and delight in their fellowship. Give yourself unto prayer, and be diligent in reading the Holy Scriptures. Wait on the ordinances, and have them in great esteem as the appointed means of God for your salvation. Join the exercise of piety and repentance together, and manifest your faith in the fruits of sincere obedience, and of a gospel conversation. Value your conscience above your skin. Be not solicitous, although you know not wherewith to clothe you and your children, or wherewith to dine; God's providences and promises are a true, rich, and never-failing portion. Jesus Christ be all your salvation and all your desire! You, I recommend unto him, and him unto you. My Heart! I recommend you to the eternal love of Jesus Christ. I am helped of God, and hope I shall be helped to the end. Pray for me while I am here, and praise with me hereafter. God be with you! I am yours, "JAMES GUTHRIE.

"Edinburgh Tolbooth, June 1, 1661."

This letter was calculated to arm Mrs. Guthrie's mind with fortitude and submission under the cruel and ignominious death of her husband. Other considerations would conspire in bringing into exercise the same Christian graces. Though condemned as a traitor, he had committed nothing worthy of death, but fell a martyr for keeping the commandment of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ. He encountered death with an unshrinking courage, which ranks with that of the most

heroic of prophets and apostles. It was an alleviating circumstance, too, to reflect that his self-devotion in the cause of Christ procured for him, as it deserved, the affection, honor, and admiration of the wise and good, who regarded his death as a judicial murder. Nor were the religious ladies of that time wanting in paying to him the tribute of their respectful and admiring homage.* Though these considerations were fitted to mitigate her sorrow, yet the tragedy of his death, in all its appalling circumstances, would tend at first to overpower the mind, and to exclude from it reflection on such alleviating topics.

Mrs. Guthrie and her children were left in poor circumstances. But God, who in his providence exercises a special care over the fatherless children and widows of his martyred servants, raised up for them kind friends. Among others, Sir George Maxwell, of Pollock, took a particular interest in their temporal welfare. The following anecdote is highly honorable to the liberality of that benevolent gentleman, and interesting as illustrating the unexpected and remarkable way in which God has sometimes supplied the wants of the widows and orphans of his departed saints in their distress. "I am assured," says Wodrow, "by a good hand that had it from Mr. George Lang, who was employed, that Sir George Maxwell of Pollock, a little after Mr. Guthrie's execution, hearing his relict was in want, called for Mr. George Lang, his chaplain, and told him that he was mighty

* In proof of this, the following instance may be given. After Guthrie had been executed, his headless corpse was put into a coffin and carried to the old kirk aisle, to be prepared for interment, by several devout ladies of quality who had tendered their friendly services. The dressing of the dead is always solemn, but the performance of this duty to the mortal remains of an honored martyr who has sealed the truths of God with his blood, is associated with feelings of profound veneration. It was so on the present occasion—some of the ladies who were so engaged, dipped their napkins in the blood that flowed from Guthrie's mangled body. Sir Archibald Primrose, lord register, observing what they did, asked them their reason for so doing, and charged them with imitating the superstition of the papists, who collect and worship the relicts of saints. "No," said one of them, "we are not actuated by superstitious motives; we do not intend to worship the martyr's blood, but when we go to the throne of grace we will hold up that blood to God, that it may cry for vengeance on those who have most cruelly shed it." During the performance of their solemn offices, a respectable young gentleman, unknown at the time to any of them, but afterward discovered to be Mr. George Stirling, who became an eminent surgeon in Edinburgh, came in with a vial of fragrant ointment, and, without uttering a word, poured upon the corpse the ointment, which diffused through the whole building a most delightful odor. "God bless you, sir," exclaimed one of the ladies, "for this labor of love which you have shown to the slain body of a servant of Jesus Christ." Bowing respectfully to the ladies, he silently retired. "Janet Bruce," says Wodrow, "who was Dr. Sir Thomas Burnet's lady, if I have not forgotten, was one of these gentlewomen that put their napkins in Mr. Guthrie's blood."—Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii., p. 103. M'Crie's Sketches of Scottish Church History, 2d edition, p. 396.

uneasy since he had heard Mrs. Guthrie was in straits, and he had little money by him, but took out a purse of gold, most of it old Scots coins, of which he was very curious, and told him he would rather have sent, if he had had it by him, twice the value of it in ordinary money, but he could not and would not delay, and gave it him, and sent him in to Edinburgh express with it and a letter to Mrs. Guthrie. It was to the value of five hundred or six hundred merks.* Mr. Lang went in by Glasgow and borrowed five or six hundred merks, and left the gold in pledge, carried in and delivered the money to Mrs. Guthrie."†

In the beginning of the year 1666, Mrs. Guthrie was put to trouble on account of a book entitled "An Apologetical Relation of the Particular Sufferings of the Faithful Ministers and Professors of the Church of Scotland since August, 1660," which was written by Mr. John Brown, minister of Wamphray at the Restoration, and who, on being banished his majesty's dominions for faithfully adhering to his principles, took refuge in Holland. This able work was printed in Holland, in 1665, and a number of copies were sent over to this country. The government being informed of the character of the book, and of its being circulated in various parts of the kingdom, and having, upon perusing it themselves, found it, to use their own language, "to be full of seditious, treasonable, and rebellious principles, contrived of purpose, to traduce the king's authority and government, the proceedings of the late parliament, and the king's privy council," they resolved to put it down. As it vindicates at length the marquis of Argyll and Mr. James Guthrie, the first victims who, after the Restoration, were immolated at the shrine of the Moloch of personal revenge and arbitrary power, and exposes the illegality, injustice and cruelty of the proceedings of the government against them, it was natural that Mrs. Guthrie should procure a copy of the book. The copy she had got being found in her house, probably when it was searched for some of the covenanters—such persons, from her relation to Mr. Guthrie, and from her known character, being suspected of resorting to or taking shelter under her roof—she and her daughter, Sophia Guthrie, were brought before the privy council on the 8th of February, 1666. On appearing before them they were required to declare upon oath, what they knew as to the author of the book, and to discover from whom they had received it. This they refused to

* That is, between £28, and £33 sterling.

† Wodrow's Analecta, vol. i., p. 305. Mr. Lang had no authority to pledge the gold coins, but knowing the value which Sir George Maxwell set upon them, he did so that they might be recovered when Sir George got a supply of money.

do, upon which the council sentenced them both to be sent to Shetland, there to be confined during the council's pleasure, and to be kept close prisoners till they should be transported to the place of their banishment. These proceedings were not only harsh, but illegal. No law had as yet been published against the "Apologetical Relation." It was only on the day on which this sentence was passed upon Mrs. Guthrie and her daughter that the council emitted their proclamation against it, ordaining that, upon the 14th of February instant, it should be publicly burned on the High street of Edinburgh, near to the market cross, by the hand of the hangman, and that all possessing it resident on the south of the Tay, should deliver the same to the sheriffs of the respective shires or their deputies, to be by them transmitted to the clerk of the privy council not later than the last day of February instant, and those on the north of the Tay not later than the 21st of March next, under the penalty of two thousand pounds Scots money. It is obvious, then, that as at the time when the "Apologetical Relation was discovered in Mrs. Guthrie's house, there was no law in existence forbidding any to have it, its being found in her possession was no crime against any existing statute, and that consequently the sentence pronounced against her and her daughter was arbitrary and illegal. "Where no law is, there is no transgression."

They lay in prison till the next meeting of the council, which was on the 2d of March. To that meeting they presented a petition praying that their confinement might be altered to some place upon the Continent, probably intending, should they be allowed, to remove to Holland, which, from the number of their expatriated countrymen resident there, as well as from the character of the country itself, though it is not one of the best of climates, they would have felt a more eligible place of banishment than so remote, solitary, cold, and unhealthy a part of the world as Shetland. The council referred their petition to his majesty's commissioner, with power to do in the matter as he should find cause.*

What punishment the commissioner inflicted upon them we are not directly informed. Mrs. Guthrie, however, was banished for some years from Edinburgh. This appears from a petition which she presented to the privy council about the beginning of January, 1669, "showing that her only son was in Edinburgh under a sad distemper, to the hazard of his life, and therefore supplicating that, notwithstanding her confinement, she might be

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 7.

licensed for some time to come to Edinburgh and wait upon her son." The council, at their meeting of the 15th of January, "upon consideration of this petition, and of a testimonial subscribed by Dr. Burnet, which was at the same time presented, allow the petitioner to come to Edinburgh, and to reside therein until the fifteenth day of February next, to the effect above mentioned."*

Here we lose sight of Mrs. Guthrie in the history of the persecution; nor have we discovered how long she lived subsequently to this period. We shall therefore close this sketch with a brief notice of her only son referred to above, whose name was William.

At the time of his father's death he was a child not more than four or five years old. Yearning over him with all the affection of a parent's heart, Guthrie, in a last interview, took him upon his knee, and gave him such religious advices as were suited to his infant mind. "Willie," said he, among other things, "though your comrades should tell you, and cast it up to you, that your father was hanged, think not shame of it, for it is upon a good cause." But William was so young as not to be aware of the tragic fate of his father, and as scarcely to be restrained from playing in the streets on the very day of his father's execution. When, however, he grew up to boyhood, he became thoughtful and serious. While other boys were enjoying their youthful sports, William was to be seen at the Nether Bow Port, where the head of his dear father was fixed on a spike, a monument of the martyr's heroism and of the government's injustice; and there looking up with riveted gaze to the manly countenance, the tragedy of his father's execution was presented to his imagination as if in all its living reality. Often would he return to the spot and gaze upon the spectacle, as if he could never become weary of gazing upon it; and, on returning home to his mother, when she inquired where he had been, his usual reply was, "I have been seeing my father's head." He remembered or was told his father's last advices to him; he read his father's last speech from the scaffold, a copy of which the martyr subscribed and sealed, and gave to his friends, to be kept for his son until he became older; and the mantle of his father seemed to have fallen upon him. As he grew up, his habits of seriousness increased—he was much employed in meditation, study, and prayer.† Having

* Register of Acts of Privy Council.

† Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii., p. 103. Life of Guthrie, in Free Church Publications, pp. 172–175.

devoted himself to the work of the ministry, he prosecuted the preparatory studies with success, and gave indications of much future usefulness; but, being always of a delicate constitution, he was cut off when about to receive license as a preacher of the gospel. By his early death his mother's hopes of seeing him useful in the church below were disappointed. It was not, however, the will of God that he should be employed in his service on earth, and she doubtless bowed with submission to the sovereign and wise determination of the Supreme Ruler of all things, finding in this a new influence to attract her to heaven, and a new motive to quicken her diligence in making preparation for it.

Mrs. James Durham, whose maiden name was Margaret Mure, was the fourth daughter of William Mure, Esq., of Glanderston, by his first wife Jean Blair, daughter of a gentleman of that name in the west.* She was born August 26, 1618. Enjoying the inestimable blessing of religious parents, who both set before her a good example, and trained her up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, she became at an early period of life the subject of the saving work of the Holy Spirit. Educated too in the strictest principles of presbytery, of which her father was a warm supporter, she continued through life to maintain them, in honor and dishonor, through evil report and good report. She was married first to the famous Mr. Zachary Boyd, minister of the Barony church of Glasgow, and next to the still more celebrated Mr. James Durham, as his second wife. But she became a widow a second time in 1658, Durham having died on the 25th of June that year, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. She survived him more than thirty years, living during that long period in a state of widowhood. Some time after his death, she appears to have changed the place of her residence to Edinburgh. At

* Besides Mrs. Durham and a daughter, Jean, who died in infancy, Mr. Mure of Glanderston had, by his first wife, other two daughters—Ursula, who was married to William Ralston of that ilk, and Jean, who was married to Mr. James Hamilton of Hallcraigs, a nephew of Lord Claneboy: and by his second wife, Jean Hamilton, sister to Lord Viscount Claneboy, he had Janet, to be next noticed, who was married to Mr John Carstairs; Elizabeth, who was married to Alexander Dunlop, minister of Paisley; and Agnes, who was married to William Porterfield of Quarrelton. All these ladies were eminent for piety in their day. For some notices of Mrs. Ralston, see Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii., pp. 18, 20; and Mr. John Carstairs' Letters, pp. 159–161. In Rutherford's Letters, White and Kennedy's edition, published 1848, there is a letter of Rutherford's to this lady, printed for the first time (p. 716). Elizabeth, the wife of Mr. Dunlop, for being present at a house conventicle in Edinburgh, in November, 1676, was imprisoned by order of the privy council, till she found caution, under a thousand merks, to remove from the town of Edinburgh, and six miles around it.—Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 335.

least she was residing there in 1666,* and subsequently during the period of the persecution.

After Mr. Durham's death, she carefully preserved his manuscript lectures and sermons, with a view to their being published for general usefulness, and many of them were actually published. Among these may be mentioned his "Exposition of the Song of Solomon," to which she has prefixed an epistle dedicatory, signed and apparently written by herself, to the viscountess of Kenmure; and his "Treatise on the Ten Commandments." This latter work, from its very nature, would be regarded with jealousy by a persecuting government, whose whole policy was in direct opposition to the law of God, and some difficulty was experienced when it was first printed, in obtaining permission to its being circulated in Scotland, there being then no such thing as the freedom of the press in our land. Having got it printed in London, Mrs. Durham presented a petition to the lords of the privy council, praying them to allow it to be imported from England and sold in Scotland. The council's answer to her petition is embodied in the following act: "Edinburgh, 4th of November, 1675. The lords of his majesty's privy council having considered a petition presented by Margaret Mure, relict of Mr. James Durham, late minister at Glasgow, do recommend to the bishop of Edinburgh to revise a book written by the petitioner's husband, entitled 'A Practical Exposition of the Ten Commandments,' which is already printed at London, and to report his opinion thereanent to the council, that thereafter they may give such order in favor of the petitioner concerning the said book as they shall think fit, and in the meantime discharge and prohibit all printers, stationers, and others, to reprint or import any copies of the said book, under the pain of confiscation of the same, and such other penalties as the council shall think fit to inflict, and appoint intimation to be made hereof to the stationers, printers, and others, to the effect foresaid."†

As might have been expected, Mrs. Durham adhered to the faithful ministers who, for nonconformity, had been ejected from their charges to make way for the establishment of prelacy; and, maintaining the freedom of Christ's embassadors to dispense the ordinances of the gospel, not only without licenses from the civil magistrate, but even when the civil magistrate has peremptorily

* Mr. William Veitch, in his Memoirs (p. 38), states that when sent on a perilous mission to Edinburgh by the covenanters previous to the battle of Pentland Hills, he intended to reside all night in the house of Mrs. Durham, which was in Bristo street

† Register of Acts of Privy Council.

discharged them to preach, baptize, or perform any of the duties of the ministerial office, she had too much principle and spirit not to act upon these sentiments. She was accordingly not only a frequenter of conventicles, but an encourager of these interdicted meetings, so far as to allow them to be held in her own house. For a considerable time this was not known to the authorities of Edinburgh, or it was overlooked by the town-major, who was in the habit of accepting money as a bribe, not to interfere with the private worshipping assemblies of the nonconformists in the city. When, however, the news of the tragical death of Archbishop Sharp, which took place May 3, 1679, had reached Edinburgh, the government becoming greatly alarmed and irritated, such as kept conventicles in their own houses, or frequented them, were exposed in an increased degree to danger and hardship. On the 4th of May, the day after the archbishop's death, a meeting for sermon was held at night in Mrs. Durham's house. The number present was about thirty, and the most of them were her near relations, their children and servants. The preacher was Mr. William Hamilton, a young gentleman of eminent piety, and the brother of Mr. James Hamilton, of Hallcraig, who was married to Mrs. Durham's full sister Jean. When engaged in religious services, this peaceful meeting was furiously broke in upon by the town-major with a party of soldiers, who, seizing all present, committed them to prison. Mrs. Durham and her sister, Mrs. John Carstairs, who was one of the hearers, were, with the rest, imprisoned in the tolbooth for some nine or ten days, when on their petitioning the privy council, an order was granted for their being set at liberty. The act of the council is as follows: "Edinburgh, 13th of May, 1679. The lords of his majesty's privy council, having considered a petition of Margaret Mure, relict of Mr. James Durham, and Janet Mure, spouse to Mr. John Carstairs, for themselves and their children and servants, and divers other persons, prisoners in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, for being present at a conventicle kept in the house of the said Margaret Mure, upon the 4th instant, supplicating, that in regard of their miserable and poor condition, the council would give order for their liberty, the said lords do declare the petitioners free of any restraint or imprisonment by their warrant, and remit to the magistrates of Edinburgh to take such course with them as they shall think fit."* Wodrow observes that it was with difficulty that some of their friends got the council to pass this act in their favor.†

* Decreets of Privy Council.

† Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 10.

For this conventicle the magistrates of Edinburgh were fined by the privy council in the sum of fifty pounds sterling, according to the fifth act of the second session of the second parliament of Charles II., by which act it is expressly provided and declared that "magistrates of burghs are liable, for every conventicle kept in their burghs, to such fines as the lords of privy council shall think fit to impose."*

But the preacher, Mr. Hamilton, was most severely dealt with. His close imprisonment and harsh treatment so affected his health, that after some weeks he became dangerously ill of cholera, and though his friends presented a petition to the privy council, praying that he might be allowed to go to the country for the recovery of his health, and offered to give bond under whatever penalty they chose for his compearing, if his life should be spared, yet this petition, notwithstanding its being accompanied with the attestations of two physicians as to his extreme danger, was not only rejected, but the council assured his friends that they intended to prosecute him for house conventicles at their next meeting. Before, however, the day of that meeting arrived, this excellent young man died in prison; and thus he may be said to have fallen a martyr to the free preaching of the gospel; for the only charge they could bring against him was his delivering a sermon to a few friends in the house of a relative, without being licensed or authorized by a bishop; and his death being caused by the inhuman manner in which he was treated, the guilt of it may be as justly laid upon the government as if they had sentenced him to be hanged at the Grassmarket.†

The following anecdotes concerning Mrs. Durham, may not be deemed unworthy of a place in this brief sketch, as they serve to illustrate both her character and principles. She was in the habit, it would appear, of visiting such of her friends and others as were imprisoned for their steadfast adherence to presbytery. Nor were her visits always confined to those of whose sentiments on religious and ecclesiastical questions she could altogether approve. On one occasion she went to prison to see some females who belonged to the fanatical sect called "The Sweet-Singers," not because she approved of their opinions and practices, but because she felt for them as deluded persons, who had been driven to frenzy by the violence of persecution. In this instance, however, she was far from meeting with a cordial reception. Law, when recording the imprisonment of five men and ten women of this sect, who were taken about Cather Moor of Borrowstounness,

* Decreets of Privy Council, May 15, 1679. † Wodrow's Hist., vol. iii, p. 54.

says: "These people were so deluded of Satan, as that they did not work, contrary to that, 1 Thes. iv. 11; nor would they eat any meat given them by the council, nor drink anything that paid excise; and when honest women, ministers' wives, came to see them, they began to rail upon them and upbraid them with the name of Jezebel, and called them reprobates. Mr. Durham's wife, and Mr. William Guthrie's wife, were so upbraided."* On visiting Mr. Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, in prison, she met with a very different character, and was both refreshed and instructed by his heavenly spirit and Christian conversation. "When Mrs. Durham came to him that morning before he got his sentence, he said he was never better, and within a very little time he would be well beyond conception. He said they are going to send me in pieces and quarters through all the country; but let them hagg and hew all my body in as many pieces as they please, I am not much concerned about that; for I know assuredly there shall be nothing of me lost, but all these members shall be wonderfully gathered, and shall all be made like his glorious body, the body of his glory."†

Mrs. Durham was accustomed to attend not only house-conventicles, but also field-meetings, which, as the persecution advanced, became necessary, from the vast multitudes who assembled to hear the gospel. The acts of parliament, and manifold proclamations of the privy council, by which these meetings were prohibited, did not frighten her from being present at them; nor did the opprobrious names of "unlawful conventicles," "seminaries of separation," and "rendezvouses of rebellion," applied to them by the government, convince her that it was criminal to assemble in the open air to hear the glad tidings of salvation, when she remembered that her Savior, in the fields and on the mountain's brow, taught the multitudes who crowded around him to receive the lessons of wisdom from his lips. The following anecdote, relating to her opinion of some of the field-preachers, has been preserved by Wodrow: "Mr. Patrick Simson," says he, "told me that Mrs. Durham, when reading some sermons of the high-fliers, and when hearing some of the more violent of the field-preachers, said that she observed just such a difference between the field-preachings and those she was used to, as she did between the Apocrypha and the Bible when she read them."‡ Mrs. Durham seemed to refer to such of the field-preachers as, more zealous than wise, broke forth in their sermons into bitter

* Law's Memorials, pp. 185, 186.
† Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii., p. 79. ‡ Ibid., vol. i, p. 324.

invectives and uncharitable censures against the indulged ministers. She also, apparently, had an eye to the indigested and superficial theology of their discourses. The former was provoked, though it could not be vindicated, from the pretext which the acceptance of the indulgence, by their more compromising brethren, gave to the government to persecute the non-indulged with aggravated severity. The latter is best apologized for from the little leisure they had for reading and study, in consequence of their being constantly driven about from place to place. It is not, however, alleged that she pronounced an unfavorable judgment on all the field-preachers—a sweeping sentence, which could not have been supported by facts—the most of them being far from inclining to extremes, while many of them, as Welsh, Blackadder, Riddell, and others, preached the gospel with much acceptance, as well as with remarkable success, including among their hearers and converts not a few of the best educated in the country.

Another anecdote, recorded by the same industrious collector, concerning this lady and two ministers, illustrates how galling and oppressive was the yoke of arbitrary and prelatic domination to the presbyterians, and how ardently they longed for deliverance. Writing, in 1731, Wodrow says: "In the year 1685 or 1686, Mr. Samuel Arnot died at Edinburgh, after all the persecutions and sufferings he had gone through since Pentland, in much peace and joy. There was, generally, much company that came and saw him on his death-bed. Among others, Mr. James Rowat, minister at Kilmarnock before the Restoration, came to see him, and, among other things, he asked Mr. Arnot if he had any hopes the church of Scotland would get out from under this dark cloud she had been under for twenty-five years or thereby. The other answered he had, and he was assured she would. 'Yea,' added he, 'I know more, and that is, that you shall live to see and partake of the church's delivery.' And so it came to pass. Mr. Rowat lived till 1690, or a year or two later, it may be, and saw that great work of God at the revolution. Among others present when this was spoken, that good woman, Mrs. Durham, relict of Mr. Zachary Boyd and Mr. James Durham, was there, and she got up and said to Mr. Rowat, 'Mr. James, I am younger than you, I hope I shall see the day of delivery as well as you,' and she danced and skipped for joy; and so it came about. I was at her burial, at Glasgow, about the year 1692 or 1693."*

* Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iv., p. 285.

Mrs. John Carstairs, sister of the preceding, was the eldest daughter of William Mure, Esq., of Glanderston, by his second wife, Jean Hamilton, a daughter of Hans Hamilton, vicar of Dunlop, and sister to Lord Viscount Claneboy. She was born February 25, 1625. Enjoying, like Mrs. Durham, the blessing of pious parents, she early devoted herself to God; and, like her, she also inherited from them a zealous attachment to presbyterian principles. She was married to Mr. John Carstairs in 1647 or 1648, when he had been just settled, or when he was about to be settled minister of Cathcart, where, however, he did not long remain, having been translated to the high church of Glasgow, in 1650. To her eminent Christian character Mr. Carstairs frequently bears testimony, many years after they were united in marriage. In a letter to her, dated November 25, 1662, he thus writes: "I desire to bless Him that ever he was pleased to cast our lot to be together, and that he found you out a help meet for me: you were never a temptation to me, nor an obstruction to me either in my ministerial or Christian course, though you have been little furthered and much obstructed by me; but he can make up out of the riches of his grace to you what you have been now these fifteen years at a loss in by me."* And in another letter to her, dated August 12, 1664, he pronounces upon her a still higher encomium: "I desire to bless the Lord for you; you have been to me indeed a meet and faithful help, and if I had more improved your fellowship and counsel, your discreet and wise counsel, I am not ashamed to say it to you, I might have thriven better as a man, as a Christian, and as a minister. He might very justly, for my sins, deprive me of such a wife, such a mother, such a friend, such a counsellor, yea, of all relations, sweetly centred in such a one."†

In the correspondence between Mrs. Carstairs and her husband, after the persecution had commenced, we have a fine illustration of resolute adherence to duty amid great temptations and dangers. Several of the letters which passed between them have come down to our day, and while from these it is manifest that Mr. Carstairs was a man of fortitude and magnanimity in the cause of Christ, it is equally apparent from them that Mrs. Carstairs was not inferior to her husband in these virtues.

When he began to be molested for his presbyterian principles, Mr. Carstairs applied himself to the task of fortifying her mind for those hardships and sufferings which, without a direlection of duty, they could not escape. On receiving a summons, on the

* Letters of Mr. John Carstairs, &c., pp. 91, 92. † Ibid., p. 133.

15th of November, 1662, to appear before the privy council, writing to her from Hallcraig, on the very day on which he received it, he thus speaks: "I hope, my dear, you can bear, through the grace that hath often strengthened you in difficulties that have occurred about me since we came together, to hear without vexation of mind, that I have this day got a charge to compear before the council this same day fourteen days, a double whereof I have sent you. It may be He will pity me and help me. The cause is good, and nothing at all disgraceful. Oh, to have a suitable frame every way! pray for it, and for sinless and inoffensive through-bearing. . . . Now, my heart, let me beseech you to take courage in the Lord, who hath given you a room in his heart, and will in due time give you a room among them that stand by the throne. Resolve to endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. We may see this storm blow over, if kept faithful, and meet with higher and holier things."*

In like manner, when on his being summoned to appear in April, 1664, before the high commission-court, for having been a witness to the dying testimony in favor of presbytery, which his brother-in-law, Mr. James Wood, professor of divinity in the college of St. Andrews, left behind him, he fled, to escape the fury of Archbishop Sharp, which he had thus provoked, and hid himself for some time in Ireland and the west of Scotland, he thus encourages her, in a letter written from the place of his retreat, dated May 27, 1664: "If at this next meeting [of the privy council]† some men shall be cruel, and others shall disappoint us and prove vanity and a lie, think it not strange, neither let it trouble you. It's like we will have trouble in the world; but if we shall have peace in Him that hath overcome the world, we have reason to be of good cheer. Let us quietly and patiently wait for our sentence in these courts from God, which though as from men it should be unjust and cruel, yet as from God it will be just, holy, and I hope, good."‡

The high Christian sentiments expressed in these extracts were not now for the first time presented to the attention of Mrs. Carstairs. They had long been familiar to her mind, and amid the trials of the past she had practically exemplified them. "It does not a little satisfy and refresh me," says Mr. Carstairs in a letter to her, July 3, 1664, "that the Lord is graciously pleased to keep your own mind calm and quiet; and indeed it hath been

* Letters of Mr. John Carstairs, &c., pp. 91, 92.

† Mr Carstairs, about the end of April, or the beginning of May, had also been summoned to appear before the privy council.—Wodrow's History, vol. i., p. 412.

‡ Letters of Mr. John Carstairs, &c., p. 120.

his manner, to the commendation of his grace be it spoken, to bless you with somewhat of that mercy in most of the difficulties you have been in Providence trysted with since our being together—a mercy, indeed, and highly valuable, without which the least of difficulties will easily embitter a very well accommodated lot; nay, even the very apprehension of a difficulty."† But having counted the cost of self-sacrifice, as well as estimated the rich reward of present peace and future glory, in becoming an humble follower of Christ, she was prepared for the endurance of severer trials than had hitherto been measured out to her; and when they befell her she encountered them with a high and holy heroism. On this subject let us hear her speak for herself. In a letter she addressed to Mr. Carstairs, without date, but evidently written when he was forced to flee for his connection with Mr. Wood's dying testimony for presbytery, we have a fine illustration of the strength and fearlessness of mind which true religion and a good cause are so well fitted to impart. She would not have him unnecessarily to expose himself to danger, but trusts that should he fall into the hands of his persecutors, grace would be given him to witness a good confession. She encourages him to bear with magnanimity the inconveniences of his wanderings from place to place—to quit himself like a man and be strong; and she thanks God for having united to her a husband whom he counted worthy to suffer for his name's sake. The following is the letter in which these noble sentiments are expressed:—

"My Dearest and Most Kind Friend: It was refreshing to me to have a line from you, but it troubled me to find you so heavy. He doeth well who hath found it meet to put us in heaviness for a season, finding that there was need of it. It did wound me when I read that in yours—your not being adverse to come here, which is thought by your friends very unmeet and unreasonable; for though you be very clear as to the cause, yet to cast yourself in such eminent hazard is a wrong, and I am persuaded you are not called to it, nay, you are called to the contrary; so hide as well as you can, and if it please the Lord so to order you be found out, which I wish may not be, I hope he shall glorify himself in you and carry you honorably through. Put not yourself to it while [until] the Lord bring you to it. I hope my request, which is so reasonable, shall prevail with you. My dear, weary not in wandering; it hath been the lot of many

† Letters of Mr. John Carstairs, &c., p. 126.

of his worthies to wander in caves and dens of the earth; and although your accommodation should be very bad, so that you can not go about duties as you would, he counts your wandering better service to him than your preaching. My dear, a little while will put an end to all our troubles; as for myself, I had reason always to bless the Lord that ever I knew you, and this day I desire to bless him more than ever, that ever I was so nearly related to you, and that I have a husband wandering and suffering for the truth. Let us both bless him together for this. He might have given me one that was persecuting the truth. The Lord strengthen and confirm you! That commodity you desired can not be gotten for the present, though they be most willing to give it. I hope the Lord shall provide another way; the bearer will show you all other things. The Lord's blessing and protection be with you! and may he be near your soul with the consolation of his Spirit!—Farewell, my dear, I am your own, "J. C."*

As a further illustration of the heroic spirit which animated this lady, we may give another of her letters to Mr. Carstairs, which is without date, but which, as may be inferred from the allusion in the commencement, was written in the autumn of the year 1667, after he had been denounced a rebel, and outlawed. It is as follows:—

"My Dearest Friend: The bearer will show you how all matters here go. The west country gentlemen and ministers, who were declared rebels, are now forfaulted.† I bless the Lord it nothing troubles me. A smile from God, and the lifting up the light of his countenance, can make up, and even doth

* Letters of Mr. John Carstairs, &c., p., 157.

† The reference here is to a few country gentlemen in Renfrewshire, who had raised a small body of horse, to the number of about fifty, with the design of joining the covenanters under Colonel Wallace, previous to their defeat at Pentland hills; but who, on learning that Dalziel was between them and their friends, dispersed. Among these gentlemen were two of Mrs Carstairs' sisters' husbands, the laird of Ralston, and Porterfield of Quarrelton. The ministers in this company, besides Mr. Carstairs, were Mr. Gabriel Maxwell, minister at Dundonald, and Mr. George Ramsay, minister at Kilmaurs. The greater number of these gentlemen, as well as many other individuals, and all these ministers, except Mr. Ramsay, together with several other ministers, were, by proclamation, declared rebels, on the 4th of December, 1666. On their being afterward pursued by Sir John Nisbit, his majesty's advocate before the justiciary court, for treason, that court, on the 15th of August, 1667, upon their not compearing, decerned them "to be denounced rebels, and their lands to fall to his majesty's use, as outlaws and fugitives from his majesty's laws;" and some of the gentlemen, though none of the ministers, were, on the 16th of that month, forfeited in their absence, in life and fortune.—Wodrow's History, vol. ii., pp. 28, 36, 66, 67, 73–75.

make up, all the injuries man can do, so that 'the lines are fallen to me in a most pleasant place, and I have a goodly heritage.' I think my lot very far above the lot of my adversaries! Blessed be God who made the difference; there being no cause, but even so because it pleased him. My dear, let us willingly cleave to him, and suffer for him. We owe him much. How much are we in his debt, who hath added this mercy to all the former mercies, that he hath counted us worthy to suffer [for] his name's sake? O for grace to be steadfast to the end, and that he would graciously pardon our unfaithfulness to him and to his cause and people! Alas! Zion's condition lieth not near my heart as it should. "J. C."*

Mrs. Carstairs had issue by her husband, three sons and four daughters. Her son William, who became principal of the university of Edinburgh after the Revolution, was one of the most remarkable men of his day, and from his great influence with King William, whom he had attended in all his campaigns, was called at court Cardinal Carstairs. None of her children had offspring with the exception of her daughters Jean and Sarah, who have numerous descendants. Jean married Principal Drew of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, and from her Principals M'Cormick and Hill derived descent. Sarah, the fourth daughter, and the youngest of the family, married her cousin-german, William Dunlop,† principal of Glasgow College; and from her, besides other eminent men, are descended the present Alexander Dunlop, Esq., advocate, and the Right Honorable David Boyle, lord president of the court of session. "It is somewhat singular how completely the descendants of Carstairs are mixed, so far as the distinctions of church politics are concerned; and it can not but draw forth a smile from any one versant in these matters in the present day, to observe, on the same genealogical table, and in very close juxtaposition, the names of Dr. George Cook, professor of moral philosophy, St. Andrews, and Mr. Alexander Dunlop, advocate, Edinburgh. Surely none would have thought, at least from their proceedings in church courts, that these two distinguished and opposite leaders of the church were pears of the same tree."‡

* Letters of Mr. John Carstairs, &c., p. 160. See another of Mrs. Carstairs' Letters in Appendix, No. IV.

† Her aunt, Elizabeth Mure, her mother's sister, was, as we have said before, married to Mr. Alexander Dunlop, minister of Paisley, who was the principal's father.

‡ Life of Mr. John Carstairs, prefixed to his Letters, by the Rev. William Ferrie, page 9.

LADY ANNE, DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

Lady Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, was descended from an ancient and honorable family which originally came from Normandy,* and which at one time was for fifty years together presumptive heir to the crown of Scotland. From the year 1543, when King James V. died, leaving his only daughter, Queen Mary but a few days old, till the year 1593, when Prince Henry was born, there were only Queen Mary and her son King James, of the royal blood; and, in the event of their death, the crown would have fallen by right to the then representative of the house of Hamilton, who was their nearest kinsman.†

Lady Anne was born in the year 1630. Her father, James, third marquis, and first duke of Hamilton,‡ a distinguished man in his day, espoused with ardent zeal the cause of Charles I., in which, however, he was actuated more by personal attachment to Charles than by a sincere desire to establish prelacy, or to elevate the royal prerogative. He was his majesty's high commissioner to the famous general assembly, which met at Glasgow in 1638, and he dissolved it abruptly; but the dissolution was disregarded, and the assembly continued to sit until they abolished prelacy. In the subsequent year he was sent down, by the king's orders, to Scotland, with a fleet and three regiments, to subdue the covenanters, and appeared in the firth of Forth. It was on this occasion that his mother, the marchioness dowager of Hamilton, headed a troop of horse on the shores of Leith to oppose his landing.§ In 1648, an army being raised in Scotland with the design of rescuing Charles from the English parliament, and restoring him to liberty and power, without his being required to make any concessions to his subjects, the duke was appointed by the parliament commander-in-chief, and entered England in July, 1648. But the enterprise, which is usually called "The

* Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i., p. 689.

† Burnet's Preface to his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.

‡ He was created duke of Hamilton, marquis of Clydesdale, earl of Arran and Cambridge, Lord Avon and Innerdale, by patent, dated at Oxford, 12th April, 1643, to him and the heirs male of his body, which failing, to his brother and the heirs male of his body, which failing, to the eldest heir female of the marquis's body, without division, and the heirs male of the body of such heir female, they bearing the name and arms of Hamilton, which all failing, to the nearest legitimate heir whatsoever of the marquis.—Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i., p. 704.

§ See p. 35.

Engagement," proving unsuccessful, ultimately brought him to the block.*

The mother of the subject of this sketch was Lady Mary Fielding, daughter of William, earl of Denbigh, and Lady Susanna Villiers, sister to the duke of Buckingham. This lady was married to her father when he was only in the fourteenth year of his age. "Her person," says Burnet, "was noble and graceful, like the handsome race of the Villiers; but, to such as knew her well, the virtues of her mind were far more shining. She was educated, from a child, in the court, and esteemed and honored by all in it. . . . . She was lady of the queen's bed-chamber, and admitted by her majesty into an entire confidence and friendship; and not only was her honor unstained, but even her fame continued untouched with calumny, she being so strict to the severest rules as never to admit of those follies which pass in that style for gallantry." But her crowning excellence was her genuine piety. Though living in a court, she allowed no day to pass over her in which she did not spend large portions of her time in devotional exercises in her closet. She had to the marquis first three daughters, Mary, Anne, and Susanna; and then three sons, Charles, James, and William; but all her sons and her eldest daughter died young. A year before her death she was in a languishing condition, and at last fell into a consumption, which, after a few months' sickness, carried her off. About a month previous to the great change, calling for her children, she gave them her last blessing and embraces, and ordered that they might not be brought near her again, lest the sight of them should kindle too much tenderness in her mind, which she was then studying to raise above all created objects, and to fix upon the things of eternity. She died on the tenth of May, 1638.†

Thus Lady Anne, in the eighth year of her age, was bereaved of a valuable mother, from whose instructions and example, her opening mind, as may reasonably be supposed, might have derived the greatest advantage. Her religious education does not, however, appear to have been neglected. Her father, who had been trained up by a pious mother, and who, there is reason to hope, notwithstanding the errors of his public life, into which he was betrayed by his warm loyalty and ardent ambition, had not ceased to make religion a matter of personal concern, always recommended to her the fear and love of God, as that in which he

* Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i., p. 704, 705.
† Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 407.

himself had found his only joy and repose. The following words are a part of one of his letters to her and her sister, Lady Susanna, which he wrote a little before his going to England on the fatal enterprise of the Engagement: "In all crosses even of the highest nature, there is no other remedy but patience, and with alacrity to submit to the good will and pleasure of our glorious Creator, and be contented therewith, which I advise you to learn in your tender age, having enjoyed that blessing myself, and found great comfort in it while involved in the midst of infinite dangers."*

When only a child, she was promised in marriage to Lord Lorn, eldest son of the marquis of Argyll, who suffered in 1661. About the eleventh year of her age, in 1641 or 1642, a contract of marriage was agreed to betwixt her father on her part, and the marquis of Argyll on the part of his son, Lord Lorn, to be celebrated when the two children should be of age. The marriage portion is a hundred thousand merks, the yearly jointure fifteen thousand merks, and the penalty to him who resiled thirty-six thousand merks, all remedy of law excluded.† These two noblemen were then, and had been for a considerable time before, on terms of very intimate friendship, but shortly after this contract was signed, "their sweetest wine became their sourest vinegar;"‡ for they fell out and assumed positions of mutual hostility. Hamilton supported Charles: Argyll, changing his opinions, became the uncompromising champion of the covenanters. Two great parties thus came to be formed in the nation, of which these two noblemen were the respective heads; the one called the Hamiltons, the other, the Campbells; and the Engagement was the great point upon which they were divided. In consequence of these differences, the contemplated marriage between Lady Anne and Lord Lorn never took place.‖

In times of civil commotion like those which then passed over Scotland and England, the leaders of the contending parties are peculiarly exposed to the risk of falling a sacrifice to the fury of one another; and Lady Anne was doomed to undergo the trial of seeing her father, upon the disastrous issue of the Engagement, condemned to suffer a violent death. His forces being routed by the English at Preston, on the 20th of August, he surrendered

* Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 404.

† Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 202.

‡ Scot of Scotstarvet's Staggering State of Scots Statesmen.

‖ Row's Life of Robert Blair, pp. 178, 192, 198. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 204.

himself to Lambert, at Uttoxeter, on the 25th of that month, and was imprisoned at Windsor. He succeeded in making his escape, but was retaken at Southwark, and committed to prison at St. James's. While he lay there, urgent applications were made to the marquis of Argyll, who had then the chief power in Scotland, that the committee of estates would, as a means of saving at least his life, own that what he did was by the authority of that kingdom; but Argyll declined to interfere. Lady Anne herself left no means untried to prevail with him to interpose for the life of her father; but her exertions were without effect; for, he said, that since the English had murdered their king, notwithstanding the protest of the Scottish commissioners against the deed, it was not to be expected that the interposition of the most influential in Scotland in other things would be of any weight; nor was it fit they should any more address the murderers of their sovereign.

On the 6th of February, 1649, her father was brought to trial before the same court which had condemned Charles to the block, and on the 6th of March he was sentenced to be beheaded on Friday, the 9th of that month. In terms of the sentence, he was executed in palace-yard, Westminster, in the forty-third year of his age. He died in a very pious manner, and with much fortitude. Having delivered his last speech on the scaffold, he uttered a most fervent prayer, concluding with these words, "O glorious God! O blessed Father! O holy Redeemer! O gracious Comforter! O holy and blessed Trinity! I do render up my soul into thy hands, and commit it to the mediation of my Redeemer, praising thee for all thy dispensations, that it hath pleased thee to confer upon me, and even for this. Praise and honor, and thanks be to thee from this time forth, and for evermore!" After some religious discourse with Dr. Sibbald, whom he chose as his chaplain, on the scaffold, and who exhorted him to look to the fountain of the blood of Christ as his only hope, he embraced his servants who were present, commending their fidelity to him, and praying the Lord to bless them. He then turned to the executioner and told him he was to engage shortly in prayer while he lay with his head on the block, after which he should give him a sign, by stretching out his right hand, telling him, at the same time, that he freely forgave him, as he did all the world. Upon the giving of the sign, the executioner at one blow severed the head of the unfortunate nobleman from his body, which was received in a crimson taffety scarf, by two of his servants kneeling by him, and was, together with his body, immediately put in

a coffin, which was ready on the scaffold, and, according to his orders, sent down by sea to Scotland, and interred in his family burial place at Hamilton.*

To Lady Anne, who was now in the nineteenth year of her age, and to her sister, Susanna, who was somewhat younger, this was a great affliction. The loss of a father who loved them with an almost unequalled parental tenderness, and to whom they reciprocated the tenderest filial affection, was calculated, considered in all its distressing circumstances, to lacerate their feelings in the most painful manner; and the more especially at their green age, when the feelings were most tender, and when, consequently, the bereavement would pierce the heart with the intensest agony. It was happy for them that in their uncle, Duke William,† who was distinguished for his personal piety, as well as for his accurate views of divine truth, they found a relative both affectionately disposed, and well qualified to administer to them the religious comfort they needed, and to take the place of their father in caring for them. Lady Anne, who had already given evidence of the pious temper of her mind, sought under this dispensation consolation in religion; and, by Divine grace, she was enabled to exercise that Christian resignation and submission to the will of God, which is our bounden duty under the greatest trials of life.

The last memorial she and her sister received of their father's affection for them, was a letter which he wrote to them on the day of his execution, but which would not come to their hands till he had passed from time into eternity. It is as follows:—

"My most Dear Children: It hath pleased God to dispose of me, as I am immediately to part with this miserable life for a better; so that I can not take that care of you which I both ought and would, if it had pleased my gracious Creator to have given me longer days: but his will be done, and I with alacrity submit to it, desiring you to do so, and that above all things you apply your hearts to seek him, to fear, serve, and love him; and, then, doubt not but he will be a loving father to you while you are on earth, and thereafter crown you with eternal happiness. Time will permit me to say no more, so the Lord bless, guide, and preserve you, which is the prayer of your most loving father,

"St. James's, 9th March, 1649. "Hamilton.

* Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, pp. 401–405.

† Their father was succeeded in his titles and estates, in terms of the patent, by his brother William.

"Let this remember me to my dear sisters, brothers, and other friends, for it is all I write."*

On the day preceding his execution, he had written a letter to his brother William, requesting him to be a father to his two daughters, that they might not be forced to marry against their wills. Nor did Duke William fail in the duty he owed to these orphans. "He entailed his friendship for him [his brother]," says Burnet, "on his daughters, who have desired me to acknowledge to the world that in him they met with the tenderness of a father, the kindness of a friend, and everything that was generously noble and obliging." So high was the opinion he formed of Lady Anne that, at his going to England, he professed he was glad he had no sons to lie in her way to the enjoyment of her father's estates and honors, adding, that if he had forty sons, he rather wished it to her than he could do to any of them. On his part, nothing was wanting to promote her happiness: whatever his estates could procure was at her command, and the authority with which he invested her at so early an age, indicates the confidence he placed in her judgment and discretion. Writing to her from Campheer, 10th June, 1649, he says, "Dear Niece: Amongst all my just afflictions, there is none lies so heavy upon me as that I am still made incapable of paying that duty to you which I owe you. It is the greatest debt I owe on earth, and which would most joy me to pay, as well from inclination as from nature and obligations; but all happiness being denied me, I can not hope for that which would be the greatest. Before this I hope you are settled in Hamilton, where you have, as is most just, the same power your father had, and I beseech you to dispose as absolutely upon everything that is there. All I have interest in, so long as they will acknowledge me, will obey you; and I shall earnestly beg, that, if there be any failings, (either from persons, or in providing what you shall think fit to call for, which the fortune can procure, you advertise me thereof, and if it be not helped, (so my fortune can do it), let me be as infamous as I am unfortunate. I will trouble you no longer, but pray the Lord to bless you with comfort and health.—Dear niece, your real servant, "HAMILTON."†

As a farther proof of his esteem and affection for her, he nominated and appointed her (failing heirs male of his own body) his sole executrix, in his last will, written by himself, at the Hague, in Holland, on the 28th day of May, 1650, and freely

* Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 397. † Ibid.

bequeathed to her "all his jewels, silver plate, hangings, picture-broads, and whatsoever goods were his to be disposed of." And after nominating and appointing, in the event of her removal by death before himself, her sister, Susanna, his sole executrix, and freely bequeathing to her the foresaid articles, he recommends the care of his five daughters to such of his nieces as should succeed to his dignity and estate, expressing his confidence that they would be careful of their education and faithful in paying them what had been provided for them.*

We shall quote at length another of the letters of this amiable man to Lady Anne, both because it affords a pleasing illustration of his own Christian character, and because, from its tone, it is evident that she had then been brought, in good earnest, to attend to the things of God and eternity. The letter was written only eight days after the terrible defeat and slaughter which the Scottish royalists sustained, on sabbath, July 20, 1651, at Inverkeithing, in Fife, from the English parliamentary army under Cromwell.† This disaster greatly discouraged the royalists; and what rendered their condition still more desperate was, that Cromwell was now between the king and the northern counties of Scotland, which were most devoted to the king's interest, and from which he expected provisions and supplies of men. It being thus impossible to maintain the war longer in Scotland, his majesty resolved to march into England, where he hoped for large additional forces. But many of his soldiers, and some of his officers, broken in spirit by their late defeat, and despairing of future success, deserted the army. It was in these circumstances, and when about to march into England, that Duke William wrote the following letter‡:—

"Dear Niece: Indeed I know not what to say to you; I would fain say something more encouraging than my last was, but I can not lie; our condition is no better, and since that time we have a thousand men (I fear twice that number) run from our army. Since the enemy shuns fighting with us, except upon advantage, we must either starve, disband, or go with a handful of men into England. This last seems to be the least ill, yet it appears very desperate to me for more reasons than I would

* Commissariot of Edinburgh, 28th of September, 1652, MS. in her majesty's register house, Edinburgh. In that record, the will of the duke is recorded at length. It is a very interesting document, from the remarkably pious spirit which it breathes throughout.

† So prodigious was the slaughter, that a rill at the scene of action, called Pinkerton Burn, is said to have run red with blood for three days.

‡ Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 427.

trouble you with; I fear your own reason will afford you too many. Dear niece, it is not your courage I will desire you to make use of in this extremity; look for strength to bear it from a higher power; all your natural virtues will not resist it; therefore, look to Him who hath in former times assisted you to resist a great affliction, and can do it again, if you seek to him aright; you have already lost so much, that all other worldly losses were drowned in that. Those you meet with now are Christian exercises, wherewith, ofttimes, the Lord visits his own, to wean their affections from things here below, that we may place them upon himself, in whom we have all things; and if we could, as we ought, set our hearts upon him, we should find ourselves very little concerned in most things which bring us greatest trouble here on earth, where we are but for a minute in our way to eternity. O! consider that word ETERNITY, and you will find that we struggle here for that, that's even less than nothing; why trouble we ourselves for earthly losses? for when we have lost all we have, there are thousands as dear to God as we, as poor as we. We are rich though we lose the whole world if we gain him: let us set before our eyes the example of those, who, to give testimony to the truth, rejoiced to lay down their lives; nay, let us, with humble presumption, follow the pattern of our blessed Savior, who for our sakes suffered more than man can think on, the burden of all our sins, and the wrath of his Father: and shall we then repine to lay down our lives for him when he calls for it from us, to give us a nearer admittance to him than we can hope for while we are clogged with our clay tenements. Dear niece, I should never be weary to talk with you, though this be a subject, I confess, I can not speak of well; but even that happiness is bereft me, by the importunity of a crowd of persons that are now in the room with me, grudging the time I take in telling you that while I am, I am yours, &c. "[HAMILTON.]

"Stirling, 28th July, 1651."*

Duke William, having proceeded to England and engaged in battle with Cromwell's forces at Worcester, was mortally wounded. After receiving the wound, and feeling that his end was approaching, he wrote to his lady a letter, which contains the following reference to Lady Anne and her sister: "I will not so much as in a letter divide my dear nieces and you. The Lord grant you may be constant comforts to one another in this life, and give you all eternal happiness with your Savior in the life

* Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p 426.

to come! To both of your cares I recommend my poor children. Let your great work be to make them early acquainted with God, and their duties to him; and though they may suffer many wants here before removal from hence, yet they will find an inexhaustible treasure in the love of Christ."

This nobleman died on the 12th of the month on which the above letter is dated, nine days after he had received the wound, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and was interred in the cathedral church of Worcester.*

After her uncle's death, Lady Anne, who succeeded him in his titles and estates, experienced the vicissitudes of fortune to which many of the Scottish nobility were subjected for their opposition to Cromwell, who had now laid Scotland prostrate at his feet. Her father was excepted from the benefit of Cromwell's act of grace and pardon, in 1654, and his estates were forfeited, four hundred pounds a year being reserved out of them to Lady Anne, and two hundred pounds a year to her sister.† This was no doubt sufficient to secure them from privation; but for a family to be thus reduced which once possessed ample revenues, and was at one time presumptive heir to the Scottish throne, afforded a striking instance of the mutability of worldly wealth and greatness. Whether even this sum was regularly paid we do not know; but it is affirmed by tradition that, for a series of years, she was in so impoverished a condition as to have been dependent upon a faithful female servant—the only one that remained with her—who employed herself incessantly in spinning to procure the means of subsistence for her grace.‡ It is pleasing, on the same authority, to record that, when the Restoration put an end to the misfortunes of the duchess by reinvesting her with her estates, she "expressed her gratitude to her affectionate domestic by the substantial gift of a piece of land, near Lesmahago, sufficient to maintain her in ease and comfort all the rest of her life."‖

During Cromwell's administration she resided alternately at Brodwich castle in Arran, and Strathaven castle, which was from an early period one of the seats of the Hamilton family.§ The castle of Strathaven, or Avondale, stands upon a rocky eminence at the town of Strathaven, on the banks of a small rivulet called

* Anderson's Memoirs of the House of Hamilton, p. 145.

† Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i., p. 706.

‡ Tradition, in this instance, has probably to some extent exaggerated the facts of the case.

‖ Chambers's Picture of Scotland, vol. i, pp. 349, 350.

§ It is said to have been built by Andrew Stewart, grandson of Murdoch, duke of Albany.—New Statistical Account of Scotland, Lanarkshire, Avondale.

Pomilion, which winds round the greater part of it, and falls into the Avon about a mile below. Though now in a very dilapidated state, it was then in good condition and a place of considerble strength, being surrounded by a strong wall, with turrets at certain distances, and having the entrance secured by a drawbridge. A tradition is still current at Clydesdale respecting the duchess, while she resided in this castle in the time of Cromwell, which places her fortitude in adversity in a very interesting light, and reminds us of the fearless spirit of her grandmother. To the hero of the commonwealth, whose vengeance was directed against her family on account of that determined opposition to him which had issued fatally both as to her father and uncle, she had, as might be anticipated, no friendly feelings; and it is said that when one of his generals passed the castle with some military going from Hamilton to Ayrshire, she gave orders to fire upon him as he approached the town of Strathaven. The general inquired who lived there, and being told it was a lady, he replied, "She must be a bold woman, indeed."* In the days of her adversity, her tenants and vassals in that neighborhood showed to her ardent friendship and attachment. This she never forgot, when favored with more prosperous days; and she made an annual visit to Strathaven at the celebration of the Lord's supper, till she was prevented by the infirmities of old age.†

In the year 1656, she was married to Lord William Douglas, eldest son of William, first marquis of Douglas. He was born 24th December, 1634, and created earl of Selkirk, Lord Daer and Shortcleuch, by patent, dated 4th August, 1646, to him and his males heir whatsoever. He was fined one thousand pounds by Cromwell's act of grace and pardon, 1654. The minutes of a contract of marriage between the duchess and this nobleman, with consent of his father, the marquis of Douglas, dated 1656, are still preserved among the Hamilton Papers.‡ After the Restoration, in consequence of a petition from the duchess, he had, by letters-patent, on the 20th of September, 1660, superadded to his own honors the title and precedency of the duke of Hamil-

* Anderson's Memoirs of the House of Hamilton, p. 150. After the death of the duchess, in 1716, the castle of Strathaven was allowed to fall into disrepair; and, as Chambers says, it now "overhangs the town of Strathaven with its shattered and haggard walls, like the spirit of Fingal represented by Ossian, as looking down from the clouds upon his living descendants."—Picture of Scotland, vol. i., p. 349. "Though now in ruins, the castle is still a beautiful feature in our landscape."—New Statistical Account of Scotland, Lanarkshire, Avondale.

† Anderson's Memoirs of the House of Hamilton, p. 150.

‡ Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 202.

ton, and other titles, in right of his wife, on whom these honors had devolved.*

As might naturally be expected, the duchess hailed the restoration of Charles II. with satisfaction and joy; for it put her in possession of her father's estates and honors, of which she had been deprived by Cromwell. But the policy of the government of Charles in overthrowing the presbyterian church of Scotland, and in ejecting the non-conforming ministers from their churches, she contemplated with different feelings. This measure she perceived to be at once unwise in principle, and destructive in tendency. The duke, her husband, at a meeting of the Scottish council, held at London, after the Restoration, to determine as to the ecclesiastical government to be established in Scotland, reasoned against the setting up of bishops.† He also opposed in the privy council, the act which they passed at Glasgow, October 1, 1662, requiring all ministers who had not conformed to prelacy, to desist from preaching, and to withdraw immediately from their parishes. He told the council that the numerous ministers liable to ejectment were highly esteemed and beloved by their people; and that it would be impossible to find a competent number of well qualified men to fill their places.‡ The duchess was precisely of the same sentiments. She may not have studied, and Bishop Burnet informs us that she told him she had not studied the subject of church government, and arrived at the same enlightened and thorough conviction of the *jus divinum* of presbytery, to which she had arrived on other points. But she saw that the ministers to be visited by ejectment were men of distinguished piety, of great diligence in the discharge of their ministerial duties, and of extensive usefulness in promoting religion and good order among the people. Not to speak, then, of her leaning to the side of the presbyterian faith, which is manifest from her adhering to, and favoring it during her whole life, through evil report as well as good report; as a woman of piety, and a friend of public order, she regretted the ejectment of such men, as the infliction of a great calamity on the country.§

The duchess, who had much influence upon the duke, greatly contributed, there is little doubt, to infuse into his mind favorable feelings toward the covenanters, and to dispose him to make exertions for mitigating the oppressions under which they groaned.

* Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 172.

† Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 390.

‡ Burnet's History of His Own Times, vol. i, p. 261.

§ Ibid., p. 480.

Such feelings he entertained, and such exertions he made. After the Restoration, he opposed, as we have seen, the setting up of bishops, and the act of Glasgow, by which some hundreds of ministers were ejected from their charges. During the persecution he often acted as a drag chain upon the more violent of the members of the privy council, advocating a moderate and pacific policy, and opposing the terrible measures which were madly adopted against religion and liberty by the ruling party. In the parliament of 1673, he distinguished himself by his opposition to Lauderdale, whose rapacity, tyranny, and oppression, were become intolerable, demanding that the state of the nation should be examined, and its grievances represented to the king, before the supplies were granted. On repairing to court, toward the end of November, 1675, he earnestly dealt with the king for a more ample indulgence to the nonconforming ministers, by which he greatly displeased his majesty, who told him he had been informed of his too great kindness to, and compliance with, the non-conformists of Scotland.* In 1676, he was removed from his place in the privy council for his manly and spirited opposition to the oppressive sentence of the council against the pious and patriotic Baillie of Jerviswood, who, for simply rescuing his brother-in-law, Mr. James Kirkton, from Captain Carstairs, was fined £500 sterling, and ordained to lie in prison till the fine was paid.† He was also prohibited to leave Scotland, but, notwithstanding this prohibition, he and thirteen others went up to court in March, 1678, to complain of the arbitrary and oppressive administration of Lauderdale in regard to the Highland host, the imposition of the bond, the charging them with lawborrows, and other grievances under which the country labored. On the breaking out of the insurrection in Scotland in May, 1679, he and the other Scottish lords of his party, then in London, offered—an offer which was rejected—to restore peace to the country without having recourse to force or the effusion of blood, provided the sufferings of the people were alleviated.‡ To these notices other facts of a similar kind, equally favorable to the patriotism and humanity of the duke might be added. But we shall only further state, that when some were tortured in 1684, in reference to the earl of Argyll's conspiracy, he opposed such cruel proceedings, alleging that, at this rate, they might, without accusers or witnesses, take any person off the street and

* Burnet's History of His Own Times, vol. i., p. 565. Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 178.

† Wodrow's History, vol. ii., 327. ‡ Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 708.

torture him; and he immediately retired, refusing to be present, on the ground, that if the party should die in the torture, the judges were liable for murder, or at least severely culpable. *

Nor was the duchess of Hamilton alone, among the ladies of high life, in moderating the persecution by the influence they exerted over those most nearly related to them. The ladies and other female relatives of several others of the members of his majesty's government were friendly to the persecuted cause; and by their influence, as well as by the deference shown to their predilections, individuals were often exempted from the hardships into which they would otherwise have been brought, while the violence of the persecution was sometimes considerably mitigated. Of this class were the first wife of the duke of Lauderdale,† the duchess of Rothes,‡ both the first and the second wives of the earl of Argyll,§ the countess of Dundonald,‖ and others.

After the Restoration, Hamilton palace, which is situated in a valley between the town of Hamilton and the Clyde, was the chief place of the residence of the duchess. Since the time she dwelt in that princely mansion, its aspect has very much changed. Great additions, in the best architectural style, were made to it in the year 1826, and, as a whole, it is now considered the most magnificent residence in Scotland, being extremely splendid in its interior, and having a picture gallery peculiarly rich in paintings, by the greatest Italian masters. In the time of the duchess, it was a large building of moderate external elegance.

The town of Hamilton being in the vicinity of her place of residence, she at all times made the welfare, both temporal and spiritual, of the inhabitants of that town and parish, the object of her special concern. As an instance of her desire to promote

* Fountainhall's Notes, p. 103. See also Macaulay's History of England, vol. ii., pp. 118, 119, 121, 122.

† Lady Anne Home, second daughter of Alexander, first earl of Home. She was a great means of softening the spirit of Lauderdale, who during her lifetime was more moderate than after her death. From Sir George Mackenzie's Memoirs of Affairs in Scotland, we learn that she promised to procure indulgences for Welsh and other Presbyterian ministers.—Wodrow's History, vol. ii, p. 244. She died at Paris, about 1671.

‡ Lady Anne Lindsay, daughter of the earl of Crawford and Lindsay. A notice of this lady is given afterward.

§ His first wife was Lady Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of James, fifth earl of Moray. She died in May, 1668. His second wife was Lady Anne M'Kenzie, second daughter of Colin, first earl of Seaforth, and relict of Alexander, first earl of Balcarres. A sketch of this lady is also given afterward.

‖ This lady was Euphemia, daughter of Sir William Scot, of Ardross. She attended field conventicles, and entertained the field preachers at her palace at Paisley. —Blackadder's Memoirs MS. copy in Adv. Library.

their spiritual good, as well as of her pious care for the sanctity of the sabbath, it may be mentioned that, in co-operation with the duke, her husband, and the bailies of Hamilton, she obtained, in 1661, an act of parliament changing the fairs of Hamilton from Saturday to Thursday, and its weekly markets from Saturday to Friday. The reason inducing the parties to apply for this act, was, as is stated in the act itself, their "observing the daily inconveniences arising through the weekly market being upon the Saturday, whereby the people resorting to it were much occasioned in their return homeward to be late in the night, and sometime to encroach upon the Lord's day next ensuing, and so scandalous to God's worship therein."*

To her zeal for the temporal good of the town of Hamilton, ample testimony is borne by the town council records. In 1668, Charles II. granted a charter to her, and in 1670 the magistrates then in office accepted a charter from her, with consent of her husband, by which Hamilton was constituted the chief burgh of the regality and dukedom of Hamilton.† And "during the course of her long life she was a benefactor to the town of Hamilton, as she endeavored to ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants, and always acted strictly in conformity to the charter. Hence the bailies and town council seem at all times to have looked up to her with a kind of filial respect, and were always ready to comply with her requests, which indeed were never incompatible with the interests of the community."‡

During the persecution applications were often made to her to employ her interest in behalf of the persecuted. To such applications she always listened with Christian sympathy, and was ever ready to do all in her power to afford assistance and relief to the oppressed. The trials she had passed through in early life, had exerted the most beneficial influence in the formation of her character. The loss of an affectionate and beloved father, in circumstances so deeply distressing, and the death of an endeared uncle, also in painful circumstances, had chastened her spirit and strengthened that compassion for the suffering, and that benevolent interest in the welfare and happiness of others which she exemplified throughout life.

* Acts of Scottish parliament.

† By this charter the family of Hamilton has the right of appointing the town clerk, and of electing two bailies annually, from a list of six names chosen by the council (but including the bailies of the former year) from their own number. The duke and duchess elected the first council, but the right of electing a new council annually in future, was vested for ever in the council of the preceding year. In the old deeds, the duchess is styled "high and mighty princess."

‡ Anderson's Memoirs of the House of Hamilton, pp. 488, 489.

In the fate of the youthful Hugh M'Kail, who suffered martyrdom in 1666, she took a particular interest. His youth, his amiable dispositions, his eminent piety, and his promising usefulness as a minister of the gospel, as well as the excellent character of his father, excited her compassion, and after he had been tortured and indicted to stand trial for treason before the court of justiciary, she sent with his brother, Mr. Matthew, ten days before his trial commenced, a letter to the duke of Rothes, his majesty's high commissioner, earnestly beseeching him to do what he could to save the life of this excellent young man. With this letter, and another to the commissioner, from the lady marchioness of Douglas, her mother-in-law, his brother went, on the 8th of December, from Edinburgh to Glasgow, where the commissioner was at that time on a visit. What effect the intercessions of these ladies had upon the duke, or whether they moved him to write to the king on the subject, we have not ascertained. His majesty, however, not long after this, and previous to the execution of M'Kail, sent down a pardon to the prisoners concerned in the Pentland rising, who were not executed, and ordered them to be sent to Barbadoes. But the pardon failed of taking effect, through the baseness of Archibald Sharp, who, besides feeling toward the Presbyterians that inveterate malignity which has, in every age, been characteristic of apostates, never forgot the terms in which he fancied M'Kail had spoken concerning him in a sermon.* The prelate who had been biding his time had now full opportunity given him of gratifying his mortal hatred and revenge, and determined that, whoever was spared, M'Kail should not escape, he concealed the king's pardon till M'Kail and four others with him were executed.†

* M'Kail's sermon referred to was preached from the Song of Solomon, chapter i., verse 7. The passage which proved so offensive was an elegant apostrophe, in which the preacher appealed to persecutors of past ages, whether God had not proved faithful to his threatenings against persecutors, as well as to his promise of deliverance to his church and people. "Let Pharaoh," said he, "let Haman, let Judas, let Herod, let each of them speak from experience of God's faithfulness! Let all, then, have ears to hear, and hearing, acknowledge that those who have made themselves remarkable for persecution, God has stigmatized by his judgments." The malicious gloss which the party then in power put upon these words was, that the preacher had publicly marked out and threatened or stigmatized the king, Commissioner Middleton, Archbishop Sharp, and the duke of York, the king's brother, under the characters of Pharaoh, Haman, Judas, and Herod.—Coltness Collections, p. 47. Sharp was peculiarly sensitive to the slightest allusion, real or supposed, to the subject of his perfidy and apostasy; nor did he fail, when he found opportunity, to revenge himself on such as offended him on this score.

† Naphtali, p. 363. M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch, &c., p. 36. Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 506.

Another sufferer on whose side the sympathies of the duchess were enlisted, was Mr. James Mitchell, who had attempted the assassination of Archbishop Sharp. It can not be supposed that Mitchell's attempt, which was condemned by the great body of the presbyterians, was approved of by a lady so well informed, and so opposed to all extreme courses, as was the duchess. Still the severity with which he was treated excited commiseration in many who condemned his rash and criminal act; and after he was laid in prison, some of this class of the presbyterians were very active in endeavoring to obtain his liberation, and the more especially as they entertained apprehensions which, as was afterward proved, were too well founded, that he would be brought to the scaffold, a punishment for his offence, in their estimation, unduly severe. Among other means, one of them, a lady, applied to the duchess, when she passed through Edinburgh, in November, 1675, on her way to London, requesting her to exert her influence at court to procure his liberty, or secure his personal safety. She received the application with much courtesy, and expressed her readiness to do everything in her power in behalf of Mitchell, who had then been imprisoned for nearly two years. Mr. John Carstairs, in a letter to Mr. Robert M'Ward, dated November 29, 1675, speaking on this subject, says: "D. H. [Duke Hamilton] passed here [Edinburgh] with his lady and eldest daughter, for London, Monday last. . . . . My friend* spoke to her [the duchess] about our friend [Mitchell]. She was very civil, and told her there needed no interposing, if there should be any access to deal for that person."† But though Charles had considerable respect for the duchess, and, ungrateful though he was, sometimes expressed to her, and probably in some measure felt the obligations under which he lay to her father and her uncle, who had sacrificed their lives in his cause, yet, at this time, her patronage of the presbyterians had lowered her in the scale of the royal favor; and her intercessions were besides resisted, and again rendered ineffectual by Archbishop Sharp, whose vengeance would be appeased with nothing less than the blood of the man who had made an attempt on his life.

In 1670, when Archbishop Leighton proposed his scheme of accommodation between the episcopalians and the presbyterians, of which, among all his party, Dr. Burnet was the most zealous supporter, it was considered highly desirable to secure the me-

* Might not this be Mrs. James Durham?
† Wodrow MSS., vol lix., folio, No. 38.

diating influence of the duchess of Hamilton, in consequence of the high esteem in which she was held by the presbyterians, and the great weight she had among them. Leighton sent to the western counties six of the most popular prelatic ministers he could engage, to go round the country to preach in vacant churches, and to argue in support of the accommodation with such as should come to hear them. Burnet, the most eminent of them, on his services being secured, went, as if on a visit to the duke of Hamilton, but in reality with the view of gaining over the duchess to the plan, and of prevailing with her to use her influence in inducing the presbyterian ministers to embrace it. "I was desired," says he, "to go into the western parts, and to give a true account of matters, as I found them there. So I went as on a visit to the duke of Hamilton, whose duchess was a woman of great piety and great parts. She had much credit among them [the presbyterians]; for she passed for a zealous presbyterian, though," he adds, "she protested to me she never entered into the points of controversy, and had no settled opinion about forms of government; only she thought their ministers were good men, who kept the country in great quiet and order; they were, she said, blameless in their lives, devout in their way, and diligent in their labors."*

The duchess cordially approved of the plan proposed in the accommodation of admitting the presbyterian ministers to the vacant churches. "The people were all in a frenzy," says Burnet, "and were in no disposition to any treaty. The furiousest men among them were busy in conventicles, inflaming them

* Burnet's History of His Own Times, vol. i., pp. 480, 481, 508. In this, and in the subsequent accounts given by Burnet of what the duchess said in reference to the presbyterian ministers, there may, without questioning his veracity, be room for thinking that, unintentionally, no doubt, he gives to her speeches a coloring derived from his own peculiar leanings and sentiments, just as we every day see the narration of facts derive a coloring from the same cause. For example, we have some doubt whether the duchess, in speaking of the presbyterian ministers, would say, in these precise terms, that they were "devout *in their way*," as if her own personal piety was of a different type from theirs; the fact being that it was similar in character to that of the strictest of the covenanters—to that of such men as Durham, Binning, and the Guthries—and that her views of doctrine, like theirs, were strictly Calvinistic. Such were the piety and religious sentiments of her uncle, Duke William, from whom she derived much religious instruction and spiritual profit, and such were the piety and religious sentiments of her daughter, Catherine, duchess of Athol, who was educated under her own eye. Indeed it appears that it was her personal piety and her Calvinistic views of doctrine, more than any settled opinion she had as to church government, which caused her decided preference of the preaching of the ejected ministers. The probability then is, that she simply said that they were devout, and that Burnet, influenced in his ideas of personal piety by his Arminian sentiments, unconsciously represented her as saying that they were "devout *in their way*."

against all agreements: so she thought that if the more moderate presbyterians were put in vacant churches, the people would grow tamer, and be taken out of the hands of the mad preachers that were then most in vogue: this," she added, "would likewise create confidence in them in the government; for they were now so possessed with prejudice as to believe that all that was proposed was only an artifice, to make them fall out among themselves, and deceive them at last."* She got many of the more moderate of the presbyterian ministers to come to Burnet, and they all talked in a similar strain.

From the manner in which the terms of the accommodation were represented to her by Burnet, and from her not having closely turned her attention to the study of church government, she did not, however, perceive that the scheme, being at variance with presbyterian principles, would have ultimately secured the triumph of prelacy, and could not, therefore, be conscientiously accepted by the presbyterians. Even after the presbyterian ministers had held meetings on the subject, and had rejected the proposed measure as inconsistent with their principles, she endeavored to prevail with them to embrace it. She "sent for some of them, [and for] Hutchinson in particular. She said she did not pretend to understand nice distinctions, and the terms of dispute: here was plain sense: the country might be again at quiet, and the rest of those that were outed admitted to churches on terms that seemed to all reasonable men very easy; their rejecting this would give a very bad character of them, and would have very bad effects, of which they might see cause to repent when it would be too late."† But, fortunately, the advice of the duchess, which was, in fact, though she might not perceive it, to advise them to give up without a struggle the cause for which they had all suffered, and for which not a few of their countrymen had already sacrificed their lives, was not complied with, and thus the presbyterian ministers proved true to their own consistency, and to the cause which they had vowed to defend. After conversing with Hutchinson, and urging upon his attention the considerations already mentioned, she found that there was no chance of the scheme being accepted, and told Burnet that all she could draw from him was, that he saw the generality of his brethren were resolved not to enter into it; that it would prove a bone of contention, and instead of healing old breaches, would create new ones.‡ Thus the whole negotiation about the accom-

* Burnet's History of His Own Times, vol. i., p. 481. † Ibid., p. 511.
‡ Ibid.

modation ended in nothing. There is, however, no doubt that the great anxiety of the duchess to get the presbyterians to embrace the accommodation, proceeded from her sincere desire to see them delivered from the tyranny and oppression under which they had so long groaned.

In testimony of the same amiable features of her character, the following passage from a letter written by Mr. John Carstairs to Mr. Robert M'Ward, November 29, 1675, may be quoted: "Things," says he, "have still a sad aspect on us, and that disappointing parliament being prorogued, it's like we shall tyrannize it here at the old rate. D. H. [Duke Hamilton] went here, with his lady and eldest daughter, for London, Monday last, not sent for by the king, but it's like to see what he could do for the advocates. His lady told a person of honor, as I heard, that it should be seen that they went upon no account of their own, but for the good of the country, and of religion, though without all hope of coming speed as to anything, and desired that friends might remember them."* The duke, on this visit to the court, urged upon the king, as we have seen before, the granting of a larger indulgence as the most effectual means of quieting the country; a proposal with which his majesty, guided by his infamous adviser, Lauderdale, refused to comply, taunting the duke as a favorer of nonconformists.

One thing which recommended Burnet to the duchess, besides his talents, was his tolerant sentiments in regard to matters of religion;† for although connected with the prelatic church, and from principle a supporter of prelacy, his temper was moderate,

* Wodrow MSS., vol. lix., folio, No. 38.

† So high was the opinion she formed of the talents and moderation of Burnet, that she engaged him to undertake the task of compiling memoirs of her father and uncle, from the many papers in her possession relating both to their public conduct, and to their personal character. These papers she had carefully preserved, her uncle William having charged her to keep them with the same care as she kept the writings of her estate, as they would be found to contain a full justification of her father's as well as his own public actings; and desirous to vindicate the memory of these beloved relatives, who, notwithstanding the errors of their political lives, possessed many estimable qualities, she put all these documents into Burnet's hands. "This," says he, "was a very great trust, and I made no ill use of it. I found there materials for a very large history. I wrote it with great sincerity, and concealed none of their errors. I did, indeed, conceal several things that related to the king. I left out some passages that were in his letters, in some of which was too much weakness, and in others too much craft and anger." (Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. i., p. 516.) The work was printed at London, in 1677, and the Epistle Dedicatory, which is addressed to the king, is dated London, 21st October 1673. It brings out the character of the duchess's father in a much more favorable light than Clarendon brings it out in his History of the Rebellion, but that history, which was not published for many years after its author's death, has, not without ground, been suspected of having been corrupted by the Oxford gentlemen who published it. See Appendix, No. V.

and, like Leighton, he was an enemy to persecution. In the family of Hamilton the sufferings of the presbyterians, for adhering to their covenant, were not unfrequently the subject of conversation; and, when present on such occasions, Burnet was accustomed to speak in terms of high respect of several of the ejected ministers and sufferers, as well as of commiseration for them, and even expressed so high an opinion of the national covenant which abjured popery, as to affirm it to be his conviction, that it would never be well with Scotland until it was renewed. This spirit, so very different from that which animated the great body of the prelatic clergy, was highly gratifying to her grace, with whose feelings and sentiments it so closely harmonized.*

Though the duchess may not have desisted from hearing the curates of Hamilton, the parish in which she usually resided—for on the subject of hearing the curates the presbyterians were divided in sentiment, and she confessedly belonged to the less rigid portion of the body—yet she frequented the ministrations of the ejected ministers, taking her children along with her; and she was in the habit of attending the sacrament of the Lord's supper as administered by them, in various parts of the country. When Mr. William Violant became indulged minister at Cambusnethan, the Lord's supper was frequently administered in that place, and was resorted to by people from all quarters. Among others, the duchess regularly went over to observe the ordinance, and, on such occasions, it was her practice to reside at Coltness, in the family of Sir Thomas Stewart, who was himself a man of sincere piety, and whose lady was distinguished, in no ordinary degree, for her Christian virtues and graces.†

In attending the indulged ministers, she was keeping within the strict limits of law; but, breaking through the fences of the law, she sometimes also countenanced conventicles with her presence. This was one main reason of the strong opposition which her husband, the duke, made to the bond, which, by an act of privy council, August 2, 1677, all heritors, wood-setters, and life-renters, were required to subscribe, engaging that neither they themselves, their wives, their children, their servants, nor their tenants, should assemble at conventicles, or afford encouragement and protection to those who frequented them, or employ any outed minister in baptizing their children, and that under the highest penalties appointed by former laws, which are repeated in the proclamation. After recording the alarm which this bond

* Wodrow's Analecta, vol. ii., p. 282: and his History, vol. iv., p. 271.
† Coltness Collections, p. 68.

created in the west, and giving an account of a meeting of noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors, in the shire of Ayr, against it, presided over by the earl of Loudon, Kirkton adds: "The bond found no better reception in Clydesdale, where there was a great meeting of heritors at Hamilton; and the duke of Hamilton being at this time highly displeased with the proceedings of the council, and a great enemy to the bond, knowing well that he could not answer for his own family, the bond was rejected even by those who were of no principle, but to save their estate."*

This opposition, however, proved unavailing. It raised Lauderdale's fury to such a pitch that, at the council table, he made made bare his arm above his elbow, and swore by Jehovah he would make the refractory landholders enter into it. For the purpose of coercing them he brought down upon the west of Scotland, in 1678, a host of rapacious highlanders, to the number of not less than ten thousand.† Another species of oppression to which the gentlemen who refused to subscribe the bond were subjected, was the serving upon them a writ of lawborrows. The term *lawborrows* is from *burgh* or *borrow*, an old Scotch word for *caution* or *surety*, and means security given to do nothing contrary to law. The import of a lawborrows in Scotland is, that when two neighbors are at such variance that the one dreads bodily harm from the other, he procures from the justiciary (formerly from the council), or any other judges competent, letters charging the other to find caution or security that the complainer, his wife, bairns, &c., shall be scatheless from the person complained of, his wife, bairns, &c., in their body, lands, heritages, &c.; but before such letters can be granted, the complainer must give his oath that he dreads bodily harm, trouble, or molestation from the person against whom he complains. The propriety of magistrates issuing such a writ in the case of private individuals may be admitted; but its being issued at the suit of the sovereign against his subjects, simply on account of their refusing an unreasonable bond, was the height of oppression.‡

Yet, under the operation of this writ, the duchess of Hamilton was threatened to be brought; and had Lauderdale succeeded in his wishes, she would have been subjected to its restraints and penalties; for the duke of Hamilton had intimation sent him that it was designed to serve it upon him;‖ in other words, that he

* Kirkton's History, pp. 377, 378.

† Burnet, in his "Own Times," says eight thousand (vol. ii., p. 134). Crookshank, in his History, more correctly makes them ten thousand (vol. ii., p. 128).

‡ Wodrow's History, vol. ii., pp. 401, 403. Crookshank's History, vol. i., p. 434.

‖ Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. ii, p. 135.

was to be obliged, according to the tenor of the act for serving lawborrows on the refusers of the bond, to enact himself in the books of the privy council, that he himself, the duchess, their children and their tenants, should keep his majesty's peace, and particularly that they should not go to field conventicles, nor harbor, nor commune with rebels or persons intercommuned, and that under the penalty of the double of his yearly valued rent, or such other penalties as should be thought convenient by the lords of the privy council or their committee.* Lauderdale, however, was compelled to abandon his intentions. The ravages of the highland host, and the enactment in reference to lawborrows, "which looked like French or rather like Turkish government," created universal indignation. The duke of Hamilton, and ten or twelve of the nobility, with about fifty gentlemen of quality, went up to London to complain, and the storm of opposition became so violent that Lauderdale was glad to recall the highland host, and suspend the execution of writs of lawborrows.†

Residing almost constantly at the palace of Hamilton, the duchess had full opportunity of learning the state of affairs in the district; and she entered much into the feelings of the people in the distressing and turbulent times in which she lived. She especially took a great interest in the welfare and comfort of her tenantry, and when, like others, they were exposed to persecution and lawless violence, she was always prepared, according to her ability, to throw the shield of protection over them. In proof of this, we may refer to the manner in which she acted when, in 1678, the highland host, now adverted to, was let loose, like an army of locusts, to lay waste the western parts of the country. The injury done by the host to her tenantry was considerable, though perhaps less than that suffered by many others. In the parish of Strathaven, of which she was chief proprietor, by an account taken up a considerable number of years after the revolution, from such sufferers as were then alive, there was lost, by free quarters and other extortions, the sum of £1700 12*s.*; "and" as Wodrow remarks, "we may, without any stretch, double it, considering that many were dead in thirty years and more, after the highland host were among them." In the small parish of Cambuslang, one tenant had fifty highlanders of Atholl's men, with a lieutenant and quartermaster, quartered on him for eight days; another had sixteen quartered on him, also for eight days; and other three had each twenty-two quartered on him during

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 401.
† Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. ii, p. 135.

the same period. In the return of the host from the more western parts, one Lieutenant Stewart, and Quartermaster Leckie, came to that parish with eighteen men, continuing five weeks in it during seed-time; and they told the parish that they had orders to quarter eighty men, though they never showed their order. No more than eighteen of their men ever came, but they exacted from the parish money equivalent to free quarters for eighty, which amounted to £861, and whoever refused to pay had their houses rifled, and were forced to buy back their goods at a much larger sum than the sum for quarters would have amounted to. The tenantry in Hamilton parish were also sufferers from the same cause.

Indignant at these oppressions and hardships to which her tenants were subjected, the duchess instantly complained, and adopted measures for obtaining redress. Upon the 5th of April, she took an instrument against the earl of Strathmore, insisting for the restoration of what had been illegally exacted from her tenants, in the parish of Hamilton, by his soldiers. This instrument bears, that on the 5th of April, in presence of a public notary and witnesses, John Baillie, her chamberlain, went to Patrick, earl of Strathmore, who was for the time in the dwelling-house of William Hamilton, maltman, burgess of Hamilton, and there, in her name and behalf, showed the earl that neither she nor William duke of Hamilton, her husband, had ever seen any orders allowing any officers or soldiers in any troops or regiments for the time within the shire Lanark, to have free quarters upon any person or persons of whatever class; and that, notwithstanding thereof, a considerable part of the regiment of foot, under the command of the earl, sometimes more and sometimes fewer, had quartered upon her lands and property, within the parish of Hamilton, from the 16th day of March last bypast to this present day inclusive, without payment of any sums of money: as also, that the said soldiers had exacted diverse sums of money, or dry quarters (as they termed these exactions), from several of her tenants, and that over and above the entertainment of meat, drink, and bedding, they had in the places where they were quartered. For this reason, and in respect no order had been shown for free quarters, or levying of money, over and above the same, Mr. Baillie, in name and behalf, and at command of the duchess, desired the earl either to pay, or cause payment to be made, to her respective tenants, for the quarters his soldiers had upon her said tenants during the period of time above written; and also that the said tenants might be reimbursed of all exactions made

by his soldiers from them. To this it was answered by the earl, that the bringing such of his regiment into Hamilton parish was at the command of his majesty's privy council, founded upon his majesty's warrant; that the way in which he had quartered them was conformably to orders from the major-general; that he had never commanded or allowed any exactions of any kind besides their quarters; and that such other exactions (if any were made), were expressly contrary to his orders. Upon which, this answer being judged unsatisfactory, Mr. Baillie, in name and at command of the duchess, as also the earl of Strathmore, took instruments in the hands of a notary.* Whether these tenants were reimbursed for their losses does not appear. The probability is that they were not, but the representations made by the duchess, the duke and others in reference to the proceedings of the highland host so far succeeded, that these savages, after having ravaged the country for two months, were recalled.

The duchess was residing at Hamilton palace when the covenanters, and the king's troops, under the command of the duke of Monmouth, fought at Bothwell bridge, on sabbath the 22d of June, 1679. The result of this unfortunate engagement is well known. The covenanters were defeated and put to flight. Few of them were slain in the encounter, but some hundreds were slaughtered in the most barbarous manner in the neighboring fields, whither they had fled. A great number of them sought for concealment in the wooded parks around Hamilton palace; and here they found effectual shelter; for the humane duchess, on being informed that many of the insurgents who had been defeated were lurking in her policies, and that the royal army was pursuing them, sent a message to the duke of Monmouth, desiring that he would prevent his soldiers from trespassing upon her grounds. With this request Monmouth, whose humanity in restraining the soldiers is deserving of commendation, instantly complied by giving orders to that effect; and thus none of the fugitives who had taken refuge in her plantations were farther molested.†

In addition to her humanity, the duchess possessed a nice sense of the honorable and just in spirit and in conduct. And as by such principles she herself was uniformly regulated, it afforded her much satisfaction to meet with them in others. Of this we have a fine illustration in an interesting correspondence which

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii, p. 430.

† Chambers's Picture of Scotland, vol. i., p. 357. New Statistical Account of Scotland, Hamilton, Lanarkshire, p. 266.

took place in 1687, between her and Thomas Rokeby, son of Major Rokeby, for whose use part of the estate of Hamilton had been sold in Cromwell's time. This gentleman writes to her, informing her that he was the ninth son of Major Rokeby; that after much reflection with himself, he had come to the conclusion that Cromwell had no power to give away what was not his own; that by his father's death, a tenth part of the price (two hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling) had come to him when a boy, which was the only part he had in the injury; and that, having suffered many hard conflicts with himself on that account, he had resolved to make restitution, as the first step to forgiveness, first from God, and then from her grace. He wrote to her five letters on the subject. With these communications the duchess was much gratified, not indeed because she attached any importance to the amount of his share of her spoils which he was so anxious to restore, but because of the indication they gave of a high sense of honor and a scrupulous regard to justice, which, in such matters, is not very common, and of which she probably never met, during her long life, with a similar instance. In her answers to his letters, she says little about the money, telling him that the duke took care of that; but she expresses her admiration at his conduct, "falling almost before him as a votary," and earnestly desires an interest in the prayers of a person endowed in her estimation with such superior excellence of character. These letters are preserved among the state papers and other documents in the palace of Hamilton; and Mr. George Chalmers, the well-known author of "Caledonia," who had read them, says, "The beautiful simplicity that runs through this correspondence can not be seen but in the letters themselves."*

Of the revolution which took place in 1688, the duchess was a warm friend, both because it delivered these nations from tyranny and popery, and restored the presbyterian church of Scotland to her rights and liberties. Lockhart styles her "a stanch presbyterian, and hearty revolutioner."† Her zeal in the cause of the church was well known to King William, who delicately jested her on the subject; as we learn from the following anecdote, recorded by Wodrow. Writing, October 3, 1710, he says: "I hear that a little after the revolution, when this present duchess of Hamilton was coming down from court, and had taken her leave of the queen, and took leave of King William, he, smiling,

* Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., pp. 183, 184.

† Lockhart's Papers, vol. i., p. 602.

said, 'You are going down to take care of the kirk.'—'Yes, sir,' she replied, 'I own myself a presbyterian,' and offered to kneel to kiss his hand. The king presently supported her, and, as I think, did not suffer her to kneel, but said, 'Madam, I am likewise a presbyterian.' This I have from one that was witness to it, and another good hand that had it from the duchess."*

The duke, her husband, was also a zealous supporter of the revolution government; but her son, the earl of Arran, devotedly adhered to James VII. He had been much courted by that monarch, who had conferred upon him various lucrative and honorable situations, such as the office of his majesty's lieutenant and sheriff in the shires of West Lothian, Lanark, Renfrew, and Dumbarton; the office of groom of the stole, and first gentleman of the bedchamber; the office of colonel of a royal regiment of horse, and of brigadier-general of all the horse; as well as the honor of a knight of the thistle.† Gained by these marks of royal favor, he supported James in opposition to the government of William; and, having been engaged in a plot for the restoration of James, he was twice committed prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained for many months, but was at length discharged without prosecution. While he lay in prison, the duchess, though disapproving of his conduct, naturally felt for her son, and wrote to the earl of Melville, interceding in his behalf, as she had often before interceded with men in high places, in behalf of those who had suffered in a better cause. The letter is as follows:—

"My Lord: The receipt of yours of the 4th was a great surprise to me, to find, after so long a delay of that affair I commended so earnestly to your lordship, that there is so little done in it. I doubt not, but as you write, and as I am otherwise informed, the stop has not lain at your door, though there are who say it has, but I wish it were made evident who have been the obstructors. I hope my son's peaceable behavior all this time will render his circumstances something more favorable than [those of] some others; and, when his majesty considers the service his father has done, will move him to renew the same favor he granted before to my son, his liberty on bail, which will be received as a great favor to all concerned; and if the ill condition of his health were known, it would plead compassion for him.

* Wodrow's Analecta, vol. i., p. 304.

† Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 183.

But I have not time to add more, but my lord's humble service to you, and that I am, my lord, your lordship's most humble servant,

"HAMILTON.

"Holyrood house, 19th December, 1690."*

In the year 1706, when the question of the union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England was so keenly agitated, the duchess was a very zealous opponent of the measure. The union was indeed in the highest degree unpopular among all parties. The cavaliers or jacobites, perceiving that it would destroy all hopes of the restoration of the pretender, violently obstructed it in every stage of its progress. The presbyterians, too, whose opposition was much more formidable, opposed it, though from very different views, dreading that the consequence would be the supplanting of their favorite presbyterian church government, by the prelatic form established in England; and so strong was this apprehension, that it could not be removed by all the offers made of security to the established presbyterian church. Burnet, who was then bishop of Salisbury, and a great courtier, says that these fears were "infused in them chiefly by the old duchess of Hamilton, who had great credit with them."† But this is perhaps ascribing to her grace a larger amount of weight in the church of Scotland than (notwithstanding the great respect entertained for her) she actually possessed. Altogether independent of her opinion or influence, the intrinsic importance of the question itself roused the attention of the presbyterians; and they considered that good affection and zeal for the just rights and liberties, both of the nation and of the presbyterian government of the church of Scotland, as then by law established, bound them to oppose the union. The duchess, however, did all in her power to prevail on her friends to set themselves against it. Among the "Hamilton Papers" there are still preserved several letters she wrote to her son the duke, inciting him to oppose it as ruinous to his country, and steadfastly to concur with the duke of Atholl and those in the opposition.‡ Burnet states that "it was suggested that she and her son had particular views, as hoping that, if Scotland should continue a separate kingdom, the crown might come into their family, they being the next in blood after King James's posterity."‖ But such an insinuation is altogether

* The Leven and Melville Papers, p. 587.

† Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. vi., p. 277.

‡ Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 201.

‖ Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. vi., p. 277.

gratuitous. The love of country, and attachment to the doctrine and government of the church of Scotland, were the avowed reasons of her hostility to the union. That her motives were family considerations was the surmise of her enemies, which they could not support by a single word she had ever uttered or written, or by a single action she had ever performed.

Upon the preaching of the gospel and the public ordinances of religion, the duchess set a high value. She attended with exemplary regularity public worship on the Lord's day; and after the revolution, when the church was settled in a manner more consonant to her inclinations than before, she took a Christian interest in the efficiency and success of the gospel ministry. To secure to the parishes where her influence extended, such probationers as, upon the best inquiry, were found to be acceptable to all ranks in the parish, was her great object. To the external comfort of the ministers of these as well as other parishes, she was ever ready to minister, and in other ways to encourage them in the faithful discharge of their pastoral duties. To provide more extensively the means of grace to the inhabitants of the district where she lived, and to the tenantry on her estate, was also her anxious desire. In testimony of this, she endowed a second minister in Hamilton, and another in Lesmahago.* She endowed a catechist, or preacher of the gospel, for Strathaven, who is always a licentiate of the church of Scotland, and assists the parish minister by visiting the sick, catechizing the parish, and preaching one half of the year. By her deed of mortification, dated 1st April, 1710, the annual income secured to him is five hundred merks, and his appointment is vested in the noble family of Hamilton.† To the stipend of the parish minister of Strathaven she added by mortification, the annual sum of five pounds, which is regularly paid by the duke of Hamilton.‡ She mortified, 15th August, 1715, a piece of ground and a barn, for the use of the minister of Borrowstounness and his successors

* Scots Magazine for 1773, pp. 5, 6. Chalmer's Caledonia, vol. iii., p. 723. The parish of Lesmahago was served by two ministers long before this period. The second minister was established a considerable time before the Restoration, but from what source his stipend was then paid does not appear. The writer in the Scots magazine, in recording the liberality of the duchess in endowing the second minister in the parish of Lesmahago, adds: "This is but one instance I have mentioned of her piety and generosity. It would be impossible to enumerate them all. On this account her memory will be revered not only in Lesmahago, where she was so well known, but by all acquainted with her character, as long as a sense of virtue and religion remain in the world."

† Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p 206.

‡ New Statistical Account of Scotland, Lanarkshire, Avondale.

for ever.* She also mortified, 13th October, 1694, to the university of Glasgow, the sum of eighteen thousand merks for the use of three theologues, from time to time, to be presented by the family of Hamilton.† Besides these deeds of liberality, "she founded and endowed several schools, built bridges, and performed many acts of benevolence, which make her name to be revered in Clydesdale to this day."‡

We shall only advert to two other features of this lady's Christian character. The one is, the sentiments of humility which pervaded her spirit in the house of God. In other places, and at other times, she was not unwilling to receive the honor due to her rank; but there, seated in the presence of the Divine Majesty, to whom all the temporary distinctions of life are nothing, she wished to appear on the same footing with the poorest, feeling that she labored under the same necessities as a rational and an immortal being; that she had equally merited God's wrath, and equally stood in need of his mercy. An instance of this pious humility which she cherished in the place of public worship is still preserved. At the stated times for the celebration of the Lord's supper, in the parish of Hamilton, she was a regular communicant; and on one of these occasions, when she was coming forward to the table of the Lord, a plain, decent, aged woman, who was just taking her seat at the table, on observing her, was about to step aside to give her the precedency; but the duchess, unwilling to receive in that place such marks of attention and respect, prevented her, saying, "Step forward, honest woman, there is no distinction of ranks here."‖

The other feature of her character worthy of special notice, is her pains-taking endeavors to train up her children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. "There is nothing," as has been justly observed, "which presents the duchess's character in a more favorable light, and recommends her more for imitation, than the decided interest she took in the religious education of her own family. To overlook all concern about having religious

* Descriptive Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers in the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv., p. 206. † Ibid.

‡ Anderson's Memoirs of the House of Hamilton, p. 150.

‖ This anecdote is taken from a MS. volume, entitled "Memoirs of Catharine, Duchess of Atholl, in form of a Diary, Originally written by Herself. To which are prefixed Biographical Notices of the Duchess's Parents, William Third Duke, and Anne, Duchess of Hamilton; Of her Husband, John, First Duke of Atholl, and of Duchess Catharine herself." By the late Rev. Mr. Moncrieff, minister of the united secession church in Hamilton. The notice of the duchess Anne is short, but interesting. I can not here omit expressing my obligations to the Rev. W. G. Moncrieff, Musselburgh, who in the kindest manner favored me with a perusal of that work by his father, with full permission to make full use of its contents.

principles instilled into the minds of their children, has been often too common with those in conspicuous ranks, and their principal care has been to provide for them every facility of acquiring fashionable and polite accomplishments. A suitable care that her family might not be without the accomplishments becoming their high rank in society, was not overlooked by her grace. But she also considered that it was a matter of the first, and of vital importance, that true religion should be understood, esteemed, and diligently practised in her family. Her children were much under her eye, and had a great respect and affection for her, especially her daughter, Lady Catharine,* who became the wife of the duke of Atholl. There is every evidence, from the diary of Lady Catharine, that, besides other means of information and improvement to which she had access, the instructions and example of her esteemed mother were of great use, by the blessing of God, in disposing her mind to that love of charity and religion which took deep root in her heart, and to that faithful discharge of her duties as a wife, a parent, and a Christian, for which she was so distinguished."†

The duchess lived to a very advanced age, retaining the possession of her mental faculties to the last; and exhibiting the most exemplary Christian patience under the infirmities of declining years. Mr. Robert Wylie, minister of Hamilton, in a letter to Bishop Burnet, her old friend, dated October 29, 1714, says: "The good old duchess is still alive, entire in her judgment and senses, and laboring with a most exemplary patience and resignation under the infirmities of old age and frequent conflicts with the gout."‡ This was very nearly two years before her death; which took place at the palace of Hamilton, on Wednesday, October 17, 1716, at six o'clock at night. The Scots Courant of that year, in recording her death, states that she was then in the eighty-sixth year of her age, adding that she "was a pious and virtuous lady, and is much lamented." Her mortal remains were deposited beside those of her husband, father, and ancestors, in the family burying-vault at Hamilton.

The particulars of her last illness have not been recorded; but the manner in which she had spent a long life, had been such as to form the best preparation for another world, and it can not be doubted that her latter end was peace. She came to the grave in a good old age, like as a shock of corn cometh in its season. Men of different and opposite political and religious creeds, have

* A notice of this lady is given in the close of this volume.
† Mr. Moncrieff's MS. ‡ Wodrow's Correspondence, vol. i., p. 604.

united in paying homage to her virtue, piety, and mental endowments. Bishop Burnet's testimony to these has already been quoted. Crawford describes her as "a lady who for constancy of mind, evenness of temper, solidity of judgment, and an unaffected piety, will leave a shining character, as well as example, to posterity, for her conduct as a wife, a mother, a mistress, and in all other conditions of life."* Lockhart, a violent Jacobite, characterizes her as "a lady of great honor and singular piety."† And so high was the reputation for Christian excellence which she left behind her, that her memory was cherished with affectionate veneration long after her death, and even down to the present day, the "good duchess Anne" is the name by which she is familiarly known in the district where she commonly resided, and where her piety and benevolence were best known

MRS. WILLIAM VEITCH.‡

Marion Fairlie, the subject of this sketch, "who," as the editor of her diary well observes, "endured an amount of domestic affliction and vexatious persecution, in many cases more trying than martyrdom itself," was born in 1638, a year famous in the annals of the presbyterian church of Scotland. Her father was descended from the ancient family of the Fairlies, of the house of Braid, near Edinburgh, and was related to Lord Lee's first lady, who was of that house and name. Both her parents being eminent for piety were careful to instruct her in her tender years in the principles of divine truth, and to impress upon her mind the importance of the one thing needful. By the Divine blessing on these labors of parental love, together with the pastoral instructions of an evangelical and faithful minister, Mr. Robert Birnie, of Lanark, she early acquired that deep sense of the things of God which she exemplified to the close of a long life. "It pleased God," says she, "of his great goodness, early to incline my heart to seek him, and bless him that I was born in a land where the gospel was at that time purely and powerfully preached; as also, that I was born of godly parents and well educated. But above all things, I bless him that he made

* Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 212. † Lockhart's Papers, vol. i., p. 597.
‡ This notice of Mrs. Veitch is drawn up chiefly from her own diary, and from the memoirs of Mr. Veitch, written by himself.

me see that nothing but the righteousness of Christ could save me from the wrath of God." She adds, "one day having been at prayer, and coming into the room where one was reading a letter of Mr. Rutherford's (then only in manuscript), directed to one John Gordon, of Rosco, giving an account how far one might go, and yet prove a hypocrite and miss heaven, it occasioned great exercise to me.* Misbelief said I should go to hell; but one day at prayer, the Lord was graciously pleased to set home upon my heart that word, 'To whom, Lord, shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life' (John, vi. 68). And at another time, that word, 'Those that seek me early shall find me,' Prov. viii. 17."

On the 23d of November, 1664, she was united in marriage to Mr. William Veitch, son of Mr. John Veitch, the nonconforming, ejected minister of Roberton. Mr. Veitch had been for some time previous, chaplain to Sir Hugh Campbell, of Calder, in Morayshire, but was forced to leave that family about September that year; for on the restoration of prelacy, none, according to an act of parliament, were permitted to be chaplains in families, to teach any public school, or to be tutors to the children of persons of quality, without the license of the bishop of the diocese;† and Mr. Murdoch M'Kenzie, bishop of Moray, having, upon making inquiry, found Mr. Veitch's opinions hostile to prelacy, would not suffer him to remain in that situation. He accordingly came south, and staying some time with his father, who, since his ejection, had taken up his residence at Lanark, became acquainted with the godly families of that place, among which was the family of the young lady whom he married. Several of her friends endeavored, but without effect, to dissuade her from the marriage, urging, among other reasons, the worldly straits to which, from the discouraging aspect of the times, she might be reduced. This at first occasioned her no inconsiderable anxiety of mind; but she resolved to trust in God's promises for all needful temporal good things, as well as for spiritual blessings. "And," says she, "these promises were remarkably made good to me in all the various places of my sojourning in diverse kingdoms, which I here mention to the commendation of his faithfulness. His word in this has been a tried word to me, worthy to be recorded, to encourage me to trust him for the future; who heretofore has not only provided well for me and mine, but made me in the places where my lot was cast useful to others, and made that

* See Rutherford's Letters, p. 552. Whyte and Kennedy's edition.
† Wodrow's History, vol. i., p. 267.

word good, 'As having nothing, and yet possessing all things,' 2 Cor. vi., 10."

Scarcely two years after her marriage, the storm of persecution burst upon her and Mr. Veitch, separating them from each other, and ultimately forcing them to seek refuge in England. Mr. Veitch, who was a bold and daring man, was prevailed upon by Mr. John Welsh, minister of Irongray, and others who came to his house at the Westhills of Dunsyre, where he farmed a piece of land, to join with that party of the covenanters, who, provoked by the brutal cruelties and robberies of Sir James Turner, rose in arms, and were defeated by the king's forces at Pentland hills.* This was the origin of the multiplied dangers and troubles to which he and Mrs. Veitch were subjected, by the government and its agents, during a series of many years. She seems to have had no scruples of conscience as to the propriety of the appeal which the covenanters, in this instance, made to arms: she at least wished them all success. On the night of the defeat, she was entertaining several of the officers who had fled to her house for shelter, and weeping lest her husband, of whose fate they could not inform her, should have been killed. On that same night, Mr. Veitch made his escape, and came to a herdsman's house in Dunsyre common, within a mile of his own house, giving the herdsman his horse to take home to his own stable, and desiring him to inform Mrs. Veitch of his safety. He lurked several nights thereabout, and at last retired into England.

Two days after the battle, Mrs. Veitch was thrown into alarm by a party of Dalziel's troop, which that general, on learning where Mr. Veitch resided, had sent to the house to search for him; but to her great comfort, he was not at home, and though in the immediate neighborhood escaped falling into their hands. It was also gratifying both to him and her, that the troopers did not get his fine horse, the man-servant having led him out to the moor; for as it belonged to Lord Loudon, from whom the insurgent covenanters had taken it, on account of his sending his officer to warn all his tenants not to rise to their assistance, they were anxious to restore it to its rightful owner. On the following day, which was Saturday, Mr. Veitch having sent a man-servant down to Tweeddale, to see whether it might be safe to travel through that part of the country, Mrs. Veitch rode behind the man-servant, upon Lord Loudon's horse, to the house of Mr. Patrick Fleming, minister of Stobo, a nonconformist, and sent Mr.

* The battle was fought on Wednesday, the 28th of November, 1666.

Veitch word, according to his desire, by the man-servant, who was to return, that he might, to all appearance, with perfect safety, join her at the house of their friend, as she had observed no parties searching in that direction. On Mr. Veitch's arrival at Mr. Fleming's house, which was about midnight, it was judged safest for him immediately to leave it, and seek shelter elsewhere; and Mrs. Veitch accompanied him on his journey, it being now the sabbath morning, riding behind him on the same horse. They reached Glenvetches before day, and at night came to Torwoodle, the residence of Mr. George Pringle, who, with his lady, a daughter of Brodie, of Lethin, in the north of Scotland, were ardently attached to the religion and liberty of their country, and whose house was a sanctuary to many of the persecuted in those evil times. Leaving this hospitable mansion, they next proceeded to the house of Mr. Veitch's brother, Mr. John, minister of Werstruther, in the shire of Berwick. Here having seen the printed proclamation for the apprehension of the leading whigs, in which his own name appeared, Mr. Veitch deemed it prudent to secure his safety by fleeing into England, leaving behind him his wife and Lord Loudon's horse. She rode on the horse to Edinburgh, where she delivered it to one of his lordship's friends, and then returned to her own family at the Westhills of Dunsyre. Meanwhile Mr. Veitch went to Newcastle.

After her return home, Mrs. Veitch was greatly molested with parties of troopers, who came to her house to search for her husband. On such occasions it was usual for a party of them to surround the house to prevent him, should he be within, from making his escape by the windows, or any concealed or back door, while another party went into the house and searched through every room and corner. Judging that there was more likelihood of his being at home during the night than during the day, they ordinarily paid their unwelcome visits in the night, when Mrs. Veitch and her children were in bed; and at whatever hour they came, they rudely commanded her to rise and open the doors, threatening, that unless she did so quickly, they would force an entrance by breaking them up. But though often engaged in making these searches, and so intent upon their object as to secure the aid of a malignant laird and lady in the neighborhood, who promised to inform them when he came home, they never succeeded in finding him. Hearing of the harassing annoyances to which his wife was subjected, Mr. Veitch, dangerous as it was, came from Newcastle to see her and the chil-

dren, and advised her to give up the farm and take up her residence in Edinburgh, where he hoped she might be suffered to remain in quiet. Removing to Edinburgh, in compliance with his desire, she continued to live with her children in the capital for several years, during which time she was free from the troublesome visiters who had rendered her so uncomfortable at the Westhills of Dunsyre.

At length, about the year 1672, she and the children went to England to live with Mr. Veitch, who, after travelling from place to place, preaching the gospel to the English nonconformists, who had been deprived of their ministers by the act of uniformity, and by subsequent proceedings on the part of government, had been prevailed with by the people of Reedsdale, in Northumberland, to give them the benefit of his stated ministry, and to bring his family thither. Before leaving Scotland she had given birth to four children. There two of them, a daughter and a son, had died and were buried. The other two, who were sons, William and Samuel, she took with her to England. In those days, when neither railways nor stagecoaches existed, it was the custom to convey children to a distance in creels upon horseback, and by this slow and inconvenient mode of travelling she brought her two boys by different stages from Edinburgh to the new place of their residence, which was a village called Falalies, within the parish of Rothbury, in Northumberland. Here Mr. Veitch, for the better support of his family, farmed a piece of ground, the salary he received as minister from the people, who were poor, being altogether inadequate for the maintenance of his family, and all that he had having been taken from him upon his forfeiture in life and fortune after the battle of Pentland hills, except a little which was unknown to his persecutors. After recording in her diary her removal from Scotland to England, Mrs. Veitch says: "Being deprived of what once I had in Scotland, I renewed my suit to God for me and mine, and that was, that he would give us the tribe of Levi's inheritance, 'For the Lord God was their inheritance,' Josh. xiii. 33. When I entered into a strange land, I besought the Lord that he would give me food to eat and raiment to put on, and bring me back to set his glory in Scotland. This promise was exactly made out to me."

She did not remain long in that place, having gone with Mr. Veitch to reside five miles farther in the country, where, besides preaching in a hall at Harnam, he farmed a piece of ground, and got as a residence for his family Harnamhall, the mansion of Major Babington, the representative of the Babingtons, a family

whose antiquity in Britain is traced as far back as the Conquest. After continuing here four years, being again under the necessity of removing, the house and ground having fallen into the hands of a new proprietor, who refused to continue Mr. Veitch as his tenant, she accompanied him to Stantonhall, in the parish of Longhorsly, in May, 1676 or 1677. That district, abounding with papists, and the incumbent of the parish, Mr. Thomas Bell, a Scotsman, being a violent persecutor, it was far from being a desirable place of residence for the family of a nonconforming presbyterian minister. Here Mrs. Veitch experienced no small trouble from the repeated attempts made to apprehend Mr. Veitch. At one time, on the second sabbath of August, 1678, about three o'clock in the afternoon, two justices of the peace, on the simple information of a single individual, seconded by the threatenings and persuasion of Mr. Bell, came with some men to apprehend him at a meeting in his own house. One of the justices, with his party, came to the front gates, while the other, with his party, appeared at the back gate. They rudely broke into the house, and searched through it with pistols in their hands. Baffled in their attempts to find Mr. Veitch, who concealed himself within the lining of a large window, which had been made for that purpose, they at last went away, after having advised Mrs. Veitch to allow her husband to preach only to herself and her children, in which case they assured her she should not be troubled.

Another attempt, made some time after, to apprehend him, proving successful, became to her a source of greater trouble. On sabbath, the 19th of January, 1679, Major Oglethorp, with a party of his dragoons from Morpeth, arrived at her house, which was three or four miles distant from Morpeth, about five o'clock in the morning, while the family were fast asleep. One Cleugh, a sheriff-bailiff, whom Oglethorp (who was a stranger in the country) had hired as his guide, on reaching the house, went to the window of the parlor where Mr. and Mrs. Veitch were sleeping, and rapping on the glass of the window, repeatedly called out the name of Mr. Veitch, who, awaking, asked who was there. On hearing him speak, Cleugh said to the major, who was standing beside him, "Now, yonder he is: I have no more to do." Oglethorp, thus understanding that the object of his search was in the house, instantly broke in pieces the glass window, in order to get in; but finding iron bars in his way, he demanded that the door should be immediately opened; and, impatient of delay, he and his dragoons broke in at the hall-windows, and getting their candles lighted before the servant-maid opened the inner

doors, they apprehended Mr. Veitch, and carried him to Morpeth jail, where he continued prisoner twelve days.

During the time that this scene was enacting, Mrs. Veitch, though not free from alarm, yet persuaded that men could do nothing against her and her husband but what God permitted, conducted herself with a degree of composure which even surprised the rude and heartless military. In relating the scene, she says: "It bred some trouble and new fear to my spirit; but He was graciously pleased to set home that word, 'He does all things well,' Mark vii. 37; 'Trust in the Lord, and fear not what man can do,' Ps. lvi. 11; which brought peace to me in such a measure, that I was made often to wonder; for all the time the officers were in the house He supported me, so that I was not in the least discouraged before them, which made Major Oglethorp say he wondered to see me. I told him I looked to a higher hand than his in this, and I knew he could not go one hair breadth beyond God's permission. He answered that He permits his enemies to go a great length sometimes. They took him to prison, where he lay about twelve days."

During that period of Mr. Veitch's imprisonment Mrs. Veitch was deeply afflicted in spirit, for which she had indeed too much reason, her prospects being very dark and distressing. She had no ground to hope that he would be soon released. She had, on the contrary, much cause to fear that he would share the fate of those who had been put to death for the Pentland insurrection; for he was regarded by the government as a traitor of the deepest dye: sentence of death had been pronounced against him in his absence for high-treason,* and he was excluded by name from the king's pardon and indemnity†—all which augured ill for his future safety. Besides, she had now six helpless children, entirely dependent upon herself, with no apparent means of providing for their temporal necessities. But though sunk in sorrow in such trying circumstances, she was not overwhelmed with despair. Betaking herself to the throne of grace, where the afflicted have so often found relief, and reposing in the gracious promises of God's word, she was enabled to acquiesce in the Divine will, even though her husband should fall a sacrifice to the fury of persecution, and though she herself, with her fatherless children, should be cast destitute upon the world. "All the twelve days of his imprisonment," she says, "I was under much exercise of spirit, which made me go to God many times on his behalf. He made that word often sweet to me, 'He performeth

* On the 16th of August, 1667. † Dated October 1, 1667.

the things appointed for me,' Job xxiii. 14; and that, 'He is of one mind, and who can turn him?' verse 13. Much means were used for his liberty, but all to no effect, which bred new errands to God for him and me. But misbelief coming in and telling many ill tales of God, was like to discourage me; to wit, that I was a stranger in a strange land, and had six small children, and little in the world to look to. But He comforted me with these words:—

> 'O why art thou cast down, my soul—
> What should discourage thee?
> And why with vexing thoughts art thou
> Disquieted in me?
> Still trust in God; for him to praise
> Good cause I yet shall have:
> He of my count'nance is the health,
> My God that doth me save.'—Ps. xliii. 5.

"At length He helped me to give him freely to Him, to do with him as He pleased; and if his blood should fill up the cup of the enemy, and bring about deliverance to His church, I would betake myself to His care and providence for me and my children." She adds, as if her faith had stayed the fury of the persecutor, and arrested his cruel purpose: "And while I was yet speaking to God in prayer, that word was wonderfully brought into my mind, 'Abraham, hold thy hand, for I have provided a sacrifice' (Gen. xxii. 11, 12), which comforted me concerning my husband; and that word, 'The meal in the barrel shall not waste, nor the oil in the cruise, until the Lord send rain on the earth' (1 Kings xvii. 14), which brought much peace to my troubled spirit concerning my troubled family. I thought I had now ground to believe he should not die; but misbelief soon got the upper hand, and told me it was not the language of faith, which put me to go to God, and pour out my spirit before him. And He answered me with that word, 'They that walk in darkness and have no light, let them trust in the Lord, and stay themselves on their God!' (Isaiah l. 10), which refreshed me much, and gave me more ground to believe my husband should not die."

While Mr. Veitch was lying in Morpeth jail, she received a letter from him, written on the evening of the eleventh day of his imprisonment, informing her that an order having been despatched from the king and English council to transport him to Scotland, there to suffer for alleged misdemeanors, he was to be removed from Morpeth for Scotland on the morrow, and requesting her immediately to come and see him. "When I opened the letter," she says, "he had that expression, 'Deep calleth unto deep,' &c.

But He [God] was pleased to send home that word, 'Good is the word of the Lord,' which silenced much my misbelief." On receiving the letter, she proceeded without delay to Morpeth, riding, along with a man-servant, through a deep storm of snow, and arrived at an inn in Morpeth after midnight. Not being allowed access to her husband till the morning, she sat, during the remainder of the night, at the fireside; and when admitted to him, she could not speak to him but in the presence of a guard of soldiers, who were that night placed in the room to watch him, lest he should make his escape. Nor had she been long with him, when, the kettle-drums beating the troops presently to arms, he was separated from her, and being carried out to the streets, was set on horseback, in the midst of the soldiers (the town's people, from curiosity, running to gaze), and brought to Alnwick, thence to Belford, thence to Berwick, and after being kept there for some time, was carried to Edinburgh, where he was thrown into prison. "All these things," says she, "were against me, and conspired to frighten me; but that word, being set home, wonderfully supported me, 'Fear thou not the fear of man, but let the Lord be your fear and your dread' (Isaiah viii. 12, 13). I went after to a friend's house in the town, and wept my fill, and some friends with me. He desired that a day might be kept [for offering up prayers in his behalf], which was done in several places of the country. I went home to my children, having one upon the breast. I was under much exercise about him, and it was my suit to Him who, I can say, is a present help in the time of trouble, that he might be kept from the evil of sin; which He was graciously pleased to answer." The concluding sentence of this quotation, though very humbly and unostentatiously expressed, breathes a spirit of noble Christian fortitude—the holy heroism of the martyr. So strong was her sense of the paramount claims of duty, that to witness her husband undergoing his present hardships, and even cruelier treatment, however painful to natural affection, was less painful to her than would have been the sight of his doing, from motives of worldly ease, aught which God and conscience would condemn.

As a farther aggravation of the distressing circumstances into which she and her children were at this time reduced, it may be added that, being conducted to Edinburgh jail at his own expense, Mr. Veitch was under the necessity of selling his stock for money to bear his charges, and, "by so doing, to lay his farm lea, rendering it presently useless to his family, yea, so disabled, as the way-going crop was lost, in which sad posture he left them:

the children young, insensible of the matter, and unfit to do for themselves, so that the whole burden was laid on the mother."

To the extracts made from Mrs. Veitch's diary during this period of trial, we may add the interesting record left by Mr. Veitch, of her distressful feelings and her faith in God under it, which proves that she was, as he expresses it, "a meet helper for him indeed, in this very case." "Trouble and anguish," says he, "did now compass her about in this darkest hour of her twelve years' night of affliction. Her soul melteth for heaviness and grief; she is now in deep waters in a foreign land, far from her relations, friends, and acquaintances; distress and desolation at home, and destruction and death abroad; the sad report whereof, with trembling, she expects every day, because of the fury of the oppressor. This puts her on a most serious exercise, and firm resolution to take God for all. He should be the husband, and he should be the farm; he should be the stock and the crop; he should be the provider, the food, and the raiment, the master of the family, and the father of the children; yea, she resolved to cleave faster unto this relation than Ruth did to Naomi, for that which parted them should bring her to the greatest nearness, most inseparable and comfortable communion with her God. Thus, while deep called unto deep, she held by her compass, and followed the precedents of the word. Her prayer was in this night to the God of her life, and Jacob-like, she gave it not over till she got a new lease of her husband's life granted her; which, when she obtained, she wrote an encouraging letter to him at Berwick (the weaning of her child Sarah not suffering her yet to visit him), telling him that he should be like Isaac, with the knife at his throat, near to death; but the Lord would find a sacrifice, and the enemy should be restrained. She wished him also not to be anxious about his family, for the meal and the oil, little as it was, should not fail; not only till he returned, but also the kingdom to Israel. These instances, so clearly and convincingly borne in upon her, gave her good ground to say with the psalmist, 'Thy word is my comfort in all my afflictions;' her prayers and pleadings were turned to praises, and his statutes were her 'songs in the house of her pilgrimage,' and she was persuaded that her night would yet have a day succeeding it, wherein he would, as a special favor to her and her family, command his loving kindness."

Under all her sufferings, Mrs. Veitch uniformly speaks in a chastened and subdued tone of those by whom they were inflicted; nor did she yield to that bitterness and exultation of spirit

which the human heart is so naturally inclined to cherish, at witnessing or hearing of the calamities or judgments which may light on an enemy. Within five days after Mr. Veitch's transportation from Morpeth to Edinburgh, one of the most virulent of his persecutors, Mr. Bell, formerly referred to,* met with his death in very appalling circumstances. On returning home from Newcastle, he stopped at Pontilland, and continued drinking there with the curate till about ten o'clock at night, when he determined to go home. The curate urged him, as the night was dark and stormy, and the river Pont, which he had to cross, was much swollen, to remain till to-morrow; and, to detain him, took his watch from him, and locked up his horse in the stable. But, as if impelled by some unseen power to his fate, he would not be persuaded, and, getting his horse, proceeded on his journey. Two days after he was found standing dead up to the arm-pits in the river Pont, near the side, the violence of the frost having frozen him in. His hat and gloves were on, and his boots and gloves were much worn from his struggles among the ice to get out. Mrs. Veitch's reflections on this awful visitation are Christian and becoming: "'The whole country about was astonished at that dispensation, and often said to me there would none trouble my husband again, for they all knew that he was an enemy to my husband. I told them they that would not take warning from the word of God, would never take warning from that. That scripture was often borne in upon my spirit, 'Rejoice not at the fall of thine enemy, lest He see it, and be displeased.'" She adds, "I bless the Lord I was not in the least lifted up with it; for his word was my counsellor; in all my doubts and fears it was as refreshing to me as ever meat and drink were. There are none that study to make the work of God the rule of their walk, and when grace is master of the house, but they will say, as David said when Shimei railed on him, 'Let him alone, God hath bidden him, who knows but he will requite blessings for cursings?' But when corrupt nature is master, it will say, 'Cut off the head of the dog;' but I am much in grace's debt; that kept me back from being of Shimei's frame." In reference to another case of ill treatment received, she makes similar remarks, "I bless the Lord who kept me from being of a revengeful spirit. Whatever I met with from the creature, he helped me always to look to God. That was often upon my spirit which

* When Mr. Veitch was removed from Morpeth for Edinburgh, Bell said, "This night he will be at Edinburgh, and hanged to-morrow, according to his demerits; and how could such a rebel as he, who did so and so, expect to escape the just judgment of God?"

David said, 'Let him alone, God hath bidden him,' and that word in the Psalms, 'Fret not thyself, because of evil-doers.'"

About the close of February, or the beginning of March, 1679, a month after Mr. Veitch was carried from Morpeth to Scotland, and when he was lying a prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, she set out, with a heavy heart, for Edinburgh, through a great storm of snow, in compliance with a letter she received from him, leaving her children behind her. On reaching the capital, she was much relieved on finding that there was every prospect of his being set at liberty. But within a few days he was put in close prison, and an order came from the king to hand him over to the justiciary court, that intimation might be made to him of the sentence of death for high treason, which had been pronounced against him in his absence nearly twelve years before. This threw her into a state of great agitation of mind. Providence now seemed to contradict the assurance she thought she had received from God, that Mr. Veitch's life would be preserved. But by faith and prayer, her usual refuge in the hour of trial, her fears were gradually allayed, and she became settled in her previously cherished hope, that matters would be so ordered as to secure his personal safety. Nor were her hopes disappointed. About the close of July, Mr. Veitch was liberated, by virtue of the king's pardon, indulgence, and indemnity. "When the news came to my ears," says she, "that word came in my mind, 'He hath both spoken it, and himself hath done it; I will walk softly in the bitterness of my spirit all my days,' Isa, xxxviii. 15." She adds, "We came both home in peace to our children, where we lived at Stantonhall, three miles from Morpeth, in Northumberland, August, 1679."* This sore trial had now come to an end, but it did not leave them in outward circumstances equally favorable with those in which it found them, having involved them in a heavy debt. Owing to the forfeiture of Mr. Veitch, and to their repeated removals from one place to another, occasioned by the prelates and their emissaries, they were unable to defray the expenses incurred in this business without borrowing considerable sums of money from their friends.

In addition to her other virtues, Mrs. Veitch was distinguished for kind-hearted hospitality. In those distressing times, when oppression compelled our presbyterian ancestors to "wander in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth," her house, both during the period of her residence in Scotland and in England, "was a resting and refreshing place for the wan-

* Memoirs of Mrs. Veitch, p. 6. She says 1680, by mistake.

dering and weather-beaten flock of Christ." The same womanly and Christian kindness, which prompted her cordially to receive into her house the officers of the covenanters after their defeat at Pentland hills, and to set meat and drink before them, led her cordially to welcome, and kindly to entertain those friends and acquaintances who, when hunted like wild beasts by their persecutors, sought refreshment and a hiding-place under her roof; and it was her observation "that things never came in so plentifully, nor went so far, as when they had most strangers."

Among those who betook themselves for shelter to her hospitable dwelling was the earl of Argyll, who suffered in 1685. At the close of December, 1681, that nobleman, having, on the 20th of that month, escaped from the castle of Edinburgh, where he lay imprisoned under sentence of death, directed his course to Stantonhall, with the view of being conducted on his way to London by Mr. Veitch, whose intrepidity, shrewdness, and fidelity, particularly recommended him for such a service. On Argyll's arrival, Mr. Veitch being from home, Mrs. Veitch sent some of her servants or friends about the country for two days in search of him; and on his return, she consented to allow him to do his best in conducting their respected noble friend in safety to London.

Some weeks after Mr. Veitch's arrival in the English capital, she received a letter from him, informing her that he had some thoughts of emigrating to Carolina, a scheme of planting a Scottish colony there having been formed by Sir John Cochrane and several others; that he had the prospect of good encouragement in a temporal respect, as well as of enjoying without disturbance that civil and religious freedom which was denied them in their native land; and that she might be making preparations for leaving Scotland. To this proposal she at first felt a strong disinclination. Driven though she was from place to place, and exposed to many annoyances and hardships, yet to leave the land of her fathers at her advanced period of life—for she was now in the forty-fourth year of her age—and more especially to leave a land which, like Judea to the Jews, was endeared to her by the most sacred associations—which God had honored by taking into covenant with himself, and to encounter the perils of the ocean, and all the dangers and difficulties attending a new settlement in the forests of America, was a step to which she was averse from sentiments of patriotism as well as from natural feeling. But, submitting her will to the will of God, she at last became less disinclined, and stood prepared to go wherever he in his providence might call her. "I thought,"

says she, "in my old days I could have no heart for such a voyage, and leave these covenanted lands; but at length I got submission to my God and was content, if he had more service for me and mine in another land; for I had opened my mouth and given me and mine to him and his service when and where, and what way he pleased, and I could not go back; but if I went there, I would hang my harp upon the willows when I remembered Scotland." Obstacles were however, thrown in the way of this plantation, so that it was never formed; and she had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Veitch return home, after an absence of about half a year.

But her troubles were not yet brought to a termination. A discovery of the Rychouse plot, in which Mr. Veitch had been concerned when in London, having been made,* a justice of the peace came to the house to apprehend him. He narrowly escaped, and, after hiding himself for some weeks, succeeded in getting over to Holland. At this time Mrs. Veitch fell sick, but was not long in recovering. To complete the education of her two eldest sons, she sent them over to their father in Holland. While at sea they encountered a severe storm, by which many lives were lost, but they got safely to land, though with much difficulty. Meanwhile she was deprived, by death, of her third son, a boy of twelve years of age. Her sorrow under this bereavement, though aggravated by the absence of his father, was mitigated from the striking evidence afforded by the dying child, that he died in the Lord. Previously thoughtless, and without any appearance of religion, he seemed to her, even sometime after his illness commenced, not to be duly impressed with the awful importance of death and eternity. Anxious and trembling for the safety of his soul, she was earnest in prayer that God would wean his young and tender heart from the world, open his eyes to see the glories of heaven, and discover to him his interest in the Savior. Her prayers were heard. One day, calling her to his bedside, he told her that the world to him had lost its attractions, and that he was resigned to die. She asked the reason of this, since he had formerly felt a desire to live. He answered that he had been praying and giving himself to Christ; that Christ had assured him of the delight he took in his soul; and that this had comforted him. Afterward he said, "Is it not a wonder that Jesus Christ should have died for sinners? Oh, this is a good tale, and we should think often on it!" He frequently repeated these words, "Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon the earth that I desire beside thee!"

* It was discovered in June, 1683.

"which," says Mrs. Veitch, "refreshed me more than if he had been made heir of a great estate." When engaged in prayer a little before he died, he prayed for his absent father and brothers, pleaded that his brothers and sisters might be animated to serve God in their generation, and used these words, "Though we be far separated now, I hope we shall meet in glory." Also calling for his brother who was at home, and his sisters, he blessed them all, and bade them farewell. On becoming unable to speak, he held up his hand while his mother spoke to him of death and heaven. At last he put up his own hand and closed his own eyes, "and so," says she, "we parted in hope of a glorious meeting."

The deep anxiety which Mrs. Veitch felt for the spiritual welfare of her children, is an interesting and instructive feature of her character. Nor was this anxiety limited to those seasons when sickness entered her dwelling, and threatened to remove by death the objects of her tenderest affection. As became a Christian mother, the spiritual interests of her children were to her a source of constant solicitude. Before they were born she devoted them to God, and she renewed the dedication at their baptism. She early instructed them in the things of God, and often recommended them to him by prayer. It was her highest ambition to see them living the life of the righteous, and to engage them to such a life, she plied them with arguments addressed both to their hopes and their fears, to their understandings and their hearts. "When I was pouring out my spirit before Him in prayer," she says, in one part of her diary, "He brought that word wonderfully to my mind, where the angel appeared to Cornelius (Acts x.) and bade him send for Peter, who would tell him words by which he and all his house should be saved. He opened mine eyes and let me see that which I had never seen before so clearly—that Christ's death and blood could reach a whole family. . . . . This gave me new ground to plead the promise for me and mine, and that the sign I sought from him might be accomplished, that they might evidence by their practice they were his, and my eyes might see it." In another part of the same document, she further says, "I charge all mine, as they shall answer to God at the great day, and as they would not have me to be a witness against them in that day, that ye covenant yourselves away to God and his service, and plead the good of this promise* in particular,

* The promise she refers to is, 'I will be your God, and the God of your seed,' which she had been pleading with God, and which, by his grace, he had enabled her to embrace.

every one of you for yourselves; for all I can do for you can not merit heaven for you: for with the heart man believes, and every man is saved by his own faith. All my desire is, that he would glorify himself by redeeming me and mine from hell and wrath, and make us useful in our generation for his glory. I thought fit to write this for my own use and the good of mine; and, if the Lord should take me from them by death, I hope the words of a dying mother shall have some weight upon their spirits."

During the time of Mr. Veitch's stay in Holland, the entries in Mrs. Veitch's diary relate chiefly to her anxiety about him, and to her distress of mind on account of the condition of the church in Scotland, whose sufferings seem to have more deeply affected her heart than even her own personal afflictions. After relating some news she heard from Scotland, and her exercise thereupon, she adds: "Within, a little misbelief got the mastery of me, and it told me that I need not expect to see good days. This was occasioned by the apostasy of some, and the persecutors being permitted to run all down before them, as it were. I could sleep little or none for several nights." When recording the death of Charles II., she writes as follows: "When I heard it, I thought Pharaoh was dead, and I would go to God and beg of him that he would spirit a Moses to lead forth the church from under her hard bondage;" and, after referring to some passages of scripture which were impressed upon her mind, she observes that she was thereby made to "hope that God would not leave these covenanted lands, especially Scotland."

Meanwhile, a considerable number of English and Scottish refugees in Holland, encouraged by friends both in England and Scotland, were forming a scheme for overthrowing by force the government of James VII., who was resolutely bent on establishing absolute power in the state and popery in the church. The duke of Monmouth was to invade England, and the earl of Argyll, Scotland. The scheme being matured, Mr. Veitch, who was one of the party, was sent from Holland to Northumberland and the Scottish borders, to give their friends information of their intentions; in doing which, the matter, through his activity in travelling from place to place, and through the zeal of numbers in many quarters to rise, was in danger of being divulged, so that he he was forced to retire to the mountains, in the borders near Reedsdale-head, and hide himself, nor did he deem it safe to go to Newcastle, whither his wife had removed in 1684, till some time after the execution of the earl of Argyll and the duke of Monmouth.*

* The earl of Argyll was taken on the 17th of June, 1685, and executed on the

On the arrival of Argyll in Scotland, and of Monmouth in England, Mrs. Veitch hoped that, perhaps, the time had now come for the deliverance of the church, and that these noblemen might be the appointed and honored instruments of effecting it; but, that ill-conducted undertaking proving unsuccessful, these agreeable expectations were not realized, and she felt in some measure dispirited. "It was my desire," she says, "that He would make good his word, on which he had caused me to hope in behalf of the church; for I thought possibly this might be the time of building his house. But his thoughts are not like mine; for it pleased Him who gives no account of his matters, to let both these great persons fall before the enemy, which put me to pour out my spirit before Him, and often to charge my soul to be silent, for my ill heart and misbelief were like to quarrel with him." The tendency to quarrel with God, which she expresses herself as feeling at the disastrous issue of this attempt, need occasion little surprise; for although the enlightened friend of freedom will not now regret that such was its issue, providence having, not long after, without struggle or bloodshed, brought about a more effectual and permanent deliverance than could have been expected by its success; yet, at that time, the defeat of the enterprise was in no small degree discouraging to many of the covenanters, as it seemed to demonstrate the hopelessness of any efforts to throw off that oppressive yoke, under which their powers of endurance were well nigh exhausted, and even threatened to rivet the chains of slavery and popery more firmly on Britain than ever.

Still she never despaired of the deliverance of the church and nation, and even cherished the hope of living to see it accomplished. On one occasion after the fatal result of this insurrection, at a social meeting for prayer and conference held in her house at Newcastle, where, besides her husband, there were present some of his pious Scottish relations, and also some other good people of the town of Newcastle, after several had spoken in an almost despairing tone of the state of matters, she expressed her confident hope that good days were still awaiting Scotland. She said that the night was indeed dark, and that all things wore a dismal aspect, but that she was, notwithstanding, persuaded that God would not leave his own work, but from an unexpected quarter would raise up instruments to build his house, to restore the ark and the glory, and bring home his captives. She added, moreover, that she felt assured she would see presbytery estab-

30th of that month. The duke of Monmouth was taken on the 8th of July, 1685, and executed on the 15th of that month.

lished, and her husband a settled minister in the church of Scotland, before she died. "Though they loved the thing," says Mr. Veitch, "yet they little believed it in the time; but when it came to pass, they both thought and talked much of it." From the danger he was in of being apprehended, Mr. Veitch only visited her occasionally from the time he came from Holland, early in 1685, till his settlement as a minister at Beverley, near one hundred miles south from Newcastle, after King James's declaration for liberty of conscience in England, when, with her family, she removed to that part of the country.

When Mr. Veitch was called to Beverley, she felt some reluctance to settle in that place, from the strong desire she had to see the restoration of the church to prosperity in the land of her birth, and that her husband might in some degree be instrumental in promoting it there; though, at last, she submitted her inclinations to the determinations of Providence, if he could be more useful in that place than in another. But when, after having preached for six or seven months in Beverley, with much success, he received pressing invitations to return to Scotland, where King James's toleration had been accepted, she was extremely desirous that he should comply with these invitations, though the people of Beverley had sent for her, given her good offers, and used many arguments to persuade her and him to stay with them. "Her heart," says Mr. Veitch, "was for her native country, and she longed to see that in the performance which she had promised herself formerly in her duties and wrestling with God, and had expressed her assurance thereof." She, however, apprehended that the design in view, in the toleration extended to Scotland, as well as in that granted to England, was under the disguise of benefiting dissenters, to afford relief to papists, and ultimately to pave the way for the establishment of popery. "Considering it came from a popish king," she writes, "made me fear what the issue might be."

On the compliance of Mr. Veitch with a call he received from the united parishes of Oxnam, Crailing, Eckford, Linton, Morebattle, and Hownam, to preach to them, under King James's third indulgence, at Whittonhall, which was almost the centre of these parishes,* she returned with great joy to her native land. "But," says she, "His promise to me for His church in Scotland, was not yet altogether performed. I was like Haman (Esther v. 13), all availed me little so long as I saw popery owned by authority. I thought that then the ark was still in the house of Obededom;

* He entered on this charge in April, 1688.

it was my desire He would spirit some to bring it to Jerusalem." She had not, however, been much more than half a year in Scotland, when James VII., was driven from his throne, and William, prince of Orange, was called to fill it, a revolution which, by more narrowly circumscribing and more exactly defining the prerogatives of the crown than had been done in any former period of the history of our country, conferred on the subjects a degree of liberty they never before had enjoyed, defeated the design of restoring popery, overthrew prelacy in Scotland, and brought to a termination the sufferings of the presbyterians for conscience' sake.

After the revolution she resided first in Peebles, and next in Dumfries, in which places Mr. Veitch was successively minister. In the last of these towns she died in May, 1722, at the advanced age of eighty-four. Mr. Veitch died on the day after her death, having completed his eighty-second year. Mr. James Guthrie, minister of Irongray, in a letter to Mr. James Stirling, minister of Barony, Glasgow, dated May 9, 1722, says, "Your honest old friend, Mr. Veitch, is now gone to heaven, for he died yesterday morning, and his good wife departed this life on Friday last, so that they who lived long together on earth are now gone to glory, I may say, together also. . . . . Mr. Veitch, for some months before his death, wanted the use of his tongue, right arm and leg, and so lay almost as one dead long before he gave up the ghost."† This venerable pair had been married fifty-eight years, and they were both interred on the same day, in the old church of Dumfries.

We shall conclude this sketch with a few particulars relative to Mrs. Veitch's children. She had five sons and five daughters. Of these, four died young.

Mary, her first child, was born on the 23d of September, 1665, at the Westhills of Dunsyre, died March 9, 1666, and was buried at Dunsyre kirk.

William, her second child, was born on the 2d of April, 1667, at the Westhills of Dunsyre. Samuel, her third child, was born on the 9th of December, 1668, at Edinburgh, and baptized on the 13th by Mr. John Blackadder. These two sons she had devoted to the Christian ministry, and sent to Holland to prosecute their studies at the university of Utrecht; but the young men expressed their decided preference for the military profession, and, when the prince of Orange came over to England, in 1688, they held commissions under him. Both of them served in Flanders during the war with France, which broke out after the Revolu-

† Letters to Wodrow, vol. x., 4to, no. 172, MSS. in Advocates' Library.

tion. William was a lieutenant in Angus's, or the Cameronian regiment, and was wounded, in 1699, at the battle of Steinkirk. He was shot through the left cheek, an inch below the eye, and the ball falling into his mouth, he spat it out. The two brothers afterward went out as captains of the forces of the Scottish colony, which it was intended to settle at the isthmus of Darien. But the settlement came to a disastrous termination. Captain William died at sea on returning home after the evacuation. Captain Samuel ultimately settled at New York, where he married a granddaughter of Mr. John Livingstone, minister of Ancrum, by whom he had a daughter called Aleda, who married an American gentleman of the name of Pinkrie, near Philadelphia.

James, her fourth child, was born at Edinburgh on the 9th of March, 1671, died at Arnistoum, on the 10th of April, 1672, and was buried in the church-yard of Temple, on the 12th of that month.

John, her fifth child, was born at Falalies, in the parish of Rothbury, in Northumberland, on the 19th of July, 1672; died at Stantonhall about Martinmas, 1684, and was buried at Nether Wilton, four miles from Morpeth. This is the boy of whose death an account has previously been given.*

Elizabeth, her sixth child, was born at Harnam, in the parish of Bolam, in Northumberland, on the 20th of May, 1674. She was married to David M'Culloch, of Ardwell, on the 7th of June, 1710, at Dumfries.

Ebenezer, her seventh child, was born at Harnam, on the 16th of March, 1676. Devoting himself to the Christian ministry, he studied divinity under the learned Mr. George Campbell, professor of theology in the college of Edinburgh. After being licensed, he was appointed sabbath morning lecturer in the Tron church, upon Mr. M'Alla's mortification. This situation he left in May, 1703, having received a call to be minister at Ayr, to which charge he was ordained on the 12th of that month. He soon after married Margaret, daughter of the venerable Mr. Patrick Warner, minister of Irvine, a young lady of great personal attractions. But he did not long survive. When at Edinburgh attending the commission, in December, 1706, he was seized with a dangerous sickness, and died on the 13th of that month. He was a young man of uncommon piety, and his death was triumphant. Calling his wife to his bedside, he told her he would give her his parting kiss, and recommended her to *his* God, "who," he said, "has been all in all to me;" and when she asked

* See page 172.

him whether he would not desire to live with her, and serve God some time longer in the church below, he answered in the negative. Then calling out to some of the ministers who were in the room with him, he said, "Ye passengers for glory, how near, think you, am I to the New Jerusalem?" One of them answered, "Not far, sir!" He rejoined; "I'll wait and climb until I be up among that innumerable company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect." They removed his wife out of the room; but when he was just expiring, she rushed in to the bedside. Waving with his hand, he said, "No more converse with the creature, I never, never will look back again;" and immediately breathed out his spirit into the hands of his redeeming God. His mother, who gives this account in her diary, adds, "It need not be a surprisal to me, for near a year before his death, he preached upon these words, 'Remember, Lord, how short my time is:' and when he was at home in his family in Ayr, in prayer he would be so transported with the joys of heaven, as if he would have flown away; and his young wife* would often say to him, it was a terror to her to hear him so much upon death; but he said it was none to him; so he lived desired, and died lamented."

Sarah, her eighth child, and third daughter, was born at Stantonhall, in the parish of Longhorsly, in Northumberland, on the 7th of November, 1677. She became the wife of James Young, of Guiliehill, from whom, says Dr. M'Crie, writing in 1825, Samuel Denholm Young, Esq., of Guiliehill, is descended.

Agnes, her ninth child, and fourth daughter, was born at Stantonhall, on the 20th of January, 1680. She married Mr. John Somerville, minister of Caerlaverock; to whom she had six chil-

* This lady was afterward married to Mr Robert Wodrow, minister of Eastwood, the indefatigable historian of the sufferings of the church of Scotland. The marriage ring presented to her by both her first and second husband are still preserved as family relics. "How it has so happened," says a writer in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor, for December, 1825, "we shall not at present tell; but so it is, that we have, while writing this article, actually on our forefinger, the identical ring which Mr Ebenezer Veitch presented to his wife, previous to marriage. It is a plain gold one, with small ivory beads around its outer edge, and within is this Latin inscription, which we have some difficulty in translating intelligibly. We give it *verbatim et literatim* as we see it, and leave our readers to make out what they can of it, '*Ebenezer, et Jehovah, Festch.*' The sense which we conjecture is not very luminously conveyed, but it seems to savor of the eminent piety of its author. The ring presented to the same lady by Mr. Wodrow, her second husband, is also now before us, and its *motto* is more intelligible. The device is a *plain ring* in the centre, with a hand on the one side giving, and another on the other side receiving; and this plain English motto: '*I give you mine, and grasp at yours.*'" The writer adds, "From these specimens, we see that the clerical gentlemen of our olden times, while they were not destitute of learning, were not devoid of the tender affections."

dren, one son and five daughters. Mr. Charles Sheriff, the dumb miniature painter, was her grandson. She died of her seventh child, not brought to bed, on the 14th of August, 1712; and when medical assistance failed to do her any good, she said, "Now I see that God calls me to die and leave this world, and all my relations, which I am most willing to do." Then taking farewell, with the greatest composure and deliberation, of her parents, children, servants, and husband, leaving her blessing to every one present, and to all her friends who were absent, with her eyes lifted up to heaven, she cried, "O my beloved! be thou as a roe and as a young hart upon the mountains of divisions." Then she begged that her friends present would unite in praying that God would mitigate her sufferings in passing through the dark valley, and land her in her wished-for port. Before prayer was ended, her pain was abated, and closing her eyes, a little after, with her own hand, she died with great tranquillity.

Janet, her tenth child, and fifth daughter, was born on the 30th of January, 1682, at Stantonhall, her father being then at London. She died on sabbath, the 26th of March, 1693, near eight o'clock at night, at Peebles. Before her death, her father having been engaged in prayer, she said, "Now I am content to leave you all," and inquired at her mother whether they should know one another in heaven? Her mother told her she thought they would, and asked her whether she thought she would win there; to which she answered, "I hope I shall." She died without any pain; and with as much composure as if she had been going to see a friend, kissing her father, mother, and sisters, and bidding them all farewell.

MRS. JOHN LIVINGSTONE, &c.

Mrs. Livingstone, whose maiden name was Janet Fleming, was the eldest daughter of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh, by his wife Marion Hamilton. She was married, June 23, 1635, to the famous Mr. John Livingstone, afterward minister of Ancrum, by his father, in the West church of Edinburgh.* In the following notices respecting this lady, it is not our intention to trace the whole of her history, but merely to select a single chapter from her life, relating to matters which fell out in the year 1674, when she was considerably advanced in years. Previous to this period, she had experienced many vicissitudes and trials, having shared in the hardships endured by Mr. Livingstone, in the cause of nonconformity, both in Ireland and in Scotland; and when, on his being banished his majesty's dominions, by the privy council, for his fidelity to the same cause, he had embarked for Holland in the beginning of April, 1663, she followed him in December that year, taking with her two of her children, and leaving the other five in Scotland. She remained in Holland till the death of Mr. Livingstone, which took place in August, 1672, when she returned to Scotland. Mr. Robert M'Ward, writing from Rotterdam to Lady Kenmure, says: "Madam, it's like you will look for some account of the death of that great man of God, non-such Mr. Livingstone, which I would have given you, but your ladyship will have it more perfectly from his worthy relict, by whom you will be waited upon."†

On her return to Scotland, she took up her residence in Edinburgh, where two of her sons were resident. It was within less than two years after her return, that she and several other presbyterian ladies were concerned in those transactions which we now purpose to rehearse. Our narrative relates to a petition which she and these ladies drew up and presented to the lords of his majesty's privy council, praying for liberty to enjoy undisturbed the preaching of the gospel by the nonconforming ministers; and to the proceedings of the privy council against these ladies on that account. This will furnish a good illustration of the patriotic interest taken by the ladies of that period in the cause of suffering nonconformity, as well as of the determination of the government to ride rough-shod over every attempt to obtain a mitigation or redress of grievances.

* Livingstone's Life written by Himself. † Wodrow MSS., vol. lviii., fol., No. 55.

The state of matters in which this petition originated may be briefly described. For about three months in the early part of the year 1674, an almost entire cessation from persecution took place. During this respite, which was called "the Blink," the proscribed ministers fearing that it would be of short duration, preached both in private houses and in the fields with unremitting and ardent zeal. In the west, field-meetings were not of very frequent occurrence, the indulgence of 1672, which extended chiefly to that part of the country, rendering such meetings unnecessary; but in Fifeshire, Perthshire, Stirlingshire, Dumbartonshire, Lothian, Merse, Teviotdale, Annandale, Nithsdale, and other places, to which the indulgence did not extend, or where it was more limited in its operation, they were very frequently held in mountains, mosses, and moors, and attended by immense multitudes. This liberty was owing, not to any change in the spirit or policy of the government, but solely to political causes, among which the chief cause was the animosities then existing between the different parties of statesmen. Lauderdale, who had now for a considerable time been a privy counsellor in England, and the chief manager of affairs in Scotland, had, by his intolerable arrogance, and more especially by his violent and tyrannical administration, created a powerful opposition against him, both in England and in Scotland. So strong was the faction against him in Scotland, which was headed by the duke of Hamilton, that when he came down as his majesty's commissioner to hold the Scottish parliament, which was to meet in March, 1674, finding it would be difficult or impossible for him to maintain his ground in it, he adjourned it to October, but never after ventured upon another Scottish parliament.

To this state of political parties in Scotland we are mainly to trace the tranquillity enjoyed during "the Blink." Lauderdale secretly encouraged conventicles, promising the persecuted ministers ample and unrestrained liberty, that he might blame his opponents to the king, as encouragers of these "seminaries of rebellion;" and on the other hand his opponents connived at such meetings, that they might impute the prevalence of them to him. But matters changed upon a sudden: the tempest of persecution again rose into fury. On his return to London, after the adjournment of the Scottish parliament, Lauderdale, who, notwithstanding the opposition made to him both in England and in Scotland, retained the royal favor, laid the blame of the conventicles held in Scotland upon his opponents. The Scottish privy council was remodelled according to his wishes, the most of his enemies

being kept out, and others friendly to him put in their places; and by his advice, letters from the king to the council followed each other in succession, requiring them to adopt every means for suppressing conventicles. On the 4th of June, 1674, when the new council met for the first time, a letter from his majesty, dated May 19th, was read, complaining that not only private but also field conventicles were held, and that the pulpits of the regular ministers were invaded in some places; and requiring the council to use their utmost endeavors for apprehending and trying field-preachers, invaders of pulpits, and such heritors as were ringleaders at field conventicles and in pulpit invasions, calling in the standing forces and militia to their aid.

Such were the circumstances which gave rise to this petition. Mrs. Livingstone and a considerable number of other presbyterian ladies in Edinburgh, especially the wives and widows of ejected nonconforming ministers, and some ladies of rank, were in no small degree distressed at the threatened prospect of renewed and aggravated persecution. Little could they do to prevent the impending calamity. Prayer to God was almost their only remaining resource. But necessity is prolific in suggesting expedients, and it occurred to some of them that, as it was dangerous for ministers to petition the privy council for the redress of their grievances, imprisonment being the only answer likely to be made, they themselves might petition the council for the undisturbed enjoyment of the gospel preached by the nonconforming ministers. Mrs. Livingstone, it is not improbable, was the person by whom this expedient was suggested. Precedents for such a course, of which she was not ignorant, were not wanting in the history of the church of Scotland in former days. She well knew that such a method had been adopted in similar circumstances, and with perfect success, by a worthy relative of her own, her aunt Barbara Hamilton,* and other religious matrons of Edinburgh. When Robert Blair and other nonconforming ministers, who had been deposed by the bishops of Ireland for nonconformity, had come over to Scotland in 1637, and when Mr. Blair was threatened with still harsher treatment from the Scottish prelates, these ladies presented to the privy council a petition, praying that he and other ministers similarly situated

* Barbara Hamilton was Mrs. Livingstone's mother's sister, and the wife of Mr. John Mein, merchant burgess, Edinburgh. Two of Samuel Rutherford's letters are addressed to this lady. She died in September, 1654; and her husband, Mr. Mein, on the 30th of July that same year. Among the debts owing to them at their decease is, "By my Lady Lorne, xxii lb. By my Lady Kenmure, xii lb. 2 shillings."—Register of Confirmed Testaments in her Majesty's Register House, Edinburgh.

might have liberty to preach the gospel publicly wherever they were called or had opportunity to do so; and they at once obtained their request.* Guided by such a laudable example, she and the rest of these ladies made up their mind to make the attempt, whatever might be its success; and accordingly, without the aid of any of their ministers, or of any man, they themselves drew up a petition to be presented to the privy council. The manner in which they were to transmit it was somewhat similar to the manner in which Barbara Hamilton and her associates presented their petition to the privy council in behalf of Robert Blair and the other nonconforming ministers of their time.

On the morning of the 4th of June, the day on which the first meeting of the new council was to be held, all the ladies friendly to the petition were to assemble in the parliament close, some time before the members of the council came up to the meeting. Mrs. Livingstone, in consideration either of her advanced years, or of her superior address, or of both, was appointed to present the petition to the lord-chancellor, the earl of Rothes, and to request him to transmit it to the council; while fourteen other ladies, mostly ministers' widows, were engaged each to present a copy to some one of the principal counsellors, as they came up

* "That worthy wife B. H. [Barbara Hamilton] brings to Mr. Blair paper, pen, and ink, saying, 'Write a supplication to the secret council, and humbly petition them in your own name, and in the name and behalf of others in your condition, for liberty to preach the gospel publicly, wherever ye get a call from honest ministers or people, and we that are wives shall put it in the treasurer's hand as he goes in to the council.' Whereunto Mr. Blair condescended, and delivers his supplication, written with his own hand, to her. The first council-day immediately following, there convenes a great number of the religious matrons in Edinburgh, drawn up as a guard, from the council-house door to the street. They agreed to put the supplication in the hand of the oldest matron, Alison Cockburn, relict of Mr. Archibald Row. When the treasurer, Traquair, perceived the old woman presenting to him a paper, suspecting that it was something that would not relish with the council, he did put her by, and goes quickly from her toward the council-house door; which being perceived by Barbara Hamilton, she appears and pulls the paper out of the old weak woman's hand, and coming up to Traquair, did with her strong arm and big hand fast grip his gardie [that is, arm], saying, 'Stand, my lord, in Christ's name, I charge you, till I speak to you.' He, looking back, replies, 'Good woman, what would you say to me?'—'There is,' said she, 'a humble supplication of Mr. Blair's. All that he petitions for is, that he may have liberty to preach the gospel, &c. I charge you to befriend the matter, as you would expect God to befriend you in your distress, and at your death!' He replied, 'I shall do my endeavor, and what I can in it.' Mr. Blair's supplication was granted by the secret council; and so he had liberty, not only to stay in Scotland, but to preach the gospel to any congregation where he got an orderly call."—(Row's Life of Robert Blair, pp. 153, 154.) Row adds: "By this narration you may perceive how the Lord, in this time, stirred up and animated the spirits, not only of men, especially of the nobles, who were *magnates et primores regni*, and of the ministers of the gospel, but even of holy and religious women, who, as they first opposed the reading of that black service-book, July 23, 1637, so the Lord made them instrumental in many good affairs for the promoting of the blessed Reformation."

to the council-house. According to this arrangement, a large number of ladies* convened in the parliament close on the morning of the 4th of June, waiting the arrival of the counsellors. At length the chancellor's coach comes up first; and when he and Archbishop Sharp, who had been riding with him in the coach, alighted, Mrs. Livingstone was ready to accost him, and the crowd, eager to witness the scene, gathered to the spot. Sharp, who seems to have known nothing of the matter beforehand, seized with a guilty terror, kept close to the chancellor's back,† imagining, as was not unnatural for a man to do who had now spent many years in persecuting his old friends, the presbyterians, and who had incurred very general odium, that the object of these ladies, whom he had often maligned as fanatics, and even by still worse names,‡ was to murder him. But his alarm was groundless; for though some of them, becoming excited at the very sight of the man with whom was associated, in their minds, all the infamy of the traitor and the persecutor, called him Judas and traitor; and one of them still bolder than the rest, laid her hand upon his neck, and told him that ere all was done that neck would pay for it; there was no intention or attempt to do him any bodily harm.‖ While these things are going on, Mrs. Livingstone addressed herself to the chancellor, informing him of the object of so many females in assembling together, and presenting to him the petition, which she entreated him to lay before the honorable members of his majesty's privy council.

The chancellor, respectfully taking off his hat, graciously received the petition from Mrs. Livingstone, and read it on the spot. After he had read it, and had talked a short time with some of the other ladies, jesting with them according to his fa-

* The number, according to Row, was one hundred and nine (Life of Robert Blair, p. 539); but, as according to Kirkton, they "filled the whole parliament close," the number must have been much greater.—History of the Kirk of Scotland, p. 345.

† "When the counsellors came out of their coaches, Sharp (who was as fyed as a fox) clave close to the chancellor's back."—Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 539.

‡ Female presbyterians were the objects of Sharp's peculiar hatred. When, in 1664, the privy council confined William Gordon of Earlston, to the town of Edinburgh, for keeping conventicles and not attending his own parish church, Sharp, who had been at St. Andrews, on hearing of this on his arrival in Edinburgh, "did challenge the chancellor for remissness, and not executing the laws against delinquents, and, in particular, for confining of Earlston to Edinburgh, alleging it had been better to send him to his own house in Galloway, than to detain him among the fanatical wives of Edinburgh." The consequence was that Earlston was banished out of Scotland. (Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 464.) Even in his public sermons, Sharp could not refrain from giving expression to his malignant hatred of presbyterian women. In his opening discourse, at one of his diocesan synods at St. Andrews, he indulged in a strain of vehement invective "against the unconform honest people, especially against women, whom he called 'she zealots,' 'Satanesses.'"—Ibid., p. 523.

‖ Kirkton's History, pp. 344–346.

cetious manner, and apparently pleased with the fright into which Sharp was thrown, Mrs. Livingstone proceeded to address him in support of the petition, "and took hold of his sleeve. He bowed down his head, and listened to her (because she spoke well), even till he came to the council-chamber door."* The petition is as follows:—

"Unto the Right Honorable the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council—The Humble Supplication of several Women of the City of Edinburgh, in their own name, and in the name of many who adhere thereto, Humbly Showeth:—

"That whereas your petitioners being long deprived of the blessing of a faithful public ministry, and of the purity of worship and ordinances that God hath commanded, and after much sad suffering for attendance thereupon in private; yet for some short while bygone, and in the time when his majesty's commissioner was among us, your lordship's petitioners have, without molestation, enjoyed some small liberty by his majesty's gracious connivance; yet now we are sadly alarmed, that through the malicious and false information given in by some of those who side with and serve the bishops, your lordships may be induced, to the grief of the hearts of many thousands in this land, to trouble the quiet meetings of the Lord's people at his worship.

"May it therefore please your lordships to grant such liberty to our honest ministers; that are through the land and in this city, that they may lawfully, and without molestation, exercise their holy function, as the people shall in an orderly way call them; that we may, to the comfort of our souls, enjoy the rich blessing of faithful pastors, and that our pastors may be delivered from any sinful compliance with what is contrary to the known judgment of honest presbyterians. In doing whereof, your lordships will do good service to God and the king's majesty, and deeply oblige all honest people in the land. And your petitioners shall ever pray," &c.†

The other fourteen ladies, in like manner, presented copies of the petition to other members of the privy council, as they passed to the council-chamber. The lady who presented her copy to

* Kirkton's History, pp 344-346. See also Wodrow's History, vol ii., p 269. Row, in his Life of Robert Blair, gives a different account of the chancellor's reception of the ladies' petition. He says that "a grave matron," namely Mrs. Livingstone, "presented their supplication" to the chancellor, "entreating that he would present it to the council, but the chancellor slighting her, and refusing the supplication, was forced to take it from some others who thrust themselves in betwixt him and the trembling prelate, promising it should be read and considered."—Row's Life of Robert Blair, p 539.

† Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 269.

Lord Stairs, one of the senators of the college of justice—a man who was formerly a zealous covenanter, but who became in the end a bitter persecutor—found no such kind reception as Mrs. Livingstone met with from the chancellor; for he rudely threw it on the ground, which made one remind him of his having belonged at one time to the remonstrators, the strictest sect of the presbyterians during the commonwealth, and of his having penned the Western Remonstrance, a paper, for adherence to which, Mr. James Guthrie and others suffered to the death.*

In the proceedings of Mrs. Livingstone and her female associates, which we have now narrated, a liberal government would have found little to blame, and no cause whatever for adopting against these ladies legal proceedings. Their intentions were perfectly loyal; their petition in its object was highly reasonable, and though containing a plain declaration of their principles, was couched in very moderate and respectful language. They assembled in the parliament close in the most peaceable manner; and to none of the members of the council, with the exception of Archbishop Sharp, did they offer the slightest disrespect. But their lordships, resolute on putting down all petitioning and representation of grievances, which they well knew to be one of the most effectual safeguards against misgovernment and oppression, arbitrarily pronounced both the meeting and the petition seditious, and proceeded against those concerned in them as guilty of sedition.

The counsellors having got into the council-house through the crowd, the petition was read. Meanwhile the women were waiting in the parliament close for an answer. But there was no intention to grant them their request; and the lord-provost, with two bailies, were sent out to entreat them peaceably to disperse and return to their homes; which if they did, he promised to befriend them and their cause, and that their supplication should receive an answer to-morrow. They did as the provost, who spoke to them very discreetly, desired them; the parliament close was quickly cleared, and all was again quiet, as if no crowd had assembled. At that meeting of council, all the members were desired to name such ladies as they knew to be among the crowd. A few were named, and they were summoned to compear before the council at their next meeting, which was to be held on the 11th of June. A committee was also appointed, to make inquiry into all the circumstances connected with the petition, by whom

* Kirkton's History, pp. 344-346. Wodrow's History, vol ii., p. 269. Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 469.

it was drawn up, and who had presented the different copies to the members of council.*

On the 11th of June, the ladies summoned, who were about a dozen, made their appearance at the bar of the council. They were desired, previous to their examination, to take the oath usually administered; but this they all refused to do, not judging that they were bound to "tell the whole truth," in reference to the petition. They, however, declared in answer to questions put to them, that no man had any hand in suggesting it or drawing it up, and that they were moved to the course they had taken by a sense of their starving and perishing condition, through the want of the gospel, having none to preach to them but ignorant and profane men, whom they could not conscientiously hear. After being examined, they were required to subscribe to their depositions; but this, also, the most of them refused to do. They were then dismissed, and required again to compear before the council in the afternoon; which they did, attended in the parliament close by a great multitude, consisting not only of women, but also of men, all resolved to stand by them, and to prevent their being imprisoned. Having been again examined, they were put together in a room; and the provost of Edinburgh was sent out to disperse the crowd. But the crowd peremptorily refused to withdraw till their friends were dismissed, and declared their willingness to share with them in whatever they might suffer. On learning the bold resolution of the multitude without, the council dismissed the ladies who had been at their bar; entreating them to repair peaceably to their homes.†

But, as if determined by all means, fair or foul, to be avenged on these ladies, who had presumed to arraign the policy of the government, the council dismissed them, not honestly, but with the fraudulent intention of surprising them that night, and carrying them from their beds to prison. This intention, however, being whispered by some counsellors, the honest women left their own houses; so that they all escaped being made prisoners

* We have here followed Row, in his Life of Robert Blair, p. 539. Wodrow, whose account is different from that of Row, mistakes the proceedings of the privy council on the 11th of June, when a second crowd assembled in the parliament close, for their proceedings on the 4th of June, the day on which the first crowd assembled. His narrative relates not as he supposed, to their proceedings on the 4th of that month, but to their proceedings on the 11th; and we have so introduced it in the following paragraph. (Wodrow's History, vol ii., p. 269.) Wodrow says that the petition was subscribed; but this seems to be incorrect. The privy council, as we shall afterward see, affirmed that no signatures were appended to it, and there is no reason to call in question the truth of their statement.

† Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 539. Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 269.

at this time, with the exception of one poor woman, who apprehended no danger.*

This second crowd in the parliament close had the effect of still more irritating the privy council, and in their proceedings against the ladies, it formed an additional article in the libel charging them with sedition. It strengthened their previous purpose, to inflict some exemplary punishment on these female petitioners; a purpose formed with the design of frightening any, whether male or female, from in future making any similar attempt to lay their grievances before government, and to seek redress. To have granted the prayer of the petition, as they reasoned, would have been to open the sluice to an inundation, which would have overflowed every barrier, putting it beyond their power to hem it in, or to say, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther."

The proceedings of the privy council against these ladies continued till near the close of the year; and their case formed an article in most of the letters which came from the king to the council during the summer. From the register of the proceedings of the council we learn that, on the 25th of June, several ladies who had refused to depone before the council, or committee of council, respecting the meeting of the 4th of June, and the petition, were lying in prison; for, at their meeting of that day, "The lords of his majesty's privy council do recommend to the earls Marischall, Linlithgow, Caithness, Wigton, and the lord-register, to meet to-morrow, and to consider any address which shall be made to them by Margaret Johnston,† Lilias Campbell, or any others, who are prisoners in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, for not deponing before the council, or committee of council;‡ as also to consider any address which shall be made for any persons against whom certification is granted upon that account, with power to them to set the said persons at liberty, or to continue further execution of the certification against them, upon their giving their oaths; and appoint any two of them to be a quorum."§

* Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 539.

† Margaret Johnston was a daughter of the celebrated Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston

‡ That is, for refusing to make their depositions upon oath. In a letter to the duke of Lauderdale on the 2d of July, the council say, "Inquiry has also been made concerning the petition offered in a tumultuary way by some women of whom diverse being cited, these appearing, and refusing to give their oaths as to the points interrogated upon, are imprisoned, and certification is granted against such as were absent."—Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 241.

§ Register of Acts of Privy Council.

The privy council, who were sufficiently disposed of themselves to deal harshly with the female petitioners, were urged on by the court at London, which was still guided, in the management of Scottish affairs, almost exclusively by the counsel of Lauderdale, the Ahithophel of the court of Charles II., as he was designated by some of the Scottish martyrs. On the 30th of June the council received a letter from his majesty, dated the 23d of that month, stating that he had received information of "that seditious petition of many women, and of their tumultuous carriage at the delivering of it;" and requiring the council to use their "utmost rigor in finding out and bringing to just judgment the ringleaders of such seditious and insolent practices, and for quelling that mad spirit."* To the prosecution against these women, which was severe enough before, this letter gave a new impulse. Their houses were searched night and day; the magistrates of Edinburgh had recourse to every means in order to discover such as were present in the parliament close; and some of those who had been present, on being brought before the privy council, and refusing to depone upon oath, were at length denounced.†

The case of these ladies again came under the consideration of the council, at their meeting on the 16th of July, when the council "nominate and appoint the earls Marischall, Caithness, Linlithgow, Wigton, and the lord-register, to meet upon Saturday next, at 3 o'clock, and to consider the condition of these persons imprisoned for being at the tumultuary meeting in the parliament close, and to report their opinion concerning them to the council; as, also, to examine such of the women as were called and compeared, and were not dismissed by the council, and such others as shall appear before the committee, with power to the committee to imprison such persons as they shall find cause, and to report." At the same meeting, the "council having considered the petition of Margaret Johnston, prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, do ordain the magistrates of Edinburgh to set her at liberty, she first finding sufficient caution to confine herself to a chamber in the town of Edinburgh, and not to remove forth thereof, until the council shall give order anent her, under the pain of five hundred merks."‡

Again taking up this case, at their meeting on the 21st of July, the council "ordain and command the committee formerly appointed to examine that tumult of the women in the parliament

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 238. † Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 545.
‡ Register of Acts of Privy Council.

close, "to call before them all such persons as have been given up in list already, or against whom they shall have information, or who have been already summoned, as accessory to that tumult, except such as appeared and were dismissed by the council, and to examine them upon their own accession and guiltiness; as also, to examine them upon oath, whom they knew to have accession to the contriving, drawing, or writing of that seditious petition they had among them, what persons they saw and knew to be in the parliament close upon that account with them, who had the petition in their hands, or offered copies to any of the council—and if they refuse to depone thereupon, that they forthwith commit the refusers to prison, until the council shall give further order, and Margaret Johnston to be begun with to-morrow; and to report to the council from time to time."*

From this act it appears that the council had not yet discovered that Mrs. Livingstone was the person who presented the petition to the chancellor. But by zealous and unremitting inquiries, they at length succeeded in discovering the names of a considerable number of ladies, who had been present at the "tumultuous convocation;" and no time was lost in acting upon this discovery. Letters were raised against them, at the instance of Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton, his majesty's advocate, charging them with "seditious and unlawful practices," for which they "ought to be exemplarily punished, to the terror and example of others to commit and do the like in time coming," and summoning them to appear before the council personally, on the 30th of July, and answer to the complaint contained in the letters, and hear and see such order taken thereanent, as appertained under the pain of rebellion. The ladies against whom these letters were raised, were the following: Mrs. Elizabeth Rutherford; Rachel Aird, spouse to William Lorimer, merchant, and Sarah Lorimer her daughter; Catherine Montgomery, relict of Mr. Robert Blair; Barbara Home, spouse to Mr. Robert Lockhart; Isabel Kennedy, spouse to James Clelland; Elizabeth Dalziel, spouse to David Gray; Agnes Henderson, spouse to Robert Simpson; Margaret Dury, spouse to George Dundas, brother to the laird of Dundas; . . . . .† sister to Lord Melville; Grissel Durham relict of Captain Drummond; Mr. George Johnston's wife; Mrs. Arnot; . . . . . † relict of Mr. John Nevay; Sarah Brand, spouse to Alexander Gurshone, merchant in Edinburgh; . . . † Kerr, Lady Mersington, younger; and Rachel Johnston; Lady Cramond.

It may be interesting to quote at some length, from the letters

* Register of Acts of Privy Council. † Blanks in MS.

raised against these ladies, both because they contain the privy council's account of the meeting in the parliament close, and their version of the petition, as well as a statement of the grounds upon which they found both to be seditious. The letters commence with an enumeration of the acts of parliament, of which the meeting and petition are said to be a violation: "Making mention that by the laws and acts of this kingdom, it is prohibit and statute, that no man come to any court but in quiet and sober manner, and all tumultuary convocations, commotions, uproars, and gatherings, especially within royal burghs, are prohibit under great and high pains; and by diverse laws and acts of parliament, it is statute, that if any person or persons presume, or take upon hand, privately or publicly to utter by word or write any slanderous speeches to the contempt and reproach of his majesty's proceedings, or to meddle with the affairs of his highness, and his estate and proceedings, they are to be repute as seditious and wicked persons, enemies to his majesty, and the common weal of the realm, and shall be punished with the pains therein contained; and by the second act of the second session of his majesty's first parliament, it is declared and statute, that if any person or persons shall by writing, libelling, or remonstrating, express, publish, or declare, any words or sentences to stir up the people to hatred or dislike of his majesty's royal prerogative, or of the government of the church by archbishops and bishops, as it is now settled by law, that every such person or persons so offending, shall be punished in manner and with the pains therein contained, and shall be liable to such farther pains as are due by the law in such; and by the first act of the first session of his majesty's first parliament, entitled, 'Anent Separation and Disobedience to Ecclesiastic Authority,' his majesty did declare, that he expected from all his good and dutiful subjects, a due acknowledgment of, and hearty compliance with, his highness's government ecclesiastical and civil, as it is now established by law, within this kingdom, and that, in order thereunto, they will give their cheerful concurrence and assistance to such ministers as by public authority are admitted in their several parishes, and that his majesty will and doth account a withdrawing from, and not keeping and joining in, the ordinary meetings for divine worship in the ordinary parishes, to be seditious and of dangerous consequence, and by the said act, the same is punishable with the pains therein contained, and such other corporal punishment as the lords of privy council shall think fit; as also by diverse acts against conventicles, it is statute, that no outed minister

not licensed by the council, and no other person not authorized by the bishop of the diocese, shall preach, expound scripture or pray, in any meeting, except in their own houses, and to those of their own family, and that none be present at such meetings, which by the said act are declared to be the ordinary seminaries of rebellion, under the pains therein expressed."*

The letters next proceed to give an account of the meeting, and of the petition presented by the ladies. After naming the persons against whom they were raised,† they go on to say, that these persons "have, in manifest contempt of his majesty's authority, presumed to contravene the foresaid laws, and to commit and do the deeds, crimes, and seditious practices above mentioned, in so far as the said persons and their associates and complices, upon the [1th] day of June last, did in a most insolent, seditious, and tumultuary manner gather, convocate, and convene together in the court of his majesty's parliament house, in such a number and multitude of persons, that the said whole court was filled with women and a disorderly rabble, and the said convocation, commotion, and uproar was not only within the town of Edinburgh, the chief and capital city of the kingdom, and ordinary seat and place of judicature, and specially his highness's council sitting there for doing of justice and preserving the quiet and peace of the kingdom, and punishing and preventing of tumults; but the said tumultuous convocation was of purpose and of design, because the council was to sit, upon the council day, and immediately before, and at the time of the sitting of his majesty's said council, and in court and at the very doors of the house where the council did sit, and upon pretence that they came to the council to present a petition. And shaking off all respect to his majesty's authority, and to the council's and counsellors', the said persons and their complices did proceed to so great a height of insolence, that many of the said women did go into, and place themselves on the stair of the council house, and others did stand in the court the way to the said council house; and when the lords of council were coming to the said court, the multitude did so crowd and throng in upon them, that with great difficulty they could go up to the council house; and while they were going through the close and up the stairs of the council house, some of the said women did take hold of some of them, and did give them the double of the petition, which they said they had given in to be presented to the council, and others, amidst the great noise and uproar, did revile and utter injurious

* Decreets of Privy Council, July 30, 1674. † See their names above.

speeches against some of his majesty's counsellors. And as the said pretended petitioning, remonstrating, and application to his highness's privy council was most disorderly and seditious, and of dangerous example and consequence, as to the manner thereof, so it was also most seditious and scandalous as to the matter, and does contain and import reproaches and reflections upon his majesty's government, and meddling in the affairs of his majesty and his estate, and depraving his highness's laws and misconstructing his proceedings, and libelling and remonstrating seditious words and sentences, to stir up the people to the hatred and dislike of the government of the church by archbishops and bishops as it is now settled by law, in so far as the said petition is in name of several women without naming them, and without their subscriptions, and it is in their own name and in the name of all who will adhere to them, inviting others, and insinuating that they expect they will join with them; and the said petition bears most falsely and most scandalously, that the petitioners had been long deprived of the inestimable blessing of the public worship and ordinances of God, whereas it is notor that his majesty's subjects do enjoy the blessing of the public worship and ordinances of God in great purity and peace, and that there is an orderly ministry, authorized and countenanced and established by law; and the said persons by the petition foresaid do not only acknowledge their unlawful withdrawing from, and not joining with, the ordinary public meetings for divine worship, and their keeping of conventicles, and attendance upon worship in private, contrary to so many laws, but do presume to desire liberty to keep the said private meetings and conventicles prohibited by so many laws, and that outed ministers, whom they call their 'honest ministers,' may be allowed to exercise their function, as the people shall call them thereto, so that they might enjoy the rich blessing of faithful pastors, and that their pastors may be delivered from the sinful compliance of those who are contrary to the known judgment of honest presbyterians; by all which desires, expressions, and others, in the said petition, the petitioners do scandalously asperse and reflect upon his majesty's government, and in special upon the church, by archbishops and bishops, as it is settled by law, as if outed and disorderly ministers were the only honest ministers, and the people were deprived of the blessing of faithful pastors, because the said outed ministers are not allowed to preach, and as if obedience to the laws and compliance of ministers with his majesty's government ecclesiastical established by law were sinful."

The letters next adduce their assembling a second time, on the 11th of June, as a high aggravation of their alleged seditious conduct: "And the said persons, not content to have made the said seditious convocation, tumult, and uproar, at the time and in the manner above related, did again relapse and adventure upon the said seditious practices; and upon the [11th] day of [June], being the next council day thereafter, when the council was about to sit, and the time of the sitting thereof, they did again convene, in the said place, and did make a disorderly convocation, commotion, and uproar, in manner, and with the same, if not worse circumstances than is above libelled, and had the boldness and confidence to pretend that they came for an answer to the said petition."

The letters next charge several of these ladies, as Catherine Montgomery and Isabel Kennedy, with having, when convened before the privy council (although they confessed their being present at the said tumults), altogether and obstinately refused "to declare upon oath their knowledge concerning the persons present and accessory to the said tumult, and other circumstances relating to the same;" whereby it is declared they had incurred the penalties contained in the "second act of the second session of his majesty's second parliament, entitled 'Act against delinquents who should refuse to depone,'" by which "it is statute that all and every subject of this kingdom, of what degree, sex, or quality soever, who shall be called by his majesty's privy council, or any others having authority from his majesty, to declare upon oath their knowledge of any crimes against his majesty's laws, and the peace of the kingdom, and particularly of any conventicles or other unlawful meetings, and shall refuse or delay to declare or depone thereanent, they shall be punished in manner therein contained."

Such is the amount of the charges brought against these female petitioners, and to answer to which they were summoned to appear at the bar of the privy council. But none of them made their appearance, believing that had they appeared, and refused to make any acknowledgments, which, having committed no crime, they were not prepared to make, they would probably have been thrown into prison. Accordingly, after "being oftimes called and not compearing, the lords of his majesty's privy council, July 30, do ordain letters to be directed to messengers-at-arms to pass to the market-cross of Edinburgh . . .* and thereat, in his majesty's name and authority, duly, lawfully, and orderly, to denounce the said Mrs. Elizabeth Rutherford, &c.,† his maj-

* Blank in MS. † See the other names at p. 191.

esty's rebels, and put them to the horn, and escheit and imbring all their moveable goods and gear to his highness's use for their contempt and disobedience."*

On the 29th of September, the privy council again convened, but little was done. "Only they were very hot upon the chase against the women that offered their petition."†

As the name of Mrs. Livingstone does not occur among the ladies who were summoned to appear before the privy council on the 30th of July, and who, not appearing, were declared his majesty's rebels and put to the horn, it may be concluded that the council had not yet discovered that she was at the head of the movement, and was the person who presented the petition to the chancellor. But by subsequent inquiries they appear to have made this discovery, or to have found, at least, that at the "tumultuous convocation" she had presented a copy of the petition to some one or other of the councillors. Accordingly, she and several other ladies‡ were summoned to appear before the council on the 12th of November that year, "as being guilty of a tumultuary convocation, commotion, and uproar, within the parliament close, in the month of June last, the time of the meeting and sitting of the council, and of presenting a most insolent and seditious petition to some of the council." Mrs. Livingstone and the others who were summoned, compeared before the council on the 12th of November, and, on being examined, confessed that they were "present in the said tumult." The result was, that the lords of council banished them from the city of Edinburgh, Leith, and suburbs thereof, and ordained them against the 1st of December next to depart from the said bounds, discharging them to return thereto in future, as they would be answerable at their highest peril.‖

Mrs. Livingstone, and all the rest, with two exceptions, were obliged immediately to act in conformity with this sentence. The two exceptions were Margaret Johnston and Lilias Camp-

* Decrees of Privy Council, July 30, 1674. † Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 562.

‡ The names of the ladies, as given in the act of council, 12th of November, are Mrs Elizabeth Rutherford; Margaret Johnston; Lilias Campbell; Lady Mersington, elder; Bethia Murray, spouse to Hugh Mossman, couppar in Leith; Janet Fleming, relict of Mr. John Livingstone; Catherine Montgomery, relict of Mr Robert Blair; Margaret Lundy, spouse to John Hamilton, merchant at the foot of the West Bow; Margaret Drury, spouse to George Dundas, brother to the laird of Dundas; Isabel Kennedy, spouse to James Clelland, chirurgeon; Rachel Aird, spouse to William Lorimer, merchant; Sarah Lorimer, his daughter; Barbara Home, spouse to Mr Robert Lockhart; Elizabeth Dalziel, spouse to David Gray, hat-maker; Grissel Dunham, relict of Captain Drummond; and Agnes Henderson, spouse to Robert Simpson in Edinburgh.

‖ Register of Acts of Privy Council.

bell, the execution of whose sentence was delayed for fourteen days by the council, at their meeting on the 3d of December, in answer to a petition presented by these ladies.

After a short absence, some of the banished women privately returned to their own houses in Edinburgh. Receiving information of this, the authorities of the city caused search to be made for them.* But the storm appears gradually to have blown over, though the number of nonconforming ladies, and especially of nonconforming ministers' wives and widows, in Edinburgh, continued to be a source of offence and uneasiness to the government.†

Thus terminated the proceedings against Mrs. Livingstone and her fellow-petitioners, simply for their exercising a right of which no power on earth could justly deprive them. Their treatment by the council was, throughout, tyrannical and oppressive. Had they, like a regiment of amazons, assembled with pikes and muskets to do personal violence to their great enemy, Archbishop Sharp, as he at first dreaded, guilt would have lain upon them, great as his demerits were, and some pretext would have been afforded for the severity with which they were proceeded against. But they came together in no such warlike attitude, nor with any such intention. One writer of that period, Sir George Mackenzie, commonly called "the bloody Mackenzie," would indeed, either with the view of covering the tyranny of the government, or of stigmatizing these religious women, have it to be believed that they had meditated Sharp's destruction. "Petitions for able ministers," says he, "were given in to the council by many hundreds of women, who, filling the parliament close, threatened the archbishop of St. Andrews, who passed along with the chancellor, for whose coming he had waited in his own chamber; and some of them had conspired to set upon him, when a woman,‡ whom I shun to name, should raise her hand on high as a signal —to prevent which, the chancellor entertained the woman with insinuating speeches all the time as he passed to the council, and so did divert that bloody design."‖ A more gratuitous assertion it is impossible to make. Neither Kirkton nor Row, both contemporary writers, nor Wodrow, who all narrate the history of this affair, give the smallest countenance to such a statement.

* Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 255.

† On the 12th of March, 1679, "the council emitted sundry proclamations, and commanded all nonconformed ministers' relicts, or wives, to void the town."—Fountainhall's Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs, vol. i., p. 225.

‡ He no doubt means Mrs. Livingstone.

‖ Sir George Mackenzie's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, &c., p. 273.

And should their evidence be suspected of partiality, we may appeal to the "Records of the Proceedings of the Privy Council," in which is registered the result of the long and patient inquiries of the committee of council into all the circumstances connected with the supplication, but in which a profound silence is preserved as to any such murderous intention; a circumstance not likely to have occurred had there been any ground whatever for such a charge. It is indeed manifest, beyond controversy, from all these authorities compared, that the sole object of these ladies was the one ostensibly avowed in their petition. And yet Mackenzie's calumny has been taken up and given forth as historical truth by a writer of the present day. "These viragoes," says the editor of Law's Memorials, "headed by the Rev. Mr. Livingstone's widow, and a daughter of Lord Warriston, had laid a plan of murdering Archbishop Sharp, it being agreed that Mrs. Livingstone was to hold up her hand as a signal for the pious sisterhood to rend the prelate in pieces; but Lord Rothes contrived to engage her in conversation till the opportunity was lost."*

Mrs. Livingstone subsequently went over to Holland. Repeated allusions are made to her as residing there in the letters of Mr. John Carstairs to Mr. Robert M'Ward, Rotterdam, in the years 1677, 1678, and 1679; and whenever her name is mentioned, it is always with some epithet expressive of the high esteem in which she was held by the writer. In a letter to M'Ward, dated July 26, 1677, Carstairs says, "I salute much in the Lord that mother in Israel, choice Mrs. Livingstone, and her sweet daughter."† In another letter to him, dated February 8, 1678, he sends his salutations to her.‡ In a third letter to him, dated December 3, 1678, he says, "I am troubled for our loss of worthy Wallace, and am glad that that mother in Israel, Mrs. Livingstone, is spared a while, that we might not have sorrow upon sorrow."‖ In a fourth letter to him, dated February 17, 1679, he says, "I dearly salute your worthy wife, worthy Mr. Gordon, my kind and obliging friend, choice Mrs. Livingstone, a mother indeed in Israel."§ And in a fifth letter to him, dated Edinburgh, October, 1679, he again sends his salutations to her."¶ This is the last notice we have met with concerning her. How long she lived after this is uncertain, nor is it known whether she again returned to Scotland. The probability is, that she

* Editor's foot-note in Law's Memorials, p. 67. The editor refers to Kirkton and Wodrow as his authorities. But neither of these writers gives him the slightest support. Mackenzie, though not referred to, is his sole authority.

† Wodrow MSS., vol. lix., folio, No 65. ‡ Ibid., No. 77.

‖ Ibid., No 95. § Ibid., No. 109. ¶ Ibid., No. 122.

spent the remainder of her days in Holland, and that her ashes, like those of her distinguished husband, repose in that hospitable retreat of our persecuted forefathers.*

Some of Mrs. Livingstone's children emigrated from Scotland to America, to the state of New York, where their descendants have, in the course of time, become people of the first distinction and weight in society. The late Dr. John H. Livingstone, minister of the Reformed Dutch church in New York, professor of divinity to that body, and president of Queen's College, New Jersey—one of the first men of his age and country, and whose memoirs have been written by Mr. Alexander Gunn, was the great-great-grandson of the subject of this memoir.†

LADY ANNE LINDSAY,

DUCHESS OF ROTHES.

Lady Anne Lindsay was the eldest daughter of John, first earl of Lindsay, and fifteenth earl of Crawford, lord high treasurer of Scotland, by his wife, Lady Margaret Hamilton, second daughter of James, second marquis of Hamilton.‡ Her paternal grandmother was the excellent Lady Boyd, already noticed; and her maternal grandmother was Lady Anne Cunningham, marchioness of Hamilton, of whom some account has also been given.

Her father, who was the son of Lady Boyd, by her first husband, Robert, ninth Lord Lindsay of Byres, was, as we have seen before,§ a man of sound religious principle, and a steadfast supporter of the second reformation cause. He warmly opposed, though without success, the passing of the act rescissory in the first parliament of Charles II., by which all the parliaments, since 1633, were annulled, and all the proceedings for reformation between 1638 and 1650 were denounced rebellious and treasonable; and he declared himself against the establishment of prelacy, assuring his majesty that a measure so opposed to the feelings of the Scottish people would be followed by the worst effects.

* There is a portrait of Mrs. Livingstone in Gosford house, belonging to the earl of Wemyss, as we learn from a foot-note in Kirkton's History, by the editor, p. 345.

† Chambers' Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, *art.* John Livingstone.

‡ Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 387. § See p. 36.

A strenuous defender of the lawfulness and obligation of the national covenants, he refused to take the declaration abjuring them as unlawful oaths;* for which Charles II., though he much respected him, incited by Archbishop Sharp, deprived him of his office of lord high treasurer of Scotland. His answer, when Charles asked him whether he would take the declaration, is worthy of being recorded: "As I have suffered much," he said, "for your majesty, even nine years' imprisonment, forfeiture, and the ruin of my fortune, so I am resolved to continue your majesty's loyal and faithful subject, and to serve you in whatever I can with a good conscience; but as for renouncing the covenant and taking the declaration, that I can not do with a safe and good conscience." And when Lauderdale—afraid lest his enemy Middleton should obtain the office of treasurer—urged him to take the declaration, by the argument that he would thus, by retaining his place, be in a better capacity for promoting the interests of the nonconformists than he could be in a private station, he replied, like a man of principle, that he was taught not to do evil that good might come.† Resigning his situation as lord high treasurer, he retired to his house at Struthers, and spent the remainder of his days in privacy. "He was a man," says Douglas, "of great virtue, of good abilities, and of an exemplary life in all respects. He died at Tyninghame in 1676, aged about eighty."‡

Lady Anne's mother was also eminent for virtue and piety. Row speaks of her as "the earl of Crawford's most religious lady, who was deservedly praised of all who knew her;" and he informs us that, "when all about her, and all Crawford's friends in Scotland were lamenting the loss of his place, she heartily rejoiced and blessed God that he had kept a good conscience, and himself free of perjury and covenant breaking, &c., trusting in God that he would provide for him and his."‖ Robert Blair, who knew her personally, speaking of her on his death-bed, said, "My Lady Crawford, set her alone, set her alone among women."§

Lady Anne, thus descended from godly parents, enjoyed the inestimable benefit of a religious education; and her parents had the satisfaction of witnessing the fruits of their instructions and example in the eminence of her piety, which she exemplified

* By the fifth act of the second session of parliament, 1662, the declaration was ordained to be taken by all admitted to any public trust or office under his majesty's government in Scotland, and those already in office were also required to subscribe it.

† Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 441. ‡ Douglas's Peerage vol. i, p. 386.

‖ Ibid., p. 442. § Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 495.

throughout life by a conversation becoming the gospel. The fervor of her devotion, the benevolence of her disposition, the humility of her demeanor, and the sanctity of her deportment, are all honorably mentioned by her cotemporaries. Law describes her as "a discreet, wise, virtuous, and good lady."* And others who knew her, speak in the highest terms of her Christian excellence. In her youth, which was cotemporaneous with the best days of the covenant, she was strictly educated in the presbyterian faith, to which she continued to adhere in its every variety of fortune, in its adversity, as well as in its prosperity. After the restoration of Charles II., she was exposed, by the circumstances in which she was placed, to great temptations to become indifferent or hostile to the principles of presbytery. Her husband, John, sixth earl of Rothes, to whom she had been previously married, was a member of the persecuting government of Charles, and she was under the necessity of mingling, to a considerable extent, with the unprincipled and persecuting statesmen of that period. But her convictions and feelings remained unaltered, and the ejected ministers, on whose side her sympathies were enlisted, she was ever ready, to the utmost of her ability, to befriend. Some of them she succeeded in continuing in their charges after their persecutors had marked them out for ejectment. Mr. Black, minister of Leslie, for example, a man whom she highly esteemed, and under whose ministry she sat when residing at Leslie house, was, though a nonconformist, through her intercession with the bishop of Dunkeld, continued in the exercise of his ministry in his own parish, when that prelate, in 1664, summarily deposed all the other nonconforming ministers in his diocese.† The friendly interest she took in the persecuted ministers, she evinced in many other ways. "Rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate," she often ministered to their temporal necessities, and entertained them with hospitality and kindness when they visited her at Leslie house. On these occasions they endeavored to keep out of the eye of the duke, for, though not naturally inclined to cruelty, yet, from political considerations, he put on the appearance of severity. He was not, however, ignorant that they were harbored and reset by the duchess, but he connived at them on her account; and on happening, as he sometimes did happen, to see any of them about the house, being a man of humor, he was in the habit of saying to her, "My lady, I would advise you to keep

* Law's Memorials, p. 202. † Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 473.

your chickens in about, else I may pick up some of them."* Other anecdotes of a similar kind are still current, and have been recorded by Miss Strickland, in her very interesting work, entitled "Lives of the Queens of England." After noticing that the duchess "favored the doctrines of the covenanters, and, as far as she could, protected their preachers, who were frequently concealed in the neighborhood of Leslie house," she adds, "The duke . . . . . never sent out his officers to apprehend any of these persons without previously endeavoring to provide for their escape, by giving a significant hint to his compassionate duchess in these words, 'My hawks will be out to-night, my lady—so you had better take care of your blackbirds!' The local traditions of Leslie add, that the signal by which her grace warned her spiritual protégés of their danger, was a white sheet suspended from one of the trees on the brow of the hill behind the house, which could be seen from a considerable distance. Other telegraphic signs the good lady had, no doubt, to intimate the absence of her spouse, when they might safely come forth and preach to their hill-side congregation."†

Nor was she backward to intercede with the duke and the other members of the government for the persecuted ministers. Well assured of her friendly disposition, they confidently applied to her to exert in their behalf the influence which, from her situation, she had with the duke and the other members of the privy council. An instance of this in the case of Mr. Robert Wylie, when he was indulged minister of Fenwick, is preserved among his MSS., which form a part of Wodrow's Collections. All the indulged ministers having, on the 3d of September, 1675, got a charge of horning to pay their respective proportions of the ordinary fees due for the parishes where they resided, to the clerk and bursar of the diocesan synod of Glasgow, Mr. Robert Wylie, with several others, refused, from scruples of conscience, to make payment.‡ He accordingly applied for a suspension, and sent a petition to the privy council, praying for relief from that imposition; and, at the same time, he transmitted a copy of the petition to the duchess, to give her an idea of the case, accompanied with a letter, requesting her friendly intercessions with the lords of

* M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson, p. 295. Among other instances of the persecuted finding shelter in similar situations, it may be mentioned that, previous to the civil wars, while Dr Scott, dean of York, was employed at cards, or other games, to which he was much addicted, Mrs. Scott was attending a conventicle in another room; the dean's house being reckoned the safest place for holding such assemblies.—Brooke's Lives of the Puritans, vol. iii., p. 528.

† Vol. ix., p. 117.

‡ Wodrow's History, vol. ii., 297.

his majesty's privy council in furtherance of his petition. The letter, which is written in a tone that bespeaks the confidence he reposed in her sympathy and friendship, is as follows :—

"Fenwick, 2d December, 1675.

"Madam: I humbly crave pardon that I presume to trouble your ladyship with any petty business that concerns me; but being desirous to live quietly and with bosom-peace, to close my days in the work of the gospel, I hope it will not offend your ladyship that I entreat for your honor's help to hold off the inconveniences that may apparently fall upon me, if not prevented. Madam, the matter is this: I am charged with letters of horning to pay fees to the clerk of the bishop's synod, and dues to a bursar of prelatic choice; which, considering the presbyterian principles grounded on the Scriptures, and the standing obligation of the oath of God upon the conscience, I have no freedom to do; and therefore sent for a suspension of the charges, which I hear was granted, but the clerks are loath to give it out until they would know the council's mind.* Being desirous to leave no means unessayed to hold weights off my conscience and troubles off my person, I have sent a petition, to be presented to the most honorable lords of his majesty's privy council, holding forth the grounds of my refusal, and supplicating that their lordships would grant me the free exercise of my ministry, with reservation of my principles and liberty of my judgment, and that their lordships would be pleased to discharge all legal procedure against me, as the petition does more fully purport; a copy whereof, for your ladyship's information, I have herewith enclosed, knowing that the draught will be kept as a secret with your honor, and made use of only for your private information, that your ladyship may the better know the affair, and how to speak to it as occasion offers. And now, madam, my humble request to your ladyship is, that you would be pleased to speak to such members of the council as your honor thinks convenient, in order to the inclining of them to give a favorable answer unto my petition, that now, in my old days, when I am laboring under manifold infirmities, I may have liberty to close the latter part of my time in the peaceable preachings of the gospel, without pressing me with impositions grating upon my conscience, and putting a crazy person to unnecessary tossings. Madam, I do again beg pardon for this presumption; and wishing all abounding of grace, all the bles-

* The difficulty of obtaining a suspension arose from the fact that the payment of the clerk's and bursar's fees was required by the council's act of indulgence, September, 2, 1672.

sings of the everlasting covenant to be plentifully poured out upon your ladyship and all yours, I rest, madam, your ladyship's,

"[THOMAS WYLIE.]"*

That the friendly endeavors of this lady would not be wanting to promote the success of Mr. Wylie's petition there can be little doubt, from what we know of her character; and her intercessions, judging from the result, were not without success. The relief which Mr. Wylie so earnestly solicited was at length granted by the government; for in a new proclamation issued on the 1st of March next year, two of the rules, according to which the indulged ministers, by the indulgence 1672, were required to act, are omitted, the one regarding their waiting on diocesan meetings, and the other respecting their paying dues to the clerk and bursar of the diocesan synod. Mr. Wylie, however, continued to feel uneasy under the other restrictions of the indulgence.†

On the introduction of field-preaching into Fife, the duchess used to attend these much maligned and proscribed meetings. One of the places which, in those troublous times, she frequented to hear the sermons of the field-preachers, was Glenvale, a beautiful sequestered spot in the parish of Strathmiglo, Fifeshire, "lying between West Lomond and Bishop Hill. About the middle of the valley it expands into a fine amphitheatre on the south, capable of containing many thousand persons; on the north side is a large projecting rock, which is said to have been occupied by the ejected ministers as a pulpit."‡ In this favorite place of resort, which, in point of romantic scenery, may bear comparison with the wild recess in Cartland craigs, where the covenanters of the west met for the same purpose, immense multitudes from all the surrounding districts often assembled for the worship of God. "In the year 1678," to quote from a well-attested Account of the Sufferings of the Presbyterians in Kinross-shire," the field-meetings were kept very frequently through the whole shire, but oftener in Glenvale, because it was the centre of that large congregation, which extended to Cupar of Fife on the east, to Kirkaldy on the south, to Salin and Dollar on the west, and to Perth on the north. There were five or six parishes engaged together to keep up the preaching of the gospel among themselves; and by turns each parish sent to Edinburgh

* Mr. Wylie's MSS. among the Wodrow MSS., vol. xxx., 4to, No. 16. There is no signature to the letter. It is addressed on the back, "For the Countess of Rothes"

† Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 336.

‡ M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch, &c., p. 295. M'Crie's Sketches of Scottish Church History, 2d edition, p. 420

and brought a minister, so that they seldom wanted a sermon on the Lord's day."* In attending these "seditious meetings" and "rendezvouses of rebellion," as they were stigmatized by the privy council, the duchess incurred the heavy penalties under which they were interdicted; but, like others of the ladies of the members of the government, who were led by curiosity or piety to field-conventicles, she was overlooked, the council not deeming it prudent to carry the persecution into the bosom of their own families. The leniency which the duke of Rothes exercised toward these field-meetings in Fife, it is believed, was owing in no small degree, to their being favored and countenanced by the duchess. On one occasion when forty individuals, who had been apprehended for a conventicle in Glenvale, were brought before him in Leslie, and he was asked what was to be done with them: "Put them," said he, "in Bailie Walker's back room, the place they all like so well." The bailie was a religious man, and meetings for social prayer and conference were often held in his back room. When asked what further orders he had to give respecting them, the duke answered, "Give them plenty of meat and drink, and set them about their business in the morning."† He knew that Glenvale was a favorite place of resort for his own lady, and that these poor individuals brought before him had done nothing to merit punishment, were guilty in fact of holding no principles, and following no practices, for which she might not have been equally impeached.

An evidence of the tender-hearted sympathy of the duchess with the persecuted covenanters is furnished in the following anecdote: Archbishop Sharp, having on one occasion come to dine with the duke, complained to him at dinner that two of his tenants, David and James Walker, were keepers of conventicles. This complaint the archbishop strongly and vehemently urged, though the duchess, of whose attachment to the presbyterian interest he could not be ignorant, was present; for deference to her feelings was overborne by his inveterate malignity against these worthy men. The duke, who expressed his surprise at this information, said, that "he should take an effectual course with them, and see them both stringed."‡ The archbishop insisted that he should not forget them, for they were incendiaries through all Fife; upon which the duke gave orders to his man-servant, who was standing at his back, to send immediately to the town of Leslie, in the neighborhood of which they lived, and bring

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxiii, folio, No. 143.
† M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch, &c., p. 295.
‡ That is, hanged.

them down to him after dinner, promising to the archbishop that they should give the government no further trouble. To this discourse, the duchess, though it appears she made no remarks, listened with great pain—the two men, who were eminent for piety, being her Christian friends, for whom she entertained a high esteem; nor had she much respect for Sharp, who besides being first a traitor to the church of Scotland, and then its persecutor, had injured her father for being a more honest man than himself. It may therefore be easily believed, as Wodrow observes, that "this spoiled my lady duchess's dinner." She was aware that the duke, who was ambitious of place and power, had, to secure the favor of Sharp, whose influence at court was great, and to keep the prelatic clergy at his devotion, done acts of violence which he was not naturally inclined to commit; and was therefore afraid that in the present instance, to gratify the prelate, he would subject these good men to persecution. Her fears were, however, happily disappointed. The two nonconformists immediately came down to the palace at Leslie. After dinner, the duke accompanied Sharp to his coach; and, on being again reminded by the prelate not to spare the two delinquents, he told him they were come, and assured him he should not fail to handle them severely. But on his coming up stairs and calling for them, he simply asked them, in a friendly way, the prices of the markets, what grain it was best for him to sow in such and such parts of his lands about Leslie, and similar questions, after which he dismissed them without any mark of displeasure or asking them a single question in reference to the subject as to which he had professedly brought them to his house. "The duchess," says Wodrow, "retired from dinner in deep concern for the men, and gave orders to a servant to bring them in to her, when the duke parted with them, by a back gallery. Accordingly they came. The duchess was all in tears, and almost trembling, asked what had passed. They told her, 'Nothing but kindness.' Whether this was to be attributed to the duchess's prayers in their behalf, or to the duke's natural temper, who was not inclined to violence, I am not to determine; but the fact is certain."*

The duchess was greatly tried in her domestic life. Beside being connected with the persecuting government of Charles, the duke was unprincipled and profligate, devoting himself "without either restraint or decency, to all the pleasures of

* Wodrow's Analecta, vol iv., p. 42. Mr. John Loudon, who was some time a tutor in the family of Rothes, and afterward a minister of the church of Scotland, was Wodrow's informer. He received this anecdote from the duchess herself.

wine and women."* "He gave himself," says Fountainhall, "great liberty in all sort of pleasures and debaucheries, particularly with Lady Anne, sister of the first duke of Gordon, whom he took along with him in his progress through the country, with hat and feather; and by his bad example affected many of the nobility and gentry."† But trying as this was to the duchess, the admirable prudence and gentleness which marked her temper and conduct under it all, so impressed the duke as to make him ashamed of the manner in which he was treating her. "It was," says Kirkton, "confidently reported that his infamous converse with Lady Anne Gordon touched his own conscience so much, that one day, being under the dint of his own conviction, and reflecting upon his misbehavior toward his worthy lady (whom he could not but admire), he threw all the wretched love-tokens his miss had given him into the fire, upon suspicion and fear he was detained her captive by the power of witchcraft, as very many said he was."‡

Still more calculated to excite in the mind of the duchess the most poignant distress, were the circumstances connected with his death. His days may be said to have been shortened by his intemperance. So strong was his constitution that he could outdrink two or three sets of drunkards in succession, and after the greatest excesses an hour or two of sleep so completely recruited him, that he could go about business without any apparent disorder in either body or mind. This could not always last; it ultimately undermined his vigorous constitution, producing such diseases of stomach, that when not hot within, and full of strong drink, he had perpetual colics, so that he was always either sick or drunk.‖ He was seized with his last illness in Edinburgh. On his death-bed his conscience was awakened; and as he looked on his past life, and forward to a coming judgment, the horrors of despair settled on his soul. He sent for some of his lady's ministers—those men who, when entertained by her at Leslie house, were afraid to meet him in the days of his robust health—he sent for them now, that, if possible, they might minister relief to his troubled conscience. Two of them, Mr. John Carstairs, and Mr. George Johnston, who were then in Edinburgh, came to Holyrood house, where he lay; and while they spoke to him freely of the sinfulness of his former ways, as fidelity demanded, true to their office, as messengers of peace,

* Burnet's Own Times. vol. i., p. 175.
† Fountainhall's Diary, quoted in Kirkton's History, by the editor, p. 204.
‡ Kirkton's History, p. 212. ‖ Burnet's Own Times, vol. i., p. 175.

they told him that pardon and mercy were to be obtained through the blood of Jesus for the greatest sinners of Adam's race, even at the eleventh hour. Mr. Carstairs, a man unequalled in his day in the gift of prayer, engaged in that exercise; and so weighty and affecting were his sentences, as to draw tears from almost every one present. But all availed not to pacify the conscience of the dying nobleman. He said to Carstairs, "We all thought little of what that man Cargill did in excommunicating us, but I find that sentence binding upon me *now*, and it *will* bind to eternity." The duke of Hamilton, who witnessed the scene, deeply moved, said, "When in health, we hunt and persecute these men, but when dying, we call for them: this is melancholy work!" The dying duke expired at Holyrood house, on the 27th July, 1681, in the 51st year of his age. His funeral obsequies were performed with unusual pomp. His body was first privately brought up from Holyrood house to the high church of St. Giles, accompanied with a train of coaches; thence it was conducted, with the greatest magnificence, to the royal chapel of Holyrood house, by a numerous procession, the order of which is given by Arnot in his history of Edinburgh.* From the chapel of Holyrood house, it was next conveyed, with the same funereal pomp, to Leith, thence it was transported to Burntisland; and the day after, it was met by the gentlemen of the county of Fife (of which he was high sheriff), by whom it was accompanied to the family burying-place at Leslie. The body was laid in the grave with sound of open trumpets, and the honors placed above the grave. This superfluity of display was common during the reign of Charles II. at the funerals of the great. Under that reign it was a matter of policy, in prosecution of the designs of the government for the establishment of absolute power, to encourage every circumstance which could mark the distinction of ranks, and hence the nobility and gentry gratified their vanity not only by the splendor of their retinues, but also by the extravagant pomp with which they conducted the funerals of their departed friends, as if they could thus keep up the distinctions of rank and elevated station after death had levelled them in the dust.

"Sorry pre-eminence of high descent
Above the vulgar born."†

* Pp. 168, 611.

† To such an extent, however, did this foolish vanity and absurd extravagance proceed, that the parliament which met at Edinburgh, September 13, 1681, passed an "act restraining the exorbitant expenses of marriages, baptisms, and burials."—See the acts of the parliament of Scotland.

The duchess had to the duke, two daughters, Lady Margaret, and Lady Christian. Lady Margaret, the eldest, became on her father's death, countess of Rothes, having inherited his extensive property in the counties of Aberdeen, Elgin, Fife, Forfar, Inverness, Kincardine, and Perth, and the earldom of Rothes, but not his other titles of duke of Rothes, marquis of Ballinbreich, &c., which, being limited to the heirs male of his body, became extinct at his death. She was married, in 1674, to Charles, fifth earl of Haddington, the marriage contract being dated the 7th of October that year. The second daughter, Lady Christian, was married first to James, third marquis of Montrose, to whom she had issue, and afterward, in 1687, to Sir John Bruce, of Kinross, baronet, to whom she had no children.*

Amid all her domestic trials, the duchess found much comfort in her children, who, following her instructions and example, adorned the high stations they filled, and were patterns to their sex. Her eldest daughter, in particular, who succeeded the duke, a lady of a cultivated understanding, and of much practical wisdom, was almost unequalled in her day for the depth of her piety, and the extent of her beneficence.

Among the nonconforming ministers whom the duchess befriended and patronized, was Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, one of the most popular ministers of his day, who was ejected from Forgan, in Fife, after the Restoration, and who subsequently became indulged minister at Kilmarnock. Previous to his death, which took place about the close of October, 1678,† this excellent minister, having consented to the posthumous publication of a series of sermons which he had delivered upon 2 Samuel xxiii. 5, and which, after his death, were published partly from short-hand notes taken by some of the hearers, and partly from his own notes, it was his desire that the volume should be dedicated to the duchess. But as before its publication she had been removed by death, Mr. Wedderburn's widow, Helen Turnbull, dedicated it to the duchess's daughter, "the truly noble Margaret, countess of Rothes," which she was induced to do not only in consideration of the Christian excellence of that lady, but also from respect to the memory of her sainted mother; and as a memorial of the duchess we now quote it. "Madam," says Mrs. Wedderburn,

* Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii., p. 432.

† The illness which issued in his death was brought on by a thrust he received from the butt of the musket of a Highlander during the invasion of the west by the Highland host in 1678, at the time when he was interceding with these savages to spare the town of Kilmarnock, which they were resolved to plunder. His last illness continued about four months.

"before that pious and eminent person, the duchess of Rothes, your ladyship's renowned mother, was by death removed, I designed, according to the intention of my husband (who is now entered into the joy of his Lord), to dedicate this part of his labors to her grace. And now, when these papers, by advice of faithful and godly ministers, are to be exposed to public view, I judged it my duty to pay that respect to her grace's memory as to prefix your ladyship's name thereunto (which, no doubt, if my husband were alive, he himself would have done), which I the more confidently adventure upon, as that I know your ladyship to be the lively portraiture of the graces and virtues of your noble and now glorified mother, and to be of such wisdom and prudence, humility and self-denial, as to excuse anything of unsuitableness that may be in this for one of my station and sex."

A few brief notices of Margaret, countess of Rothes, may form an appropriate sequel to the preceding sketch of her mother. Crawford describes her as "a lady of incomparable piety and goodness;"* and Wodrow speaks of her as that "excellent lady who scarce had a parallel for religion, and everything good, in her age."† Having embraced the same religious sentiments as her mother, she was a friend to the persecuted presbyterians, of which the government were well aware, and as an instance of the arts resorted to for depriving the sufferers of shelter from every quarter, it may be mentioned that the privy council, who found sheriff courts a powerful means of carrying on the persecution, persuaded that on succeeding her father, she would appoint a sheriff depute for Fife, who would befriend the sufferers, had recourse to a most dishonorable expedient, in order to deprive her of the power of appointing a substitute to hold such a court in her name. On the 6th of October, 1681, the privy council "order intimation to be made to her by the earl of Haddington, that she can not hold any sheriff court, nor any in her name, until she take the test." "The parliament in one of their acts," says Wodrow, "as we have seen, except the heirs of the duke from some hardships of this nature,‡ yet the council urge this excellent lady with this oath, as what they knew she would never

* Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 430. † Wodrow's History, vol iii., p. 300.

‡ Wodrow refers to the act concerning public debts, passed September 17, 1681, discharging such noblemen, barons, and burgesses, as "during the time of the late troubles and rebellion, did give their bonds for several great sums of money," "of the said debts and bonds granted thereupon," upon condition of their taking the test, "excepting always the heirs, executors, and successors of the deceased duke of Rothes, late lord chancellor, who, in respect of his eminent loyalty and service to his majesty, are hereby absolutely exonered and discharged of the said debts, without necessity of taking the aforesaid test, upon the account aforesaid, allenarly."

take, that the offices might fall into the managers' hands."* The council succeeded in their design. Both the countess and the earl of Haddington, her husband, refused to take the test. Accordingly the sheriffdom of Fife was lodged in the hands of the earl of Balcarres, who, in that same year, appointed Alexander Malcolm sheriff depute of that county, a man who proved as severe a presser of conformity as the government could desire, subjecting such as refused to take the test to severe oppression by fines, imprisonment, and other kinds of suffering.†

Wodrow, in his Analecta, under the year 1730, has preserved the following memorial of this lady: "I am told that the late duchess or countess of Rothes, was one of the most extraordinary persons for religion and good sense, and eminent acts of charity, that was in the last age; that her life, could it be recovered, would make a beautiful figure in our biography. I have little hope of recovering it. In the late dear years 1697 and 1698, she was remarkable for her charity. She distributed many bolls of meal among the poor every week, and it was calculated that she dealt out most of the yearly rent of the estate that way. She had a day in the week, Friday, I think, when sick and indisposed persons came to her; and she spoke with them, and gave them medicines gratis; and some cheats, pretending to be objects of charity, she discovered, and severely punished them. She was most intimate with John Archer, Alexander's father, and many eminent Christians in that neighborhood. She was eminent in prayer and wrestling, and had many singular answers of prayer. It's a pity so little about her can now be recovered."‡

The countess died on the 20th of August, 1700. Sir James Stewart, lord advocate of Scotland, after the revolution, says, in a letter to Principal William Carstairs, dated August 22, 1700, "The good countess of Rothes died Tuesday last, much regretted by all, and very deservedly."‖ She was succeeded by her eldest son, John, seventh earl of Rothes, who, like his predecessors for at least four preceding generations, was distinguished for the excellence of his Christian character. He died in 1722, in the prime of life, in the full assurance of faith. A few hours before his departure, he called his children one by one, and took farewell of each of them, speaking to each in particular, and to them all for nearly two hours, with the greatest seriousness and solidity, recommending religion to them as what alone would avail them,

* Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 390.
† Ibid., vol iii., p. 390.
‡ Vol. iv., p. 172.
‖ Carstairs's State Papers, p. 625.

when about to pass from time into eternity.* The well-known Colonel Blackadder, who was present with him at the last, says that he never witnessed so Christian, calm, and courageous a death. The colonel drew up an account of his death-bed scene, which is printed from the Wodrow MSS., in the Christian Instructor for November, 1825.

In the preceding notices of the duchess of Rothes, of her predecessors and descendants, it is interesting and instructive to see piety passing downward from parents to children for five successive generations. This we are no doubt to trace to the sovereign grace of God, for genuine religion is not transmitted from parent to child, as a healthy constitution is transmitted. But it is also to be traced to the instrumentality of parents, and particularly of religious mothers, in the godly upbringing of their children. The duchess of Rothes's mother, the duchess herself, her daughter and her son, all enjoyed the benefit of the religious instructions, the persevering prayers, and the holy example of godly mothers. To the pious endeavors of both parents to instil the principles of piety into the minds of their children, God has annexed a special blessing; but it may be expected in particular that the labors of Christian mothers in this good work will be followed by the happiest effects. From their offspring being in infancy constantly under their care, and afterward in childhood and youth more frequently in their society than in that of the other parent, mothers have a more powerful influence than fathers in forming their character; and how often, as must be known to all who are but slightly acquainted with Christian biography, have those who have been distinguished in their day for piety and extensive usefulness in the church and in the world, had to trace their piety and their usefulness to the instructions, counsels, and admonitions, they had received, in their first and more tender years, from their God-fearing mothers!

* Wodrow's Correspondence, vol. ii., p. 641.

LADY MARY JOHNSTON,

COUNTESS OF CRAWFORD.

Lady Mary Johnston was the eldest daughter of James, earl of Annandale and Hartfell, by his wife Lady Henrietta Douglas, daughter of William, first marquis of Douglas, by his second wife, Lady Mary Gordon. She was married at Leith, on the 8th of March, 1670, to William, sixteenth earl of Crawford, and second earl of Lindsay, the son of John, earl of Crawford and Lindsay, of whom some notices have already been given,* and brother to the duchess of Rothes, the subject of the preceding sketch.† Her husband, like his parents, was a nonconformist, and great deference was paid to him by the presbyterians. On this account he was, throughout the period of the persecution, a marked man; and, from the danger to which he was exposed, he once intended to go abroad, though he never went, but lived in retirement till the revolution, which brought him deliverance and honor.‡

The early education and family connections of this lady tended to prejudice her mind against the suffering covenanters. But her marriage into a family distinguished at once for their warm attachment to that persecuted body, and for personal piety, was followed by a great change upon both her personal character and religious sentiments. She became, at one and the same time, a genuine Christian and a true blue presbyterian. The instrument of effecting this change upon her was Mr. John Welsh, a minister almost unequalled in the times of persecution, for the Christian intrepidity with which he jeoparded his life on the mountains and in the moors of Scotland, in his ardent and indefatigable zeal to proclaim to his fellow-countrymen the unsearchable riches of Christ, and whose intrepid labors of love were blessed by the Spirit of God for turning multitudes from disobedience to the wisdom of the just.

* See pp. 199, 200. † Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., pp. 74, 387.

‡ He was appointed by King William, president of the parliament, a commissioner of the treasury, and one of the commission for settling the government of the church. He was a man of great political sagacity, and the most active agent in effecting the overthrow of prelacy at the revolution. His correspondence during that eventful period has been printed in the "Melville and Levin Papers." "His letters," says Lord Lindsay, who is not disposed to overrate his merits, "bear the stamp of burning and enthusiastic sincerity, while in point of taste, though abounding in scriptural imagery, they are unusually graceful and free from cant, and the impression they leave is more favorable to him than might have been expected."—Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., p. 174.

In the beginning of the year 1674—the first three months of which, as we have seen, were called "the Blink," from the little molestation then offered to the ejected ministers in holding conventicles, whether in houses or in the fields*—Welsh went over from Edinburgh to Fife with his wife, where he spent about six weeks in preaching, none presuming either to pursue him from Edinburgh, or to lay hands on him in Fife, not even Sharp, who had his residence in that part of the country, and who of all others most thirsted for his blood.† During that period Welsh had large meetings both on the sabbath-day and on week-days, at which many of the gentry, attracted by the weight of his character and by his homely but powerful eloquence, were often present; the most of whom seemed to be impressed by the word, and favorably disposed to the work in which he was engaged.‡ It was at this time that Lady Crawford had an opportunity of hearing him preach for the first time, in the neighborhood of her own residence, Struthers house,‖ and his discourse, accompanied by the influence of the Divine Spirit, was the means of turning her from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. From that day she became an altered person; the pride of her heart was humbled, so that, like Mary in the gospel, she sat at Jesus's feet, a teachable disciple, listening to his voice, and in the whole of her subsequent deportment she exhibited the living marks of a child of God. Now, indeed, she had not many years to live, but during the brief course allotted to her on earth, she exemplified in an eminent degree the power of vital godliness. In her character were combined the devotion of the saint and the

* For the reasons of this temporary cessation from persecution, see p. 182.

† "None was so busy as Mr. John Welsh, who this spring [1674], made a perambulation over Fife, and there, in vacant churches, and sometimes in the fields at Glenvale, at Duraquhair, and other places, gathered sometimes armies together, for which the gentry and people both smarted very sore"—Kirkton's History, p. 344.

‡ Blackadder's Memoirs, MS. copy. The same writer says, "He [Welsh] was attended from place to place with companies of gentlemen and others, with great respect and applause." "The council," says Kirkton, "set a price upon Mr. Welsh's head, and for that he never rode without a guard of horsemen, sometimes more, sometimes less, but seldom exceeding the number of ten horsemen."—Kirkton's History, p. 380.

‖ Struthers, or as it is called in some old papers, Auchter uther-Struther, was formerly the seat of the earls of Crawford. It is now in ruins, and stands about two miles southwest from the village of Ceres, Fifeshire. Its towers and battlements gave it a venerable and a sort of warlike appearance; but of this once splendid house there now exist very scanty remains. "The park around the house," says the old Statistical Account of Scotland, "which is enclosed with a stone wall, contains about two hundred acres of ground; there are a good many trees in different places of the park, particularly some venerable beeches of a very large size." But in the new Statistical Account of Scotland, it is said that these "venerable beeches, have died or been cut down."

resolution of the martyr. Previous to her hearing Welsh she attended the curates without scruple, but after that, no arguments and no menaces employed by her relatives could prevail upon her to go and hear them; and she embraced every opportunity within her reach of attending field-conventicles. In her the persecuted, the poor, and the suffering, found a sympathizing friend.* The vast change she had undergone, her relatives and acquaintances did not fail to observe; and her Christian friends were struck with the rapidity with which she advanced in all the graces of the Spirit, outstripping many who had preceded her in their entrance on the Christian course. Her husband, who loved her with the tenderest affection, was improved in character by the imitation of her virtues, and encomiums upon her worth were extorted even from enemies.

Of this lady, Mr. John Blackadder has preserved an interesting memorial in his "Memoirs, written by Himself." After narrating Welsh's visit to Fife, in the beginning of the year 1674, and referring to the "many memorable effects of the power and wisdom of God, manifested at that time," by the labors of that eminent minister, of which he gives some examples, he says: "Among others, I must notice, to the commendation of the grace of God, that instance concerning Countess Crawford, then called Lady Lindsay,† daughter to the earl of Annandale, by Duke Hamilton's sister (whose education was more likely to have alienated her from that way, than to ingratiate it to her), she coming to one of these great meetings at Duraquhair, near Cupar, and near to her own house: she by a special cast of God's power, had been induced among others to come forth one of these great sabbaths at Duraquhair, where it was estimated there were about seven or eight thousand persons present, and much of the power of God appeared to the shaking the consciences, and awakening the hearts of the generality for the time, and leaving a lasting impression on others, among whom this truly honorable lady was one, who declared she was constrained to close with the offer that was made in that great day of the gospel; which was made known to many by manifest fruits of piety, showed forth in all her walk as a Christian and dutiful yoke-fellow to her lord, who also

* Mr. John Carstairs in a letter to the earl of Crawford, dated May 2, 1678, says, "I take it for granted your lordship's excellent lady and sister covet most the relief of Christ's oppressed interests, and that your endeavors therein will be most acceptable and satisfying, as I hope your brother's sweet lady also doeth."—Wodrow MSS., vol. lix., folio, No 78.

† Her husband was then only Lord Lindsay. He did not become Earl Crawford till his father's death, which took place in 1676.

received good impressions of that day's work, and the like from her very report of the Lord's gracious presence and good she found to her soul that day; which the writer hereof also had from herself, with great majesty and seriousness in the presence of her lord, who hath since also been helped to carry as a Christian in the exercise of piety and righteousness (whereof he hath given a good proof in dispensing his estate, to pay his father's creditors,* having very little to himself), and steadfast soundness in the public cause of reformation, with as much tenderness, and keeping at a distance from all steps of defection, as many of whom more might have been expected, and that to this day. After the day of this lady's conversion to the Lord, and singular reformation, she could never be induced by all the insinuations and threats of her near and noble relations, to go back again to the prelatic preachers and their assemblies, or to countenance any of the prelates or curates as she had done, but frequented all occasions of preaching at these persecuted meetings she could conveniently win at. She lived and died endeavoring to adorn her profession by a conversation becoming the gospel; even to the stopping the mouths of gainsayers. What is here declared as to this memorable instance and effect of the grace and power of Christ manifested to this lady, I am without fear of any man's disproving, beside many the like to others at these persecuted meetings, called by many in this degenerate generation unlawful conventicles."†

Lady Crawford died in the year 1682, in the prime of life. This we learn from the epistle dedicatory, prefixed by Mr. John

* He made his nonentailed property responsible for payment of his father's debts "that," to use his own words, "the memory of so good a man, and so kind a father, might not suffer by the neglect of a son that owed all things to him in gratitude as well as duty"—Melville and Leven Papers, p. 259. Mr. John Carstairs, in his Epistle Dedicatory to Durham's Sermons on Isaiah liii., addressed to the earl of Crawford, also speaks in commendation of his lordship's Christian and exemplary conduct, in "Choosing rather contentedly and satisfiedly to be (if it so please the Lord, and O that it may not!) the last of that ancient and honorable family, than to be found endeavoring to keep it from sinking by any sinful and unwarrantable course, particularly by defrauding just creditors (though the debt was not of your lordship's own contracting), under whatever specious pretexts and advantages of law; whereof many make no bones, who, if they may keep up their superfluities, care not to ruin their friends engaging in suretyship for their debt, and to live on the substance of others." Carstairs adds, "With great satisfaction I notice how much your lordship makes it your business to follow your noble ancestors, in so far as they were 'followers of Christ,' which many great men, even in the Christian world, alas! do not much mind, not considering that it is true nobility, where God is the chief and top of the kin, and where religion is at the bottom: and what renowned Raleigh saith, '*Hunc dictus nobilis quasi præcalus virtute notabilis*;' and what another saith, '*Qui ab illustrium majorum splendida virtuta degenerarunt nobilia portenta sunt.*'"

† Blackadder's Memoirs, MS. copy; see also Dr. Crichton's printed copy, p. 167

Carstairs to Durham's sermons on Isaiah liii.* It is addressed "Unto all afflicted and cross-bearing serious Christians; and more particularly, to the Right Honorable and Truly Noble Lord William, Earl of Crawford;" and is dated November 15, 1682. After adducing and illustrating a variety of reasons, why the people of God should "sweetly submit themselves to his will in all things, how cross soever to their own inclination," he says: "Let them all, my noble lord, prevail with your lordship in particular, reverently to adore, silently to stoop unto, and sweetly to acquiesce in, the Lord's sovereign, holy, and wise ordering your many and various complicated trials; and more especially his late removing your excellent lady, the desire of your eyes, the Christian and comfortable companion of your youth, by his stroke." In the same dedication, Carstairs bears testimony to the distinguished piety of this lady, in these words: "I am, my noble lord, the more easily prevailed with, and encouraged to address the dedication of these sermons to your lordship, more particularly when I remember 'the unfeigned faith that first dwelt in your grandmother,' as another Lois; and in your mother, as another Eunice;† and more lately in your own choice lady, who, as another beloved Persis, 'labored much in the Lord;'‡ (and though she had but a very short Christian race, in which she was much encouraged by coming into your noble father's family, and her beholding how hard your blessed mother did run and press toward the mark, even when in the last stage, and turning in a manner the last stoop of her Christian course; yet it was a very swift one, wherein she did quite outrun many that were in Christ long before her); all three ladies of honor, almost —if I need to say almost—without parallels in their times, in the serious and diligent exercise of godliness, and patterns worthy to be imitated by others." Carstairs adds, "And [the same unfeigned faith dwells] I trust in your lordship also, yea, and in several others of your elder and younger noble relations; for grace hath such a draught of souls amongst you, as it useth not often to have in societies of so noble extract, 'for not many noble are called.'"

The loss of this amiable and pious lady gave a severe shock to the feelings of the earl. Carstairs, who knew the intensity of his grief, addressed himself to the task of administering comfort to his wounded heart. "Let all mutinous thoughts about

* She had issue to the earl, three sons, the eldest of whom was John, seventeenth earl of Crawford, and a daughter.—Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 387.

† 2 Timothy, i. 5. ‡ Romans, xvi. 12.

His dealings with you be silenced with, 'It's the Lord;' let not too much dwelling on the thoughts of your affliction, to the filling of your heart still with sorrow, incapacitate you for, nor divert you from, humbly asking the Lord, what he aims at by all these dispensations, what he would have you to learn out of them, what he reproveth and contends for, what he would have you amending your hands in, and what he would have you more weaned, self-denied, and mortified in, and what he would have you a further length and a greater proficient in: He hath told you 'the truth, that these things are expedient for you;' study to find them to be so in your experience. Sure he hath by them written in great, legible, and capital characters, yea even as with a sunbeam, vanity, emptiness, uncertainty, mutability, unsatisfactoriness, and disappointment upon the forehead of all creature comforts, and with a loud voice called your lordship, yet more seriously than ever, to seek after solid soul satisfaction in his own blessed and all-sufficient self." And after observing that "it is the scattering of our expectations and desires of happiness among other objects beside him, that breeds us all our disquiet, anxiety, and vexation;" he adds, "There are some whom he loveth so well, that he can not (to speak so) find in his heart to see them thus to parcel out their affections, and to dote upon any painted imaginary happiness in creature-comforts; and therefore, in design, he doth either very much blast them as to the expected satisfaction from them; or quite remove them, that by making such a vacuity, he may make way for himself to fill it, and happily to necessitate the person, humbly, prayerfully, and believingly, to put him to the filling of it. And it is a great vacuity that he, 'who fills heaven and earth,' can not fill; a little of whose gracious presence, and manifested special love, can go very far to fill up the room that is made void, by the removal of the choicest and most desirable of all earthly comforts and enjoyments. Happy they, who, when they lose a near and dear relation or friend, or any idol they are fond of, are helped of God to make Jesus Christ, as it were, succeed to the same as its heir, by taking that loss as a summons to transfer and settle their whole love on him, the object incomparably most worthy of it, as being 'altogether lovely,' or 'all desires!' Cant. v. 16."

The earl afterward married for his second wife Lady Henrietta Seton, only daughter of Charles, second earl of Dunfermline, by his wife Lady Mary Douglas, third daughter of William, earl of Morton.* She was the relict of William, fifth earl of Wigton, to

* Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 482.

whom she was married at Dalgety in September, 1670, whom she lost by death on the 8th of April, 1681, and to whom she had issue two sons and a daughter.* To the earl of Crawford she had a son and six daughters.

Like his former countess, this lady was a woman of genuine piety, as well as of presbyterian principles; and, like other ladies of nobility and honor, she had her own share in the sufferings of those evil times. She first suffered in her two sons by her first husband being taken from her and committed to a teacher to be educated in prelacy or popery; and when she went to Edinburgh to complain to the government, and make application for having them restored to her, her complaint and request were disregarded. In a paper entitled "Grievances for Scotland, 1661—1688," the following is included as a grievance: "The threatening to take children from parents to breed them papists, and actually taking my Lord Wigton and his brother. My Lady Crawford, their mother, came over to Edinburgh, in great grief and perplexity, a few weeks before her delivery, but was harshly handled by the chancellor,† and on her soliciting the lords of council for recovery of her children out of his hands, no man would open his mouth for her."‡ And yet this treatment of her children was in glaring violation of the law. There was indeed at that period a standing law against presbyterians being employed as chaplains or pedagogues in families, or as teachers in schools, or as professors in colleges, conformity to prelacy being an essential qualification for all such situations; but to abstract children from their parents, and to commit them to teachers for the purpose of their being trained up in prelacy or popery, was warranted by no statute even at that time, when the throne was a throne of iniquity, and when mischief had been so extensively framed by law. After the accession of James VII. to the throne, so gloomy were the anticipations of this lady as to the future state of matters in Scotland, that she was very desirous of going abroad. In a letter to a friend, dated September 8, 1685, speaking of the considerations which induced him to leave Scotland, as well as of the difficulties in the way, the earl says: "The things that prompt me to go are, first, a passionate desire in a most dutiful, most affectionate, and singularly good wife, who is really disquieted with apprehensions of sad things that are coming on

* Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii., p. 637. † The earl of Perth.

‡ Wodrow MSS., vol. xl., folio, No. 3. In another paper entitled "Grievances for Scotland," this grievance is thus stated: "The imposing of naughty persons to govern children, as one imposed on my Lord Wigton and his brother, who after betrayed them to the chancellor."—Ibid., vol. xl., folio, No. 7.

Scotland; now, when I consider the composedness of her temper for ordinary, I have sometimes looked on this restlessness in her spirit to be gone, as a warning from God that I should retire."*

BARBARA CUNNINGHAM,

LADY CALDWELL.

Barbara Cunningham was descended from the Cunninghams of Cunninghamhead in Ayrshire, one of the most ancient and powerful cadets of the Glencairn family, which possessed at one time large properties in Lanarkshire, and even in Mid-Lothian, as well as in Cunningham, but which began to decline about the end of the seventeenth century.† Her ancestors early distinguished themselves as warm promoters of the Reformation from popery. Her great-grandfather, William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, who joined the lords of the congregation, and maintained with ardent zeal the cause for which they erected their standard, sat in the memorable parliament of August, 1560, which approved and ratified the confession of faith, and abolished the jurisdiction of the pope throughout the kingdom of Scotland. His name appears at the most important public document of the Scottish reformers, as at "Ane Contract of the Lords and Barons, to defend the Liberty of the Evangell of Christ," in 1560; at the Book of Discipline, which he subscribed January 27, 1561, as one of the members of the privy council; and at the famous band for the support of the reformed religion, in 1562. He was a member of the assembly of 1565, which was so obnoxious to Queen Mary and the Roman catholics, and was one of five commissioners sent to the queen by that assembly, with certain articles,—the first of which was that the mass and all papistical idolatry and jurisdiction should be universally abolished throughout the realm,—humbly desiring her to ratify and approve the same in parliament.‡ Her father, Sir William Cunningham of

* Wodrow's Hist., vol. iv., p. 513. † Robertson's Ayrshire Families, vol. i. p. 303.

‡ Robertson's Ayrshire Families, vol. i., p. 305. Knox's History, Wodrow Society edition, vol. i., p. 366; and vol. ii., pp. 61, 258, 349, 486. Robertson is mistaken when he says that the "laird of Cunningham," who was a member of the assembly of 1565, was Barbara Cunningham's great grand-uncle, John Cunninghem, brother to her great-grandfather, William Cunningham. It was her great-grandfather himself, who was a member of that assembly. He died in January, 1576.

Cunninghamhead, succeeded his father, John, about the year 1607, and was created a baronet in 1627. He was twice married; first, in 1619, to Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Thomas Nicolson, commissary of Aberdeen, by whom he had Sir William, who succeeded him,* and Barbara, the subject of this notice. He had several other children of this marriage, but they all died either unmarried or without issue. He married, secondly, Lady Margaret Campbell, daughter of Lord Loudon, but of this marriage there was no issse. He died about the year 1640.†

Barbara Cunningham was married, in 1657, to William Muir of Caldwell;‡ and hence by the courtesy of the time she was usually styled Lady Caldwell. This "honorable and excellent gentleman," as he is called by Wodrow, zealously adhered to the ministers ejected in 1662, and was among the first who left off attending the ministry of the intruded curates. On the ejectment of Mr. Hugh Walker, the minister of Neilston, from his charge, by the act of the privy council at Glasgow, in 1662, Muir of Caldwell, who resided in that parish, ceased to attend the parish church, for which he was in some danger of being involved in trouble. Mr. John Carstairs, in a letter to Lady Ralston, dated March 6, 1663, says, "The people here and in the parts about are likely to be sorely put to it, if the Lord do not graciously prevent; they imprison some of them for not hearing both in this town and elsewhere. The Lord Cochrane is very zealous in this good cause. Some of Neilston parishioners are in prison at Paisley on that account, and Caldwell was cited by the lord-chancellor to appear before the council at Edinburgh, because he would not promise to hear afterward. He should have appeared yesterday, but he got the first day put by; whether he will get his appearance shifted altogether, I know not. I heard (and it seems by that same zealous man's means) that some din was made to the lord-chancellor about Caldwell, Dunlop, and the laird's‖ keeping meetings together at Paisley. Some were afraid the chancellor would have called for the laird, but I have heard nothing since; it's like it will evanish and settle down

* His son, Sir William, who succeeded him, like his daughter, Barbara, suffered not a little during the persecution, as we learn from Wodrow's History. Besides being fined by Middleton's parliament in 1662, above £200 sterling, he was imprisoned for several years in Stirling castle. He died in 1670.

† Robertson's Ayrshire Families, vol. i., pp. 306–308.

‡ Fountainhall's Decisions of the Lords of Session, &c., vol. ii., p. 558. William had succeeded his brother James, who died without issue, in 1654. Crawford's History of Renfrewshire, Robertson's edition, p. 307.

‖ The laird of Ralston.

again."* Lady Caldwell, being of similar ecclesiastical principles with her husband, no doubt acted in a similar manner.

The sufferings of this lady in the cause of religion and liberty, may be said to have commenced in the year 1666, after the unsuccessful attempt of the covenanters at Pentland hills. Her husband and a few gentlemen in the west, having gathered together a small company of horsemen, amounting to about fifty, intended to join the covenanters under Colonel Wallace, who were then near Edinburgh; but being informed, after proceeding a short way on their journey, that General Dalziel was between them and their friends, they dispersed. Caldwell, who was captain of that little band, soon after found it necessary to provide for his safety by flight, and concealing himself for some time, he succeeded in getting safely over to Holland, where, like many others of his expatriated countrymen, he found a secure retreat, but from which he never returned to his native land. Meanwhile he was prosecuted by his majesty's advocate, before the lords justiciary for high treason, simply because he had been on the road to join those in arms; and on the 16th of August, 1667, being found guilty of treason by a jury in his absence, he was sentenced to undergo capital punishment, and to be demeaned as a traitor, when he should be apprehended, and all his lands, tenements, annual rents, offices, titles, tacks, dignities, steadings, rooms, possessions, goods, and gear whatsoever, were declared to be forfeited to his majesty's use.† On the 12th of October, the privy council appointed James Dunlop, of Househill, to uplift Muir of Caldwell's rents for the year 1667, and bygone terms since the rebellion, and in future years, and to take an exact inventory of his whole movable goods and gear. His excellent estate, it is said, was at this time promised to General Dalziel, as a reward to the general for his success in suppressing the Pentland insurrection. It was not, however, actually gifted to him till July 11, 1670, when Charles granted in his favor a charter, under the great seal of the kingdom of Scotland, in due form, disponing to him, his heirs and assignees whatsoever, in perpetuity, the lands of Muir of Caldwell; and every means was taken

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xlv., 8vo, No. 52.

† These proceedings were unquestionably illegal; for "all processes of forfeiture before the justice court, in absence, were contrary to the act 90th, parliament 11, James VI."—Morison's Dictionary of the Decisions of the court of Session, p. 4695. The government, well aware of this, had recourse to an expedient to secure themselves, and give validity to these proceedings. With this view, an act of parliament was passed, *post facto*, in 1669, ratifying these forfeitures, and declaring them legal where it is for rising in arms and perduellion.—Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 140. Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. ii., p. 558.

to render the gift secure. On the 22d of August, 1670, an act of parliament was passed, ratifying the royal grant, and giving validity to all steps taken to secure the estate to him and his heirs *in perpetuum*; and on the 8th of October, that same year, he was infefted in the estate.*

These proceedings against Muir of Caldwell, it is obvious, could not but deeply strike against Lady Caldwell. By the sentence of forfeiture pronounced upon him, she, though not the object avowedly aimed at, suffered in fact as much as he suffered himself. It affected the temporal comfort of herself and her children as much as it affected his. While he remained lurking in the country, she had to endure the anxiety arising from the danger to which he was exposed, of falling into the hands of the government; and during that time, or after he had made his escape to Holland, she suffered, previous to joining him, many hardships at home. The work of spoliation by Dalziel and his associates was then going on at the house and on the property of Caldwell, under her own eye. Of the extent to which the work was carried, some idea may be formed from a list of the losses she had sustained during the persecution, contained in the libel in the action she and her daughter brought against the grandson of Dalziel, before the court of session, after the revolution, claiming reparation. This list enumerates the loss of "thirty-six milk and yield cows, at 20 lbs. per piece, which belonged to William Mure of Caldwell, and were in his own possession in the year 1666; a great gelding, worth 50 lbs. sterling; four other horses at 100 lbs. per piece; together with the whole growth of the mains of Caldwell, the said crop 1666, both corn and fodder, to the value of 2,000 merks; fifty bolls of meal lying in the girnels at the said time, at 10 merks per boll; the whole plenishing, utensils, and domicils, to the value of 3,000 merks; three terms rent preceding Martinmas, 1667, of the said estate of Caldwell, extending to 10,500 merks intromitted with, by the said General Thomas Dalziel, before he obtained the gift of Caldwell's forfeiture; three hay-stacks standing in the corn-yard of the said mains of Caldwell, at 100 merks per piece; the whole growth of little mains, which was in the Lady Caldwell's elder,† her own hands, with the corn and fodder, and a hay stack, extending to the value of 550 lbs. Scots."‡ In the same

* Proceedings of parliament, February 20, 1707, in Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. xi., p. 103.

† William Muir of Caldwell's mother.

‡ Proceedings of parliament, February 20, 1707, in Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. xi., Appendix.

document, it is stated that General Dalziel at Martinmas, 1666, intromitted with and took away from Lady Caldwell the furniture of the house of Caldwell.

At last Lady Caldwell went over to Holland to join her husband, who, it appears, had taken up his residence in Rotterdam. Whatever might be her outward temporal circumstances while in Holland, she and her husband were protected in their life and property; they were allowed, without restriction, to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience; and they enjoyed a select and congenial society in those excellent ministers and laymen, with their wives, who, from similar causes, had been under the necessity of taking shelter in that country, from the fury of persecution. Both of them, as we learn from the correspondence of that period, were, during their exile, very highly esteemed by these refugees. Robert M'Ward not only describes Muir of Caldwell as a man of great intelligence and remarkable for the elegance and felicity of language with which he expressed himself on ecclesiastical and religious subjects, but assigns him the first place in his day among the pious gentlemen of Scotland. "As a companion," says he, "we had but one Caldwell among all the gentlemen I knew or yet know in Scotland."* And speaking of Lady Caldwell, he says, "Who did also cheerfully choose to be his fellow exile and companion in tribulation, as she desired to be in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ."†

But she had not resided long in Holland when she was afflicted with the loss of her husband, who died at Rotterdam, on Wednesday the 9th of February, 1670, his death, as was believed, having been hastened by the grief he felt on account of the calamitous state of the church in his native country. She had, however, under this trial the satisfaction of reflecting that she had been able to attend him under his last illness, and of witnessing the peace of mind, and the hopes of eternal glory, which sustained and cheered him on the bed of death. His dying words were noted down by Mr. Robert M'Ward, who observes that, as "he uttered them at several times during his few days' sickness, and as they were gathered from the memories of some gracious persons who were present, it will not be expected that they can be set down altogether in that order, liveliness and elegancy of phrase (wherein he had a peculiar happiness), as they were spoken by him." Referring to the cause of his banishment, Caldwell said, "I am in perfect peace and quiet of mind. There is no inconsistency between the obeying of God and man. Help, O Lord! we can

* Wodrow MSS., vol. lviii., folio, No. 74. † Ibid., vol. lxviii., folio, No. 23.

have no liberty but what is clogged (as we apprehend) with great slavery. If we can not get living in the world like men, let us be helped to die like men, in the avowing of the truth of our God." He also said, "King Charles, we are content to give thee all thine own; but do not, may not, give thee that which is only due unto King Jesus, and unto none else." On another occasion he said, "I have forsaken all for thee, O Father, Son, and blessed Spirit! to whom be praise for ever and ever." But that it might not be supposed that he built on this his hopes of heaven, he added, "Jesus hath paid the price, he hath satisfied his Father's justice to the full; I have laid all over on the cautioner, and he hath assured me that he hath undertaken all for me. He hath overcome, he hath overcome; he will bruik his crown in spite of man and devils." He repeatedly bore testimony to the worth of his wife. One time, on his desiring her to be called for, and it being told him that being very sick, she had lain down to rest, he said, "Tell her that she and I shall be in heaven for ever and ever, and there we shall eat angels' food." "At another time, being strongly assaulted by the tempter, the Lord having given him great victory over him (as his gracious manner of dealing with him usually was), he cried out, 'I adjure thee, Satan, unto the bottomless pit, to go into everlasting chains, and to outer darkness, where there is weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth.' Then being a little silent, immediately he cried out, 'Trouble not Barbara Cunningham, for she is one of God's elect:' and again, and again, after a little silence, he cried, 'I say, tempt her not, for she is assuredly an elect vessel.' He said further, 'My faithful spouse, my faithful spouse, most faithful hast thou been unto me' (which was his ordinary expression to her, and of her), and did bless the Lord heartily that ever he saw her, and was joined unto her. He had often that expression after the most fierce and horrible assaults of Satan, 'Victory! victory! victory for evermore!'"* M'Ward pronounces upon him the following encomium: "And really the death of this precious gentleman is so much the more to be laid to heart and lamented, that as he was such a hopeful and promising instrument for promoting the interest of Christ's kingdom in his station and generation, and had upon mature deliberation and choice, very singly and unbiasedly for Christ and the gospel's sake, quit and forgone a considerable and ancient inheritance, with his native country, and the fellowship of all his natural relations, except of his lady only—so in as far as could be judged by godly, judicious and sober men, in regard to a pro-

* Wodrow MSS., vol. lxviii., folio, No. 23.

curing means, the present sad condition of the church of Scotland, and of the work of God therein, was the occasion of his death; such a warm-hearted and kindly sympathizing son of Zion he was, and so sad a lift did he take of that which, alas! many of his mother's children walk too easily and lightly under; though the most accurate observer could never all the while of his sojourning as an exile abroad, nor along his sickness, hear him let so much as one word fall savoring the least dissatisfaction with, or unpleasant resentment of, his lot as to outward things."* And in a letter to Lady Caldwell, M'Ward says, "He had the care of the church, besides all the things that were without and within, so much upon his heart, that after he had lost houses and lands, and country and friends, for the interest of his Master's glory, as counting all these too little to have lost, and too low a signification of that love to his Master, and that zeal of his house which did eat him up, he did, by choice, sacrifice his very life upon that interest, and became one of our greatest and most glorious martyrs."†

On the death of her husband, Lady Caldwell returned to Scotland. Upon her return she went, it would appear, to take up her residence at Caldwell house, and provided herself with new furniture. But in that mansion she was not permitted long to reside. The forfeited estate of Caldwell having been gifted to Dalziel a few months after her husband's death, she was compelled to quit Caldwell house, and to seek a home, as she best could find it, for herself and her four fatherless children, three of whom were daughters. And not content with her simple ejectment, Dalziel took away the furniture of Caldwell house which she had procured, amounting to the value of 500 merks.‡ She

* Wodrow MSS., vol. lxviii., folio, No. 23 † Ibid, vol. lvii, folio, No. 74.

‡ This is included in the enumeration of her losses during the persecution, contained in the libel in the action she and her daughter raised against the grandson of Dalziel, before the court of sessions after the revolution. In the same document, the following losses are added, "Item, the sum of 12,000 merks received by the general, or his said son, or their factors, from the respective tenants of the lands for tacks, in name of grassum, or entry at Whitsunday, 1671. Item, 6,000 merks received by them from the feuars and vassals of the said estate, for entering them and other casualities that occurred during that time. Item, 10,000 merks sustained of damage through the said pursuer's [Sir Thomas Dalziel's] father demolishing the tower and manor place of Caldwell the time foresaid, and of the bygone rents of the lands, and others life rented by the said Barbara Cunninghame, and others particularly libelled." From Decreet Absolvitor, Sir Thomas Dalziel of Binns against the Laird and Lady Caldwell, in Proceedings of Parliament, 20th February, 1707, in Acts of the Scottish Parliament. It may here be stated, that to make the most of Caldwell's estate, which he had unjustly acquired, Dalziel, quarrelling the tacks of the tenants as set beneath their true value, instituted a process against the tenants before the lords of session for removing them although they had standing tacks of their several rooms granted them long before the forfeiture for years to run. But the case was decided

was besides deprived of all visible means of supporting herself and her children; for though, by her marriage contract, an annual rent jointure, suitable to her rank, was secured to her from the lands of Caldwell, and she had been actually infefted in the estate prior to its forfeiture, yet, as we shall afterward see, she was deprived of this her just right.

Greatly changed were her circumstances now from what they were during the first eight or nine years after her marriage, when she lived at Caldwell house in affluence, and day followed day without any cause for worldly care or anxiety. But she was not discouraged. She did not distrust in adversity the God whom she had trusted and served in prosperity. Confiding in his promises, she believed that he would provide for her and hers; and possessing too much self-respect to be dependent for the means of subsistence on the bounty of others, she, with her virtuous children, set themselves diligently to the task of supporting themselves by the labor of their own hands. Nor was she ever burdensome to any person, not even to her nearest relations; and if at times when reduced to straits, she was under the necessity of applying to them for a temporary loan of money, she afterward thankfully and fully repaid it. Kind friends, whose sympathy was excited by her afflicted lot, and who were afraid she might be in pecuniary difficulties, repeatedly offered her money, but her noble spirit of independence shrunk from the acceptance of all such assistance. In reference to a sum of money which some friend in Holland had sent through Mr. Robert M'Ward of Rotterdam, to Mr. John Carstairs, to be communicated to her, Carstairs, in a letter to M'Ward, dated February 8, 1678, says: "The Lady Caldwell was impersuasible in that matter, though I showed her, at her desire, from whom it was, she having never taken from any, of which boasting she is resolved not to be deprived, so long as she is able to live otherwise, which hath made me after this and some former essays, resolve not to trouble her. She desired me kindly to thank you in her name. I returned the money again to Mr. Watson."†

In this humble condition, Lady Caldwell, with her daughters, continued for many years, struggling for the means of subsistence, but contented and happy—happier far, indeed, than that barbarous and unprincipled man could possibly be, who now

against him. On January 28, 1674, "The lords of session decerned that where the tenants were innocent, and did not concur in the crime, [of treason, for which Caldwell was forfeited,] and had but tacks of an ordinary endurance, they should stand valid for the years to run after the forfeiture."—Morison's Dictionary of Decisions, pp. 4685–4689.

† Wodrow MSS., vol. lix., folio, No. 77.

wrongfully possessed, and had full and unlimited dominion over the manor-house, the yards and orchards, the woods and meadows, throughout the liberties of Caldwell. To a woman of her independent temper of mind, it would be a high satisfaction to reflect that, though poor, she and her children were a burden to nobody. But she was encouraged and supported by nobler sentiments and more Divine consolations. The losses and sufferings she had sustained had been endured in the cause of Christ, and she did not regret having been called to undergo them in so good a cause. She accounted them her crown, her glory. She took joyfully the spoiling of her goods, knowing that she had in heaven a better and a more enduring substance. And, in the meantime, she had experienced that in proportion as her sufferings for Christ abounded, her consolations in Christ did much more abound. This, in her estimation, was of greater value than the largest earthly revenue; and the longer she lived, the more strongly was her heart inclined, whatever difficulties and tribulations might intervene and oppose, to "hold fast the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end." Such were the sentiments and feelings to which she gave expression in a letter to Colonel James Wallace, the friend of her husband. This letter has not been preserved, but its import we learn from Colonel Wallace's reply, which, though without date, appears to have been written either in 1677 or 1678; and the portion of it illustrative of the Christian character of Lady Caldwell may here be quoted.

"Elect Lady, and my Worthy and Dear Sister: Yours is come to my hand in most acceptable time. It seems that all that devils or men these many years have done (and that has not been little), against you to daunt your courage, or to make you, in the avowing of your Master and his persecuted interests, to lower your sails, has prevailed so little, that your faith and courage are upon the growing hand, an evidence, indeed, as to your persecutors of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God. It seems when you at first, by choice, took Christ by the hand to be your Lord and portion, that you wist what you did; and that notwithstanding of all the hardnesses you have met with in biding by him, your heart seems to cleave the faster to him. This says you have been admitted into much of his company and fellowship. My soul blesses God on your behalf, who hath so carried to you, that I think you may take these words among others as spoken to you, 'You have continued with me in my

afflictions: I appoint unto you a kingdom.' It seems suffering for Christ, losing anything for him is to you your glory, is to you your gain. More and more of this spirit may you enjoy, that you may be among the few (as was said of Caleb and Joshua) that follow him fully, among the overcomers, those noble overcomers mentioned Rev. ii. and iii., among those to whom only (as picked out and chosen for that end) he is saying, 'Ye are my witnesses.' Lady and my dear sister, I am of your judgment; and I bless his name that ever he counted me worthy to appear in that roll." He concluded thus: "Let us mind one another. My love to all friends whom you know I love in the Lord. God's grace be with you, and his blessing upon your little ones, whom he hath been a father to!"*

As has been said before, though by her marriage contract Lady Caldwell had secured to her, from the lands of Caldwell, an annual rent jointure, and had been actually infeft in the estate, prior to its forfeiture,† she was deprived of this right. As might be expected, Dalziel, instead of respecting her rights, left no means untried to set them aside. In the beginning of the year 1680, as donator to the forfeited estate of Caldwell, he pursued her for mails and duties. She defended herself upon the ground of her lifetime infeftment. The base artifice with which her defence was met on the part of Dalziel, is worthy of notice. Among other things, it was alleged for him, first, that Lady Caldwell's husband was yet alive, so that her liferent existed not; and, secondly, that she herself was in the late rebellion, in June, 1679. Both allegations were equally untrue. Her husband was not then alive, having died in Holland, in 1670; and the slanderous defamation that she was in the rebellion at Bothwell bridge was, doubtless, brought forward to injure her cause, by creating prejudices against her in the minds of her judges. On her bringing an action against Dalziel before the lords of session,

* M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson, &c., pp. 371–373. This letter is taken from the Wodrow MSS. It is addressed on the back, "For the Lady Caldwell, at Glasgow."

† Sir William Cunninghame, of Cunninghamhead, in his account of the sufferings of Lady Caldwell, preserved among the Wodrow MSS. (vol. xxxiii., folio, No. 57), incorrectly says that she had "neglected to take infeftment," and Wodrow, whose account of her sufferings is taken from that document, falls into a similar mistake.—(History, vol. iii., p. 440.) Fountainhall says, "Muir of Caldwell, being married to Cunninghame's daughter, in 1657, he infefts her in a liferent jointure, partly by way of locality, and partly an annuity."—His Decisions, &c., p. 558. But though she was infeft upon her contract of marriage, her right was not confirmed by the earl of Eglinton, of whom her husband held immediately his lands.—Morison's Dictionary of Decisions, pp. 4690–4693.

for her jointure from the forfeited estate, the lords, in November, 1682, found that though she had been infefted upon her contract of marriage, yet, as her right was not confirmed by the earl of Eglinton, her husband's immediate superior,* her right fell under the forfeiture, and that by the forfeiture of a sub-vassal (whether the king's immediate or mediate vassal), not only his own right, but all rights flowing from him, were carried.†

For a considerable number of years after her return from Holland, Lady Caldwell had not experienced personal annoyance on account of her nonconforming principles, but was allowed, without disturbance, to pursue the peaceful occupations by which she and her children earned for themselves the means of subsistence. Indeed, considering what she had already suffered in being deprived of all her worldly substance, the government might have been ashamed to subject her to additional hardships and more accumulated sorrow. But arbitrary and persecuting governments are as little affected by a sense of shame as by a sense of justice. In the year 1683, about twelve years after her return from the continent, during which time she had lived in industrious and contented poverty, chiefly, it would appear, at Glasgow, the storm of persecution suddenly burst upon her head. Without indictment or trial she was made prisoner, and confined in one of the state-prisons for upward of three years. The cause of her imprisonment, and the hardships she endured during its continuance, we shall briefly relate, as affording a striking instance of the extreme disregard of justice, and the utter heartlessness which characterized the men who administered the affairs of our country in the times of which we write.‡

The circumstance in which her imprisonment originated was the false information that a recusant minister had been preaching in her house. To make the narrative intelligible to the reader, it is necessary to state that the house in which she lived, which was in Glasgow, was near the foot, and upon the east side of the

* Her right was not confirmed by him previous to the forfeiture, though it was confirmed by him during the time of the debate.

† Morison's Dictionary of Decisions, pp. 4690–4693.

‡ Our narrative is taken chiefly from Sir William Cunningham's MS. account of Lady Caldwell's sufferings, already referred to. It may here be stated, that Sir William was not Lady Caldwell's brother, as Dr. Burns, in his edition of Wodrow's History, supposes (vol. iii., p. 441), but her brother's son—her brother, as we have seen before, having died in 1670, when he was succeeded by his eldest son, the writer of that account. The son, like the father, was a sufferer in those evil times, even when a schoolboy, incapable of giving much offence, or creating much alarm.—See Wodrow's History, vol. iii., pp. 428, 429. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Archibald Stuart, of Castlemilk, but had no issue, and died in 1724.—Robertson's Ayrshire Families, vol. i., p. 308.

street called the Saltmarket, and that the windows consisted mostly of timber boards, there being only a few inches of glass above the boards. One would suppose that it would have been difficult, or rather impossible, for any person, from the opposite side of the street, to discover, through the small pieces of glass at the top, what was going on in the interior of the house. But in those days it was no uncommon thing for base individuals,* either from pure malignity or in the mercenary hope of reward, to give false informations to the government and their underlings against the persecuted presbyterians; and in the present case a person of this stamp, who lived on the opposite side of the street, affirmed that one night, on looking from his own house on the west side of the street, just opposite to her house, he saw a minister preaching in her chamber. He immediately repaired to the land-provost of Glasgow, whose name was Barns, a man of known hostility to the presbyterians, and informed him of what he pretended he had seen. The provost, incited by Mr. Arthur Ross, then archbishop of Glasgow, whom he had informed of the case, proceeded so far as to give orders for the apprehension of Lady Caldwell and her three daughters who lived with her, and they were all imprisoned in the tolbooth of Glasgow. This was done, be it observed, before they were convicted of any fault, and solely upon the information of a single person, whose information might justly be suspected of falsehood, it being hardly credible that he could discover by candle-light through two glasses—his own window and the few inches of glass which were at the top of hers—at the distance of so broad a street, a minister preaching in the house, had a minister at the time been so engaged. In vain was redress to be looked for from the lords of his majesty's privy council, for they were the very fountain of oppression, the chief instruments of destroying the civil and religious liberties of their country. On being informed of the case, probably by the archbishop of Glasgow, the privy council not only approved of the illegal proceedings of the provost of Glasgow, but gave orders, May 22d, 1683, that Lady Caldwell and her eldest daughter, Miss Jean, should be carried prisoners to the castle of Blackness,† by a strong guard. The orders were strictly execu-

* These were either renegades from the presbyterian faith, or the lowest and most degraded of the people.

† Blackness castle is an ancient royal fortress, in the parish of Carriden, Linlithgowshire. It is situated at the eastern extremity of the parish, on the south side of the firth of Forth, on a rocky promontory, projecting into the firth. It is built in the form of a ship, and is one of the oldest fortifications of Scotland, being a regular fort of four bastions, which, along with the fortifications on the small island of

ted, and Lady Caldwell continued a prisoner there for a period of more than three years, and her daughter for nearly six months.

Had the charge brought against Lady Caldwell been substantiated—had it been proved that, at the time specified, a nonconforming minister had been preaching in her house—she and her daughter would no doubt have been liable to the severe penalties of the unrighteous and cruel laws then in force against conventicles. By an act of parliament, passed in August, 1670, outed ministers not licensed by the council, and any other persons not authorized by the bishop of the diocese, are prohibited from preaching, expounding scripture, or praying, in any meeting except in their own houses, and to those of their own family, under severe penalties; and by the same act it is "statute and commanded that none be present at any meeting, where any not licensed, authorized, nor tolerated, as said is, shall preach, expound scripture, or pray," except the minister's own family; and it is declared that "every person who shall be found to have been present at any such meetings shall be, *toties quoties*, fined according to their qualities, in the respective sums following, and imprisoned until they pay their fines, and further during the council's pleasure. . . . . And if the master or mistress of any family, where any such meetings shall be kept, be present within the

Inchgarvie, seems completely to command the passage of the Forth to Stirling. It is one of the four ancient national fortresses that, by the articles of union, are required to be kept in constant repair; the other three being the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton. The period of its erection is unknown. During the struggle between presbytery and prelacy, in the reign of James VI., it was used as a place of confinement for those ministers and laymen who had become obnoxious to the government for their assertion of the principles of religious liberty. Here Mr. John Welsh, minister of Ayr, and five other ministers, were, for holding a general assembly at Aberdeen, in July, 1605, in opposition to the wishes of the monarch, confined from August that year till toward the close of the following year, when they were banished the king's dominions, not to return upon the pain of death. The dungeon in which Welsh was immured is still pointed out. It is the lower cell on the west part of the building. The visiter who enters it is enabled to form some idea of what our forefathers suffered in the cause of civil and religious freedom. It is of small dimensions. The floor is the bare unequal rock, on which one can neither stand nor walk with any measure of comfort; and the only means by which light and air are admitted is a chink in the wall. Blackness castle was at length allowed to fall into disrepair, but as the persecution of Charles II. advanced, to find room for the whig prisoners, it was again fitted up as a place of confinement. "24th June, 1677. The council wrote a letter to his majesty, desiring he would be pleased to grant warrant to his thesaurie for lifting as much money as will repair the castle of Blackness for holding prisoners, the Bass being already full. His majesty sent down a warrant conform"—Fountainhall's Historical Notices, p. 169. Blackness castle was repaired in the year 1679, "designed," says Row, "to be a prison as formerly under the old bishops"—Life of Robert Blair, p. 567. And within its gloomy walls many covenanters were immured for years. In a dungeon still called "The Whigs' Vault," a dozen or a score of them, according to tradition, would sometimes be confined together as so many cattle.

house for the time, they are to be fined in the double of what is to be paid by them for being present at a house conventicle."* And in an act of parliament, June, 1672, in reference to the part of the preceding act which prohibits nonconforming ministers, not licensed by the council, or not having authority from the bishop of the diocese, "from preaching, expounding scripture, or *praying* in any meeting, except in their own houses, and to those of their own family," it is said: "Since there may be some questions and doubts concerning the meaning and extent of that word *pray*, his majesty doth, with advice aforesaid, declare that it is not to be understood as if thereby prayer in families were discharged by the persons of the family, and such as shall be present, not exceeding the number of four persons, besides those of the family; [but] it is always declared that this act doth not give allowance to any outed minister to pray in any families except in the parishes where they be allowed to preach."† Even the indulged ministers could not, according to the acts of the indulgence, September, 1672, have preached in the private house of a friend without involving themselves and their hearers in the violation of these laws; and they were laws still in force, in so far as Glasgow was concerned: for although a proclamation, suspending the laws against house conventicles on the south side of the river Tay, was issued, dated June 29, 1679, "the town of Edinburgh and two miles around it, with the lordships of Musselburgh and Dalkeith, the cities of St. Andrews, and Glasgow, and Stirling, and a mile about each of them," are excepted.‡ Had Lady Caldwell and her daughter then been convicted of the charge brought against them, they would, according to the iniquitous laws then in force, have been liable to be fined, and, failing to pay their fines, to be imprisoned.‖

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 169. † Ibid, p. 200.

‡ Ibid., vol. iii., p. 149. But even as to house conventicles, as Fountainhall informs us, the council afterward found that, notwithstanding this proclamation of indulgence, they might be punished and fined unless licensed by the council—that the king's indulgence had not permitted them but only where, upon application to the council, they are established.—Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs, p. 244.

‖ Sir William Cunningham, in his account of Lady Caldwell's sufferings, speaking of her daughter, Miss Jean, indeed says: "Yea, though the matter of fact as alleged had been true, what law even then could make the poor gentlewoman of twenty years of age liable to such cruel treatment, she being in her mother's house, where though there had been sermon, yet by law it ought to have been proven that there were five more than the family present to hear it, whereas it was never pretended that there were any more present than the lady and her family." Wodrow makes the same statement: but both are mistaken. It would have been illegal, as is evident from the acts of parliament quoted in the text, for a nonconforming minister to have preached in Lady Caldwell's house, though none but the members of her family had been present.

But they were not convicted of the breach of any law. Their imprisonment was therefore illegal. Presbyterian ministers were indeed in the habit of paying visits to Lady Caldwell, and they frequently preached in her house—but this was never proved; and in reference to the particular charge, on the ground of which she was imprisoned, she always denied that, at the time specified by her accuser, any person was preaching in her house, and the contrary was never established against her. No attempt was indeed made to prove the charge; the very forms of law were disregarded; no judicial procedure was gone through; a summary and arbitrary course, which bore injustice on its very front, was adopted—a course naturally tending to destroy all security of personal liberty, and to beget a universal distrust; for any one might have been arrested upon a similar charge, and, however innocent, have been consigned to a dungeon.

The treatment of Lady Caldwell and her eldest daughter was not only illegal and tyrannical, it was also barbarously cruel. It was robbing of her liberty, a lady who had nothing else under God but the fruits of her own industry, to support herself and her children, and against whom nothing could be found by her persecutors, save only that "after the way which they called heresy, she worshipped the God of her fathers."

When brought to the castle of Blackness, she and her daughter were kept close prisoners, except that the governor, who was disposed to favor them, sometimes (though at his peril) allowed them to visit his lady, whose room was immediately below the cell in which they were confined. The society of the two captives would serve in some degree to relieve the tedious hours of their imprisonment; but after the lapse of nearly six months,* Miss Jean, who was only about twenty years of age, began to suffer in her health, in consequence of her close confinement, which excited painful apprehensions in her mother, whose sense of her own sufferings was for the time absorbed in the deep and distressing concern which she felt for her afflicted daughter. Lady Caldwell having conveyed to some of her relations information respecting the indisposition of Miss Jean, and begged them to interpose their kind assistance for obtaining her release for the recovery of her health, application was made to the privy council by several of her relations, for the liberation of the two

* Sir William Cunningham says, "a year and some more;" and Wodrow says, "for near a year's time." But from the date of the order of the council for her liberation, compared with the date of the act of council ordering her imprisonment, it is evident that the period of her imprisonment was somewhat less than six months.

ladies, or at least for the liberation of the indisposed daughter. After much trouble and no small expense, an order was at last obtained for the latter being set at liberty. In answer to a petition which she presented to the privy council to that effect, accompanied with the testimonials of physicians as to her ill health, the following act of council was passed:—

"11*th September*, 1683.

"The lords of his majesty's privy council, having heard and considered a petition presented by Jean Mure, prisoner in the castle of Blackness, for several alleged irregularities and disorders, and in regard of her present sickness and indisposition, testified under the hands of physicians, supplicating for liberty, do hereby give order and warrant to the earl of Linlithgow, governor of the said castle of Blackness, and his deputies there, to set the said Jean Mure, petitioner, at liberty, in regard of her present indisposition and sickness, and that she hath found sufficient caution, acted in the books of privy council, that she shall re-enter her person in prison, within the said castle of Blackness, upon the first day of November next, under the penalty of one thousand merks Scots money in case of failure."*

She was, however, afterward relieved from the necessity of returning to the prison of Blackness at the time specified in this act. Having presented another petition to the council, "desiring that the former liberty allowed her forth of the castle of Blackness, where she was prisoner for several alleged irregularities, might be prorogate for some further time, to the effect she may go about her own and her mother's affairs, and may have access to her, being prisoner in the said castle, both day and night," the council, at their meeting on the 6th of December, 1683, "prorogate and continue the petitioner's foresaid liberty forth of the said castle, in regard she hath found sufficient caution, acted in the books of privy council, that she shall compear personally before the council upon the first Thursday of February next, or that the said day she shall re-enter her person in prison, within the said castle of Blackness, and that under the penalty of one thousand merks Scots money in case of failure, in either of the premises."†

In February she presented a third petition to the council, "showing that, being incarcerated with her mother in the castle of Blackness, near ten months ago, for being present at a conventicle, as alleged, in her said mother's house, and upon application being made to the council liberated, but withal ordained to re-enter this instant month of February, her imprisonment had

* Decreets of Privy Council. † Register of Acts of Privy Council.

been attended with great indisposition of health; and therefore humbly craving that the council would be pleased to consider her circumstances, a very young gentlewoman, having no means of livelihood but by a dependence on her mother, and to commiserate her case, and ordain her to be set at liberty, at least upon caution to compear when called." "The lords of his majesty's privy council having," at their meeting of the 14th of February, 1684, "considered the foresaid petition, give warrant to the clerks of council to deliver to the supplicant's cautioner the bonds given for her, in regard conform thereto he has exhibited her."* The young lady's trouble, it would appear, on account of the alleged conventicle in her mother's house was now brought to a close.

But her mother's sufferings on the same account were of much longer duration. Lady Caldwell, at the time when her daughter was liberated, was allowed, "as a mighty favor," "to ascend by some steps, to take the air upon the head of the castle-wall, but at that time not to go without the foot of the turnpike where she lodged, though indeed afterward she obtained the liberty within the precincts of the castle."† But after this she continued a prisoner there for about two years and nine months. The sufferings she endured during that period must have been great. We have no chronicler who has left a record of the annoyances and privations which the covenanting prisoners endured in the castle of Blackness, as James Fraser of Brea has left a record of those endured by the prisoners of the Bass. As in the Bass, they would probably suffer from the caprice, rudeness and profaneness of the garrison. From several of the petitions presented by the prisoners which we have seen, it appears that in most cases the health of the prisoners gave way, and that diseases of a very serious nature were often contracted. Hard as it was for this lady to be deprived of all her substance, and to be compelled scantily to support herself and her children by the labor of her own hands, her condition was now much more painful and distressing. Now she was removed from her children, who had proved a blessing and a comfort to her, and shut up in a prison, was doomed to spend her time under harsh restraint and in solitude, her children, relatives, and friends being only occasionally allowed to visit her. In this desolate situation, the days and the months would pass heavily away, and she could not but often experience a sinking in her spirit. It was, however, well that

* Decreets of Privy Council.
† Sir William Cunningham's MS. account of the sufferings of Lady Caldwell.

by the discipline of adversity the principles of her faith had been well established, and that she was prepared, by her Christian fortitude, and her holy trust in God, to suffer still greater hardships than those to which she had been even as yet inured.

Among the hardships which she endured during this period of her imprisonment, the following case of heartless cruelty reflects the utmost disgrace upon the government of that day. Her cousin-german, Mr. Walter Sandilands,* of Hilderston, then living at the west port of Linlithgow, the heiress of which property he had married, having fallen sick of a violent fever, which issued in his death, she, on hearing of his dangerous illness, sent two of her daughters, probably on their paying her one of those occasional visits which for a time cheered up her heart, to give him her kind compliments and inquire how he was. Within a few hours after their arrival at his house, her second daughter, Miss Anne, was attacked by the fever, of which she afterward died at Linlithgow. Being informed of the severe and dangerous sickness of her daughter, Lady Caldwell naturally felt a strong desire to see her; and being distant from her only two miles, she hoped that so small a favor would, upon application, not be refused. But her hopes were disappointed. Though she earnestly desired to be permitted to go and see her "dearly beloved dying daughter," for only one hour, should no longer time be granted, and though she willingly offered to take a guard with her, yea, to take the whole garrison along with her as a guard, should it be required, and to maintain them at her own expense, while she made this visit; yet the most earnest solicitations were ineffectual. These cruel men, trifling with the yearnings of a mother's love, refused to grant so reasonable a request, and thus she was deprived of the opportunity of seeing her daughter before her death. To such as know a mother's heart, it is needless to say how pungent must have been her anguish to think, that her daughter should sicken, die, and be buried, while she, though at the distance of not more than two miles, was only permitted to hear of all this as each mournful event successively happened.†

* Mr. Walter Sandilands was the son of William Sandilands, brother to the fourth Lord Torphichen, by his wife, who was a sister of Lady Caldwell's father. Both his parents were "distinguished for their attachment to the principles of the presbyterian church of Scotland, and their mansion-house at Hilderston was often the hospitable resort of the persecuted covenanters." Mr. Walter h mself "retained the same attachment to pro'estant and presbyterian principles which had characterized the family from the days of their illustrious ancestor, Sir James Sandilands, the friend and patron of John Knox"—Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 441.

† Sir William Cunningham, in his MS. account of Lady Caldwell's sufferings,

After being imprisoned for more than three years, Lady Caldwell was at length released, in answer to a petition which she presented to the privy council. From the character of the petitions presented to the privy council by the imprisoned covenanters, we can almost always learn whether a long imprisonment had the effect of weakening their resolution, or whether their steadfastness of purpose remained unshaken. If the former had been the effect, some concession is made, as an engagement to live regularly, or to obey the laws; if the latter, an entire silence is preserved on that subject, so that the omission is pregnant with meaning—is a certain evidence that the spirit was unsubdued by persecution. This last was the form of Lady Caldwell's petition. It is simply a prayer to be released from her confinement, on the ground of her ill health, and her impoverished circumstances, and contains not a single statement implying the least wavering or unsteadfastness as to her principles. This is no small commendation. Imprisonment, so far from being a light punishment, may be rendered the most bitter and crushing to the spirit, that can be inflicted, and when protracted during months and years, it has not unfrequently subdued the fortitude of men, who, in the excitement and activity of actual conflict, have braved death, in resisting arbitrary and unhallowed impositions upon conscience. Acting like a slow and lingering torture, it has exhausted the patience of the spirit, and laid prostrate its moral heroism. But Lady Caldwell's moral firmness, after an imprisonment of more than three years, remained unmoved. She had no attachment to prison walls, to dank and confined air; for she had experienced their injurious effects in exhausting the strength of her frame. She had no satisfaction in being kept from the society of her children, for she had found in this her greatest earthly comfort, since their father's death. She had no liking for the numerous privations and hardships of her captivity. All these were associated in her mind, with painful feelings and recollection, with sighs, tears, and regrets—the natural companions of a prison's inmates. But to escape from them she would not compromise her integrity, or

which relates chiefly to those connected with her imprisonment in Blackness castle, concludes thus: "As the records of the secret council will vouch a great part of this narration, so Glasgow affords yet many living witnesses of the truth of what is before advanced, and the neighborhood of Blackness, there being several honorable persons yet alive who can bear testimony to it, as well as yet living fellow-prisoners. As also the truth of what is said is referred to the declaration of the present laird of Bedlormie, then deputy governor of the castle of Blackness, upon his word of honor; yea, there is a defiance given to the challenger, to search if he can find, among any of the records of the jurisdictions of Scotland, if the Lady Caldwell had been impeached, or convict, any other way but in the manner already said."

do aught inconsistent with the principles for which she was honored to suffer so much. The petition she presented to the privy council is as follows:—

"Unto the Right Honorable the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council—The Petition of Barbara Cunningham, relict of William Mure, sometime of Caldwell, prisoner in the Castle of Blackness, Humbly Sheweth,

"That your lordships' petitioner hath been detained prisoner above these three years, for alleged being present at a house-conventicle, by reason whereof she is become very valetudinary, and is also reduced to great difficulties, being (in respect of her deceased husband's forfeiture), wholly deprived of any subsistence forth of that estate, either to her or her children, these nineteen years begone.

"May it therefore please your lordships to commiserate my valetudinary and destitute condition, and to ordain me to be set at liberty, and your petitioner shall ever pray," &c.*

As this petition, though worded respectfully, makes not the least acknowledgment of a fault, nor contains any engagement to live regularly in future, it was by no means calculated to conciliate the favor of the lords of his majesty's privy council. But as James VII. was then beginning, with the view of promoting his scheme of introducing popery and slavery into Britain, to profess great zeal for the toleration of protestant dissenters, the omissions of the petition of the stern and inflexible covenantress were overlooked; and the following order was issued for her liberation:—

"Edinburgh, 21st June, 1686.

"The lords of his majesty's privy council having considered the bills presented by Barbara Cunningham, Lady Caldwell, now prisoner in the castle of Blackness, desiring liberty upon the considerations therein mentioned, do hereby recommend to the earl of Linlithgow, lord-justice-general, and chief governor of the said castle of Blackness, to grant, order, and warrant, to set the said Lady Caldwell forthwith at liberty, for which this shall be a sufficient warrant to the said earl and all others concerned."†

According to this order, Lady Caldwell, without coming under any engagement whatever, or even receiving a caution not to

* Warrants of Privy Council. Sir William Cunningham, in his account of Lady Caldwell's sufferings, and Wodrow, in his History, incorrectly say that she was dismissed without any petition having been presented to the council for her liberation.

† Warrants of Privy Council.

offend against the laws in future, was liberated, and, after a long separation, restored to the bosom of her family. During the remainder of the persecution, which was now drawing to a close, she was permitted to live with her children in peace; and they lived together in the same humble condition as before, earning their subsistence by honest industry.

It is gratifying to know that, after the revolution, justice, in so far as possible, was done to this worthy lady and her family. The forfeiture of her husband was rescinded by the Scottish parliament, not only by the general act of July 4, 1690, rescinding the forfeitures and fines of the covenanters, from the first of January, 1665, to the 5th of November, 1688, in which his name occurs, among some hundreds of other names, but by another act, 19th July, 1690, which expressly rescinded it on the ground of its having been pronounced by the justiciary court in his absence; which, it is declared, was illegal, and therefore, from the beginning, null and void.* To illustrate further the good inclination of those in high places, after the revolution, to do all justice to those who had suffered during the persecution, it is worthy of remark that her then only surviving child, Barbara† (who had married John Fairlie of that ilk), having, as heiress and executrix to her father, and Lady Caldwell herself having for her lifetime, right, and interest, pursued Sir Thomas Dalziel of Binns, grandchild to the donator, before the lords of session, for payment of the rents of the estate of Caldwell intromitted with by the said donator, or his gratuitous assignees, during the forfeiture, the lords of session, on the 5th of December, 1705, found Sir Thomas liable not only for his predecessor's bygone actual intromissions, but for the whole rental of the estate from the time his grandfather entered into the possession, and even for omissions. Some of the judges thought the restitution of by ones very hard. But the answer was, *Durum est, sed ita lex scripta est.*‡ The case having, however, been carried, by Sir Thomas Dalziel, to the Scottish parliament, the decision of the court of session was altered on the 20th of February, 1707, and Sir Thomas relieved

* The act is entitled, "Act rescinding forfeitures in absence before the justice court, preceding the year 1669, and restoring Caldwell, and Kersland, and Mr. William Veitch."—Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.

† Lady Caldwell's eldest daughter, Jean, who had married Colonel John Erskine of Carnock, died, without issue, a few years after the revolution, perhaps in 1695. On the 8th of January, 1696, by decreet of the commissary court of Edinburgh, Barbara Mure, her sister, was decerned nearest of kin to her.—Register of Confirmed Testaments, 24th July, 1696.

‡ That is, "It may be hard, but such is the law."—Morison's Dictionary of Decisions, pp. 4694, 4750.

from his liability for the bygone rents of the estate of Caldwell preceding the term of Martinmas, 1688, on account of certain specialities in his case, distinguishing it from other cases falling under the act rescissory.*

From the references made in these proceedings to the subject of this notice, it is evident that she was then alive. But how long she survived we have not been able to ascertain.

LADY COLVILL.

Lady Colvill, whose maiden name was Margaret Wemyss, was the daughter of David Wemyss, of Fingask, and wife of Robert, Lord Colvill, who succeeded his uncle, of the same name, in 1662, as second Lord Colvill, of Ochiltree. In 1671 she became a widow, his lordship having died at Cleish, on the 12th of February that year. She had issue to him a son, Robert, who succeeded his father as third Lord Colvill of Ochiltree; and two daughters, 1, the honorable Margaret Colvill, who was married in 1701, to Sir John Ayton, of Ayton, in Fife, being his second wife; and, 2, the honorable —— Colvill, who was married to the Rev. Mr. Logan, minister of Torry.†

The severity with which Lady Colvill was treated by the government, may be regarded as an involuntary testimony to the fidelity and steadfastness with which she adhered to the persecuted cause of presbytery. She was classed among that "desperate and implacable party who keep seditious and numerous field-conventicles, and that in open contempt of our authority, as if it were to brave us and those that are in places of trust under us."‡ Other marks of the government's displeasure were fixed upon her, all which in fact were so many badges of honorable distinction.

She became early conspicuous as a frequenter of field-conventicles; and her name appears among the ladies against whom the government first proceeded on that account, an honor for which she was no doubt indebted to Archbishop Sharp, who, as he resided in Fife, was particularly zealous in his endeavors to arrest and put down the progress of "fanaticism" within his own borders, and who had a great abhorrence of fanatic ladies.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, March, 20. 1707.
‡ Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 361. ‡ Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 238.

About the close of the year 1672, and in the years 1673 and 1674, meetings in the open fields were frequently held in Kinrossshire, where Lady Colvill resided; and she was in the habit of attending these meetings, as well as of hospitably entertaining in her house the ministers who preached at them, among whom were Mr. John Welsh, Mr. Samuel Arnot, Mr. Gabriel Semple, Mr. Thomas Hog, minister at Larbert, and many others.* The zeal and liberality with which she countenanced the preaching of the gospel at field conventicles, and befriended the persecuted ministers, coming to the ears of the government, the storm of persecution began to gather around her. The more immediate cause of this was the following circumstance: a party of soldiers had been sent to disperse a field conventicle held in the Lomonds of Fife; they met with no resistance from the people; but Sharp, to excite the council to greater violence, falsely alleged that the people had made resistance. This fabricated story being communicated to the court, a letter came from the king to the council, dated June 23d, 1674, requiring the council to bring the ringleaders of that disorder to punishment, and promising to send for their assistance some forces from England and Ireland.† This letter occasioned a bitter persecution against all in Fife, both men and women, who attended conventicles. A long catalogue of names, including several ladies as well as gentlemen, and a number of the common people, was sent over to the agents of the government in Fife, who were required to summon them to appear before the privy council at Edinburgh.‡ Lady Colvill's name was in this list; and she, with several other ladies and gentlemen were summoned to appear before the lords of the privy council on the 9th of July. The charges for which they were summoned to answer, were their keeping and being present at house and field conventicles at Dunfermline, Cleish, Orval, and other places; their inviting and countenancing outed ministers in their invasion and intrusion upon the kirks and pulpits of Forgan, Balmerinoch, Collessie, Monzie, and Auchtermuchty, and hearing them preach and pray therein; and their harboring, resetting, and entertaining Mr. John Welsh, a declared and proclaimed traitor, in their houses and elsewhere. Lady Colvill and the others who were summoned, not being prepared to make any confessions of criminality, or to promise to abstain from attending conventicles in future, deemed it prudent to disobey the

* Account of the Sufferings of the Covenanters in Kinrossshire, Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxiii., folio, No. 143.

† Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p 238. ‡ Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 545.

summons, probably dreading imprisonment had they made their appearance. For this contempt of authority they were, upon the 15th and 16th of July, that same year, denounced his majesty's rebels, and put to the horn at the market crosses of Cupar and Forfar, by virtue of letters of denunciation, raised and executed at the instance of his majesty's advocate.* Lady Colvill was afterward summoned to appear before a committee of the privy council, which was to meet at Cupar on the 15th of September. She did not compear, but was fined, and ordained to pay her fine before the 1st of November. To what amount she was fined we are not informed.†

Against this lady the council proceeded still further. On the 6th of August, 1675, they issued letters of intercommuning against her and upward of one hundred more individuals, among whom were several other ladies of rank. Intercommuning was a very severe sentence, making, as it did, every man or woman who should harbor, entertain, or converse with the persons intercommuned, equally guilty with them. By these letters, all sheriffs, stewards, bailies of regalities, and bailiaries, and their deputies, and magistrates of burghs, are required "to apprehend and commit to prison any of the persons above written, our rebels, whom you shall find within your respective jurisdictions, according to justice, as you shall answer to us thereupon."‡ The letters were proclaimed in Cupar in the beginning of October, 1675.‖ "Perhaps," says Wodrow, "it was every way without a parallel, that so many ladies and gentlewomen married, should be put in such circumstances; but this was to strike the greater terror on their husbands and other gentlewomen."

Kirkton, in narrating this case, says: "But though the council sisted in their persecutions upon denunciation and intercommuning, so did not our officers and soldiers, who rested not, but upon imprisoning, robbing, wounding, killing the poor fanatics

* Wodrow, in his History (vol. ii., p. 242), mentions a Lady Colvill, who was summoned to appear before the privy council on the 9th of July, 1674, and who was acquitted on her compearing before the council, in consequence of her bringing with her a testimonial in her favor from the minister of her parish, and promising not to go to any conventicles in future. But she was evidently a different person from the subject of this sketch. On consulting the Register of Acts of Privy Council, we find that her maiden name was "Dame Euphan Mortoun."

† Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 551.

‡ Wodrow's History, vol. ii., pp. 286-288. Mr. John Carstairs, in a letter to Mr. Robert M'Ward, then in Rotterdam dated August 6, 1675, says, "This day the letters of intercommuning were passed. If we were in any tolerable frame for such a mercy, as, alas! we are not, I would take this furious driving as a token for good, and some presage that their time would be but short."—Wodrow MSS., vol. lix., folio, No. 36.

‖ Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 562.

and conventiclers, where they might find them; and truly, many of our soldiers made persecution not so much a duty of their office as an employment of gain."* The concluding part of this extract is perfectly correct; but Kirkton is mistaken when he says that the council "sisted in their persecution upon denunciation and intercommuning." So far was this from being the case, that in a very severe proclamation against conventicles and other disorders, issued by the council on the 1st of March, 1676, the magistrates of the several burghs are required to seize upon any persons who were or should in future be intercommuned; all noblemen, gentlemen, magistrates, and all other subjects, are forbidden to intercommune with, harbor or relieve any of the persons who were or should hereafter be intercommuned, under the pains due to intercommuners by law; and a reward of 500 merks is offered to such as should discover any person guilty of intercommuning with, harboring, or relieving any of the intercommuned.† On the 27th of April, that same year, in prosecution of the same object, the following letter, signed by the duke of Rothes, in name of the council, was sent to the sheriffs of the several shires:—

"Right Honorable: The lords of his majesty's privy council, at their last meeting, did order that the enclosed letters of intercommuning should be transmitted to you, that you may with all possible diligence cause search for, apprehend and imprison, such of the said persons as are, or shall happen to come within the bounds of your shire, and have ordered that against the 22d day of June next, you report a particular account of your diligence to the council. This the council has appointed to be signified to you, by your humble servant,

"Rothes Cancell, I. P. D."‡

Lady Colvill, like her friends against whom these letters of intercommuning were issued, lay under this sentence till the king's proclamation, dated Whitehall, June 29, 1679, by which all letters of intercommuning were suspended, a measure which "relieved multitudes who were fugitives and intercommuned,

* Kirkton's History, p. 363, 364. † Wodrow's History, vol. ii, p. 319.

‡ Register of Acts of Privy Council. It is, however, true, as Kirkton observes, that at this time "intercommuning was not so stretched and improven as after Bothwell bridge, when converse with a few rebels made almost all Scotland as guilty as if they had been in arms against the king at Bothwell Bridge."—Kirkton's History, p. 363.

and upon their hiding for many years."* But while lying under this sentence, her zeal was in no wise abated. She still continued to attend conventicles, and to entertain in her house the nonconforming ministers who came to preach in that part of the country where she lived. In the year 1677, when no public meetings were held in Kinross-shire for divine worship, except during the night, because of the fury of the troopers, who lay more than a year and a half in Kinross, meetings for sermon were sometimes held in her house; and her character and principles being well known, she had her own share of the annoyances and severities inflicted by the troopers, who perambulated the country to put down house and field conventicles. From Captain William Carstairs,† in particular, she suffered no small degree of molestation and hardship. This man, who had no commission from the king, but who had been sent out by Archbishop Sharp, under pretence of searching for denounced and intercommuned persons, was at that time extremely active against the nonconformists in the east of Fife, on whom, with a party of about a dozen of soldiers, he committed many cruelties. Receiving information of a conventicle which had been kept in Lady Colvill's house, at Cleish, on a sabbath-day, in the month of November, at which a preacher, named Mr. Robert Anderson officiated, and learning that Mr. Anderson was lodged in her house, he came with his party to the house of Cleish early on the Monday morning, in order to make sure of apprehending his intended prisoners—so early, indeed, as about two or three hours before day—and, rapping at the gate of the house, surprised and alarmed all the inmates. Having made their way into the house, they apprehended Mr. Anderson, and William Sethrum, the chamberlain, and "broke Robert Steedman's head, who made his escape; and when the captain missed him, he fell into a fit of the convulsion, and continued two or three hours in it." This proved a very fortunate circumstance for Lady Colvill and her son, Lord Colvill, who was then a child, for during the time that Car-

* Wodrow's History, vol. iii., pp. 149, 151.

† Carstairs was "a wretch who earned a living in Scotland by going disguised to conventicles, and then informing against the preachers."—Macaulay's History of England, vol. i., p. 237. It was believed that at the time when the supposed popish plot in England, in 1680, excited so great alarm, this infamous man, to get money, lent his aid by false testimony to the execution of several guiltless persons. "His end," says Macaulay, quoting from Bishop Burnet, "was all horror and despair, and with his last breath he had told his attendants to throw him into the ditch like a dog, for that he was not fit to sleep in a Christian burial ground."—Ibid., vol. i., p. 482.

stairs lay in the fit, they made their escape. On recovering, he carried Mr. Anderson and the chamberlain to the tolbooth of Falkland.* To escape the fury of this miscreant, whose severities toward others, and whose visits to her own house gave her but too just ground for apprehension, Lady Colvill was obliged to remain for some time from her house, and, like hundreds more of the covenanters, who were hunted like moor-fowl or wild beasts, to hide herself in the mountains and fields, by which her health was greatly impaired.†

As might be expected of so zealous a covenanter, Lady Colvill preferred having in her family servants whose sentiments in religious matters corresponded with her own; nor in this preference could she be charged with illiberality, when it is considered that, in such trying and dangerous times, there was no inconsiderable risk that servants of opposite principles might, from their hatred of nonconformity, or from their love of filthy lucre, have become spies in the family, and betrayed their mistress, or have involved her in trouble. So early as 1670, before the death of her husband, some of her servants were prosecuted for attending a field conventicle. Margaret Morton, her gentlewoman, and Elizabeth Young, her servant-maid, having been present at the field-meeting held upon Beath hill, in the west of Fife, on the 18th of June, 1670, which created much noise, and greatly exasperated the government, were, along with many others in the shire of Kinross, immediately summoned to appear before the privy council; and making their appearance, they, with the rest who appeared, were thrown into prison, where they were kept for a long time.‡ Thirteen or fourteen years later, several of her servants (among whom was Margaret Morton, a highly-valued domestic, judging from the lengthened period during which she had served her ladyship) were again punished for their presbyterian principles. From a note of a decreet, dated December 26, 1683, and July 15, 1684, recorded in the sheriff-court books of Fife, at the instance of Mr. John Malcolm, procurator fiscal, against several persons for withdrawing from the church, keeping house and field conventicles, &c., we learn that Margaret Morton, gentlewoman to Lady Colvill, William Morton, and William Young, servants to the said lady, all in the parish of Cleish, were fined

* Kirkton says, "William Sethrum he laid in prison, but the doors were opened, and he set free."—History, p. 380.

† Account of the Sufferings of the Covenanters in Kinross-shire, Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxiii., folio, No. 143.

‡ Ibid., vol. xxxiii., folio, No. 143. Row's Life of Robert Blair, pp. 536–538.

each in the sum of three hundred pounds Scots, and were reported to have fled.*

To give her son a sound religious education, was a special part of Lady Colvill's care. Besides instructing him in the common doctrines and precepts of Christianity, it was her endeavor to train him up in the principles of presbytery and of the covenant, which in her judgment were founded on the word of God, and connected with the honor of her Lord and Savior. But the comfort and happiness of employing her widowhood in this laudable and delightful task, she was not permitted to enjoy. In violation of the laws of nature and society, as well as of the law of God, the privy council resolved to take her son from her, and place him under guardians and teachers who would instil into him such principles as would meet the approbation of the government. From the strength of the opposition which persecutors have often encountered in prosecuting their scheme for destroying the church, it has often suggested itself to them that one of the most important means of gaining their object is to prevent the young from being instructed in the persecuted principles. Julian the apostate, the more effectually to suppress and destroy Christianity, shut up the schools and colleges of the Christians, authorizing only pagans as the teachers of youth, in the confidence that the tender minds of the rising generation would receive at once and the same time the impressions of literature and idolatry. A similar policy was adopted by the rulers of France, who, on the revocation of the edict of Nantz, commanded the Huguenots, that those henceforward born of them should be baptized in the Roman catholic religion, and be placed under instructors who were the enemies of their faith, to be educated in the superstition which they abhorred. The same cruel and tyrannical system was adopted against the presbyterians of Scotland. To poison the springs and fountains of learning, it was ordained by parliament, so early as 1662, that none should be principal, masters, regents, or other professors in universities or colleges, unless they owned the government of the church by archbishops and bishops, as then established by law, and that none should teach any public school, or be pedagogues to the children of persons of quality, without the license of the bishop of the diocese.† But detestable as was the tyranny of these

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxiii., folio, No. 144.

† Wodrow's History, vol. i., p. 267. Presbyterian teachers sometimes attempted to form schools for the education of the young, but they did so at the risk of being imprisoned and otherwise punished—there being always individuals who, from various motives, were sure to inform the government against them. The following

enactments, the government went even still further. The children of presbyterians of quality were taken from their parents, and placed in the hands of such as would educate them in principles which they repudiated as contrary to the word of God, and to the solemn obligations under which the nation had been brought.

On learning the intention of the government to take her son from her and place him under prelatic teachers, Lady Colvill determined, as was natural enough, to keep her son, if possible, from falling into their hands, and with this view she removed him out of the way. By this the indignation of the government being excited, they immediately instituted proceedings against her. In the first place, they fined her in her absence in the sum of five thousand merks Scots;* and failing to pay this sum, she was apprehended and imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh. Lord Fountainhall gives the following account of the cause of her imprisonment: "December 2, 1684. The Lady Colvill is imprisoned in Edinburgh tolbooth, by the privy council, for her irregularities, and particularly for breeding up her son, the Lord Colvill, in fanaticism and other disloyal principles, and abstracting and putting him out of the way, when the council was going to commit his education to others; for which we have acts of parliament as to the children of papists, which may be extended *à paritate* to others."† The reader is to observe that this writer was an enemy to the presbyterians, whom, though he was more moderate than the most of his kind in his day, he regarded as fanatics; and that his account of this lady is tinged with his party prejudices. His exaggerated and colored statement, when translated into the simple language of truth, is, that she was imprisoned for withdrawing from her parish church, attending house and field conventicles, and particularly for training up her son, Lord Colvill, in the principles of presbytery and of the covenant.

quotation from Fountainhall's Historical Notices (p. 294) is a specimen of what frequently happened in cases of this nature: "2d June, 1681. The private schoolmaster in Edinburgh being called before the privy council and complained on by the master of the high grammar-school (one school is far from being able to serve Edinburgh now); there are Mr. Strang, Mr. William Greenlaw, and two or three others of them imprisoned, till they find caution not to teach Latin till they be licensed by the bishop: for several of them were outed ministers, and others who were suspected to poison the young ones with disloyal principles, so that the regents of the colleges defended themselves, that many of their youth were infected and leavened ere they came to them; and even when they are licensed, not to teach the grammar, but only the rudiments and vocables; for then the children may be come to that strength as to go to the high school."

* That is, 277*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* sterling.

† Fountainhall's Decisions of the Lords of Session, vol. i., p. 316.

The cell into which this lady was cast was one of the worst in the prison. It was a narrow dark room, where she required to burn candles during the whole day, and where she was without fire, though it was in the depth of winter. "It might be thought," says a MS. account of the sufferings of that period "that persons of quality and honor were not concerned in these sufferings; but the contrary is evident, as, besides other instances, in the case of my Lady Colvill, who, being fined in absence, at last was made prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, in a little room where she could not get the use of fire and the benefit of the light of day, and that for some months in the winter season."* And in another MS. of the same period, entitled "Grievances from Scotland, 1661–1688," the following is specified as a grievance: "My Lady Colvill was put in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, in a strait, dark, fireless room, where, all day long she behooved to keep candles burning; and was thus kept for a long time, because she would not deliver up her son, my Lord Colvill. Their quarrel with her was her not countenancing the profane clergy."†

After lying for some weeks in this narrow, cold, and gloomy cell, than which a worse was not appropriated to robbers and murderers, Lady Colvill, from the privations and hardships she endured, was induced to petition the privy council that she might be removed to a more convenient room in the prison; and the council, at their meeting, on the 24th of December, 1684, "having considered her petition, gave order and warrant to the magistrates of Edinburgh, and keepers of the tolbooth thereof, to accommodate her with a more convenient room than that which she is now in, and to detain her prisoner therein till further order."‡

In consequence of this order she appears to have been removed to "a more convenient room" in the prison; but, in those days, the best of the Scottish prisons were cheerless and unwholesome dungeons; and her health soon began to be affected. By the harsh treatment to which she had formerly been subjected, in being driven to the mountains, to shelter herself from a ruthless soldiery, her constitution had been greatly shaken; and it did not now possess vigor enough for the endurance of a rigorous and tedious imprisonment. After she had been shut up for nearly three months, her bodily indisposition became so great that her life was in danger. In these circumstances she presented a petition to the privy council, which was supported by the testi-

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xl., folio, No. 6. † Ibid., vol. xl, folio, No. 3.
‡ Register of Acts of Privy Council.

monial of a physician, praying that she might enjoy a temporary release for the recovery of her health, but containing no admission of the justice of her imprisonment, nor any engagement that, in matters of religion, she would in future live and act as the government were pleased to dictate. In answer to this petition, the council, at their meeting on the 17th of March, "gave order and warrant to the magistrate of Edinburgh to set her at liberty, upon her finding sufficient caution, under the penalty of the fine for which she is incarcerated, and to confine herself to a chamber in Edinburgh, and to re-enter the said prison upon the second of April next."*

At the time when Lady Colvill was apprehended and imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, her son, Lord Colvill, was attending the college of Edinburgh. On learning what had befallen his mother, and hearing farther that orders had been given to apprehend and imprison him also, the youth, in great consternation, fled from the city; nor does it appear that he returned again to the college that session. To his mother this was a source of great uneasiness; and she was extremely anxious that he should be brought back to the college to prosecute his studies. This appears from a petition which she presented to the council, when the day appointed for her re-entering prison arrived, at which time she was still very much unwell. After stating that the council had been pleased to grant her temporary liberty, in order to use means for the recovery of her health, but that her physicians had declared that it was impossible for them to enter on a course of medicinal treatment, with a view to her recovery in so short a time, she goes on to say, that what troubled her more (though she was brought very low by sickness), was, that by her surprising imprisonment, her son did run away, hearing that a party was ordered to apprehend him likewise; and that now should she again enter prison, neither she herself, nor her friends, would be able to prevail upon him to return to the college to his studies, because he apprehended that so long as the council inclined to keep her prisoner, they would likewise keep him a prisoner. She engages that should the council allow her any competent time, she would, upon the word and honor of a gentlewoman, take pains and concur with his friends to the utmost of her ability, to bring him back to the college; and after he is once settled there, she expresses her willingness to be disposed of as the council should think fit, and in the meantime offers to give sufficient security that she would present herself

* Register of Acts of Privy Council.

before the council when called. On these grounds, she humbly supplicates that the council would be pleased to allow her some competent time for the purpose specified, the state of her health being such, that she would require to be carried to prison on a bed, and she being fully resolved to employ the time which the council should allow her, in bringing back and settling her son. Having considered this petition at their meeting on the 3d of April, the council "continue the petitioner's liberty forth of the prison until this day seven night, upon the terms and caution as formerly."*

On the 14th of March, 1685, the council "gave order for setting at liberty any women prisoners for receipt or harboring of rebels, or on account of their wicked principles, upon their swearing the abjuration of the late traitorous paper,† and likewise giving their oaths that they shall not hereafter reset, harbor, or keep intelligence with rebels and fugitives."‡ But this act was intended to apply exclusively to such imprisoned women as belonged to the society people, or Cameronians; and as Lady Colvill did not belong to that party, this act brought her no relief. There is, however, another consideration—the cupidity of the government—which accounts for the greater leniency shown toward these Cameronian women, than toward this lady. Wherever these rapacious rulers found wealthy presbyterians, their watchword, like that of one of Shakspere's characters, was "Down with them, fleece them," and getting them once within their grasp, they did not quit their hold till they had stripped them of all, or of much that they possessed. These Cameronian women being without exception poor, no money could be extracted from them; but Lady Colvill being a richer prey, the government had an eye upon her fine, and to squeeze from her the 5,000 merks, continued relentlessly to harass her. At their meeting on the 16th of April, the lords of his majesty's privy council "grant warrant to his majesty's advocate, to raise a process before the council, against the Lord Colvill and his mother for disorders;" and at the same meeting, they "grant warrant to the clerks of the council to receive caution from the Lady Colvill for her re-entering prison within the tolbooth of Edinburgh when called, under the penalty of five thousand merks."‖ She appears

* Register of Acts of Privy Council. ‡ Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

† This was an extraordinary paper emitted by the society people entitled, "The Apologetic Declaration and Admonitory Vindication of the True Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, especially against Intelligencers and Informers." For a more particular account of this paper, and of the oath abjuring it, see notices of Margaret M'Lauchlan, and Margaret Wilson.

to have given bond for her appearance before the council on the 21st of April; and the council, at their meeting on that day, continue her liberty upon her again finding security, under the penalty contained in her former bond, to compear before his majesty's high commissioner, upon the last Thursday of that month. Whether she appeared before the high commissioner on the day appointed, it is not said; but if she did, she does not appear to have given him the satisfaction which he required; for the council, at their meeting of the 30th of April, "gave order to Patrick Graham, captain of the town of Edinburgh's company, to apprehend her, and to see her re-entered prisoner within the tolbooth of Edinburgh."* This is the last notice of Lady Colvill which we meet with in the records of the privy council. Whether the order was executed, or if it was, how long she continued in prison, we have not been able to ascertain.

In reviewing these notices of Lady Colvill's history, it is pleasing and interesting to find that severe as was the treatment which she experienced, it had no effect in inducing her to make any unworthy compliance in order to be set at liberty, or in order to obtain a relaxation of the severity of her imprisonment. She repeatedly petitioned the privy council, on one occasion, for a better room; on another for a temporary release, on account of her bodily indisposition; on another for a further prorogation of the term of her liberty; but these favors she never asked on dishonorable terms. Rather than do this, she was prepared to suffer the slow and lingering torture of a prison—a proof how well established the principles of her faith were, and that she possessed no small degree of Christian resolution. This is the more worthy of commendation, when the weak and sickly state of body to which she was reduced is considered. But whatever were her sufferings at the hands of men, the reflection that these were endured in the cause of Christ—that it was for her steadfast adherence to him that she was denounced a rebel, intercommuned, maligned as a fanatic, fined, and thrown into a dark and unwholesome prison, would yield her true satisfaction. She was honored to suffer for Christ, and under whatever pretexts she was persecuted, she was, doubtless, in the sight of Him who judgeth righteous judgment, found entitled to that benediction of the Savior, "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."

* Register of Acts of Privy Council.

CATHERINE RIGG,

LADY CAVERS.

Catherine Rigg was the eldest daughter of Thomas Rigg, of Athernie, by his wife, Margaret Moneypenny, daughter of —— Moneypenny, of Pitmillie, Esq.* Her ancestors, on the father's side, were distinguished for their ardent zeal and active labors in promoting both the first reformation from popery, and the second reformation from prelacy. Her paternal great-grandmother, Catherine Row, who was the eldest daughter of the celebrated Dr. John Row, minister of Perth, and the able coadjutor of our illustrious reformer, John Knox, is described by Mr. William Row, minister of Ceres, in speaking of the year 1587, when she could not have been more than between twenty and thirty years of age, as "one of the most religious and wise matrons then in Edinburgh." Her paternal great-grandfather, William Rigg, the husband of the lady now mentioned, was a wealthy merchant-burgess in Edinburgh, and a warm supporter of the Reformation, as well as a man of much moral and religious worth.† Her paternal grandfather, William Rigg, the son of the preceding, and who, like his father, was a merchant in Edinburgh, was a man of eminent piety, uncommon benevolence, and great public spirit. He is said to have spent, yearly, not less than eight or nine thousand merks (about £350 sterling), for pious purposes.‡ For his opposition to the introduction of the Perth articles by James VI., he was fined fifty thousand pounds Scots, and ordered to be imprisoned in the castle of Blackness till the fine was paid. He also took an active part in the proceedings of the covenanters against the court, in the reign of Charles I. He was, at one time, one of the bailies of Edinburgh, in which capacity, Mr. John Livingstone says, "he gave great evidence that he had the spirit of a magistrate beyond many, being a terror to all evil doers." Having purchased the estate of Athernie, in Fife, he is often called in the annals of that period, William Rigg, of Athernie.

* Lamont's Diary, p. 115, compared with Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, p. 223.

† Row's History of the Kirk of Scotland, pp. 457, 469, 472.

‡ He inherited considerable property from his father, to whom he was retoured heir, August 16, 1619, in various lands in Fife, Ross, and Cromarty, and in a tenement of land in the burgh of Elgin.—Inquis. Retor. Abbrev. Fife, No. 293; Ross and Cromarty, No. 52; Elgin and Forres, No. 34. He was also very successful in business.

He died on the 2d of January, 1641.* The father of the subject of this notice, Thomas Rigg, was the eldest son, or the eldest surviving son of the preceding, as appears from his having been served heir to him in his extensive heritable property.† Of her father's life we know much less than of her grandfather's; nor have we discovered the exact date of his death; but it must have been previous to the year 1659, as her mother appears in that year as the wife of the celebrated Sir John Scot, of Scotstarvet, who had been twice married before, and who died in 1670, in the 84th year of his age.‡

Of the early life of this lady no particulars have been preserved. In March, 1659, she was married to Sir William Douglas,

* See a notice of this excellent man prefixed to one of Rutherford's Letters to him; Whyte and Kennedy's edition, p. 216.

† Thomas Rigg was retoured heir to his father, April 18, 1644, in various tenements in Edinburgh; in the lands of Manualrig, Bowhouses, and Cromarland, or Manual-Foulis, in Stirlingshire; in lands in Ross, Cromarty, and Fife; and in a tenement within the burgh of Elgin.—Inquis Retor. Abbrev Edinburgh, No. 920; Stirling, No. 180; Ross and Cromarty, No. 93.

‡ Lamont's Diary, p. 115. Crawford, in his Genealogical Collections, gives the following particulars respecting the family of Rigg, of Athernie: "William Rigg, bailie, of Athernie, a very good religious man, and an excessive rich merchant, purchased the estate of Athernie, in Fife, and other lands. He had a son by his wife, a Beatson, of the house of Balf (Herald's Office), and Janet, a daughter, who was married to Sir Walter Riddell, of that ilk, and had issue, Sir John, and Mr. Archibald; another daughter, married to Mr. John Skene, of Halyards, had issue, &c. Second. [Thomas] Rigg, of Athernie, married [Margaret] Moneypenny, daughter of —— Moneypenny of Pitmillie, by —— Myrton, his wife, daughter of ——Myrton, of Cambo (Ibid.), had a son [William] and two daughters, Dame Catherine Rigg, who was married to Sir William Douglas, of Cavers; and [Margaret] Rigg, her sister, who was married to George Scot, of Pitlochie, son to Sir John Scot, of Scotstarvet; [both] had issue. His lady, Pitmillie's daughter, was the third wife of Sir John Scot, of Scotstarvet, and had a son, [Walter] Scot, to whom he gave Edenshead, whose daughter and heir was married to Mr Charles Erskine, brother to the earl of Buchan."—MS. Folio, in Advocates' Library. William Rigg, of Athernie, the brother of Lady Cavers, had by his wife a son, William, and a daughter, Euphan, who, with their mother, both died at sea, in going out to East New Jersey, in America, with Mr. George Scot, of Pitlochie, in 1685. In that disastrous voyage, about seventy died by a malignant fever which broke out in the vessel, and the names of Lady Athernie, her daughter Euphan, and her son William, appear on a list of those who thus perished.—Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxvi., 4to., Nos. 65, 66; and vol. xxxiii., folio, No. 117. In the commissary records of Edinburgh, 24th November, 1693, there is registered, "The testament, dative and inventar, of the debts pertaining to umquhill William and Euphan Rigg, lawful children to the deceased William Rigg, of Athernie, sometime residenters in Edinburgh, who deceased at sea, in a voyage to East Jersey, in the month of ——, 168[5] years, faithfully made and given up by William and Sarah Rigg, lawful children to the deceased Mr. Walter Rigg, at Athelstaneford, and Patrick Hepburn, writer in Edinburgh, husband to the said Sarah, for his interest, Walter, Alexander, and Catharine Rigg, lawful children to the deceased James Rigg, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, only executors dative, deemed as nearest of kin to the said defuncts, by decreet of the Commissars of Edinburgh, as the same of the date of the third day of May, 1693, in itself at more lengthbears." Lady Cavers's sister, the wife of Mr. George Scot, of Pitlochie, also died by the fever on the same voyage.

of Cavers, younger. The circumstances in which their courtship and marriage originated are thus recorded by Crawford, in his Genealogical Collections: "I have heard that Sir William Douglas of Cavers applied to Sir John Scot, of Scotstarvet, to have borrowed from him the sum of 50,000 merks, that he wanted to pay off some of his pressing debts. Sir John told him that he could not do it himself at present; but there was a young gentlewoman at his house who had just as much portion, in ready money, as he wanted to borrow, and he did not know but both the lady and her portion might be at his service. From this hint Sir William made his application and addresses to Miss Catherine Rigg, and obtained the lady in marriage soon after that."* Crawford adds, "A mighty religious, good woman she was as any could be in her time."

Both Lady Cavers and Sir William, who was a man of principle, adhered to the cause of the ministers ejected in 1662;† by which they excited the resentment of the government. For refusing to take the declaration which abjured the national covenant, Sir William was removed from his office of sheriff of Teviotdale, in which he stood infefted.‡ He and his wife also suffered when, on their children having so far advanced in years as to require a tutor, they selected one from among the students or preachers of the nonconformists. To intrust the education of youth in schools, in colleges, and in families of rank exclusively to such as conformed to prelacy, formed from the beginning, as we have seen before,‖ a leading part of the scheme of the government for establishing prelacy. And to enforce the laws enacted, in reference to this matter, a proclamation was issued by the privy council, on the 1st of March, 1676, forbidding all persons in future to entertain any schoolmaster, pedagogue, or chaplain, for performance of family worship, who had not license to that effect under the hands of the respective bishops of their diocese,

* MS. folio in Advocates' Library.

† The minister of Cavers, Mr James Gillon, was among the number of the ejected ministers. He died in 1688. The circumstances connected with his death are thus recorded by Kirkton: "Another act of cruelty they [the government] committed at this time [at the time when James Mitchell attempted the assassination of Archbishop Sharp], was: upon pretence of searching for the bishop's assassinat, they seized Mr. James Gillon, late minister at Cavers, and made him run on foot from Currie (whither he had retired for his health), to the west port of Edinburgh at midnight, and then [he] was carried to prison: and when the council found the mistake, they did indeed suffer him to go to his chamber; but his cruel usage disordered him so that within two days he died."—History of the Church of Scotland, p. 284.

‡ Register of Acts of Privy Council, 25th July, 1684.

‖ See Notice of Lady Colvill, pp. 247, 248.

under the penalty of three thousand merks to be exacted for each nobleman, and twelve hundred merks for each gentleman, and six hundred merks for a burgess or any other subject, for each such offence, as they should be found guilty in the premises. But the family of Cavers, having, in disregard of this proclamation, kept with them Mr. James Osburn, a presbyterian student or preacher, as tutor to their children, letters were raised at the instance of Sir John Nisbet, his majesty's advocate, charging Sir William with having "ever since the date of the said proclamation, and contrary to the duty and loyalty incumbent upon, and required of good subjects, entertained, reset, and countenanced Mr. James Osburn, as a schoolmaster, or pedagogue, or as his chaplain, at the least for performance of family worship, albeit he be a person not licensed nor authorized under the hand of the bishop of the diocese, to that effect; . . . whereby the said Sir William Douglas of Cavers, hath directly contravened the tenor of the said act of parliament, and the said proclamation, and thereby not only incurred the pains and penalties therein contained, but ought to exhibit and produce to his majesty's privy council the person of the said Mr. James [Osburn]." By these letters he was charged to compear personally before the privy council on the 3d of August, 1676, to answer to the foresaid complaint, and to hear and see such order taken thereanent, as appertained, under pain of rebellion, &c. Sir William not having appeared at the bar of the council, in obedience to the summons, the council "ordained letters to be directed to messengers-at-arms, to denounce him his majesty's rebel, and put him to the horn, and to escheat, &c., superseding extract hereof, as to the said Sir William Douglas, until the first council day in September next."*

After this, Sir William had not long to live. The precise date of his death we have not ascertained, but it took place previous to the year 1680.

It is in the beginning of that year, that Lady Cavers appears upon the stage, as personally obnoxious to the government, on account of her nonconformity. Being now left a widow with numerous children, she felt that to educate them in the principles of religion and of the reformed church of Scotland, was one of

* Register of Acts of Privy Council. Mr. James Osburn is included in the letters raised against Sir William Douglas, the charge against him being, that he had most unwarrantably presumed and taken upon hand to serve Sir William as a schoolmaster, pedagogue, or chaplain, for family worship, although he was not licensed or authorized to that effect according to law; and failing to appear before the council on the 3d of August, he was declared his majesty's rebel, but nothing is said respecting "superseding extract hereof" as to him.

the most important duties of her life, or rather the most important duty which devolved upon her as a widowed mother. This appears from the proceedings instituted against her, which we are now about to narrate; and from which it will be seen how anxious the government and its supporters were to prevent the education of children, and especially those of rank, in presbyterian principles. It appears that Thomas Douglas, brother to her deceased husband, Sir William Eliot of Stobes, Mr. Archibald Douglas, minister at "Seatoune," [Salton?] and Mr. Richard Douglas, advocate, had been "nominated and appointed tutors" to William, her eldest son, who succeeded his father, and to Archibald and John, his brothers, "conform to a gift of tutorie granted to that effect; to which office they were preferred by his majesty's exchequer, upon express and full consideration that the complainers would be careful, not only of the said minors' persons as being their nearest relations, but of their education as peaceable, loyal, and good subjects, and which was thought to be of considerable consequence to his majesty's service, that family having a great interest in the shire of Roxburgh, where they live, and considering that Dame Catharine Rigg, Lady Cavers, their mother, would take pains to withdraw them from these good principles."

Lady Cavers' eldest son, William, was accordingly taken from her, and educated for several years at school in Dalkeith and Edinburgh. But William having, for the benefit of his health, been permitted to stay at his own house with his mother for some time, she refused to allow him to return to the schools where he had been formerly bred. At the same time, she refused to deliver up to the tutors her other two sons, Archibald and John, who were still within the years of "pupilarity," not of course because she was hostile to their receiving a complete education and every accomplishment suitable to their station, but because she wished their education to be conducted under her own eye; and so long as they were with her, she did not fail to instil into their minds the principles of presbytery and of the covenant. This gave great offence to the tutors, and letters were raised against her at their instance, to compel her to deliver up to them her children. They complain that "she wilfully keeps them that she may give them those disloyal impressions which may prove very dangerous to that family, breeding them up in a perfect aversion to the government of church and state, and who are already arrived at that wildness, that they will neither frequent the public ordinances themselves, nor converse with those

who so do: and therefore," they add, "in all equity and justice the said Lady Cavers should not only be decerned to deliver up to the complainers the persons of the said William, Archibald, and John Douglas, the complainers' pupils, that they may take care for their education, and be discharged to withdraw or detain them from schools and their other education, but also punished, to the terror of others to do the like in time coming." She was charged to compear personally before the privy council on the 27th of January, 1680, to answer to the premises, and to bring with her, exhibit, and produce the persons of her three sons abovenamed, and to hear and see herself decerned to deliver them up to their tutors, or else to show a reasonable cause to the contrary; and further, to hear and see such other order taken in the foresaid matter, as shall appertain under the pain of rebellion. In obedience to the summons, she compeared personally before the council to defend herself. After having heard and considered the libel and the answers made thereto, the lords of council decerned and ordained her to deliver to the pursuers the persons of the said William, Archibald, and John Douglas, their pupils, and to do so within the course of eight days, to be educated as they should order, and, if need be, ordained letters of horning, upon a charge of six days, to be directed for that effect.*

Nearly two and a half years after this, Lady Cavers was brought to still greater trouble, on account of her presbyterian principles. From what has been already stated, it is evident that she had embraced the cause for which the ejected ministers suffered with too warm a zeal to attend the curates. But this was not the only thing which rendered her obnoxious to the persecuting rulers of the day. She had, besides, attended conventicles held in the part of the country where she resided, and had even permitted them to be held in her own house. She was, moreover, in the habit of hospitably entertaining the proscribed ministers who happened to be in that part of the country, and she had retained as her servants some whom the government had denounced rebels. The strong sympathy and support thus given, by one in her station, to the cause of suffering nonconformity, did not escape the notice of the evil instruments of the government in the district in which she lived. Among those who, in that district, signalized themselves as persecutors, was Adam Urquhart, the laird of Meldrum, who was made a justice of the peace in Roxburghshire, in May, 1679, to assist Henry Ker of Graden, sheriff-depute of that county, in repressing and punishing such

* Decreets of Privy Council.

disorders as withdrawing from the parish churches and attending conventicles; nor did these men want spies and informers to assist them in this work of oppression. In the list of those whom they oppressed on account of religion, Lady Cavers occupies a prominent place. Her conduct they observed with eager scrutiny; her recusant delinquencies they carefully noted down, and transmitted an exaggerated report of them to the lords of the privy council, who were glad to find an occasion against her, in the hope of being able to extort from her a heavy fine. While living peaceably at her own house, attending to her household and maternal duties, she was, in 1682, disturbed by the harsh intrusion of the rugged messengers of the law, with letters raised against her, at the instance of Sir George Mackenzie, his majesty's advocate. In these letters she is charged with "keeping and being present at conventicles, harboring, resetting, entertaining, intercommuning, and corresponding, with declared rebels and traitors, and disorderly and irregular persons."

After stating that, by the laws and acts of parliament of this realm, these were "crimes of a high nature, and severely punishable," the letters, which contain a mixture of truth and falsehood, proceed as follows: "Nevertheless it is of verity that upon the first, second, third, and remanent days of the months of August, September, October, November, and December, 1679, upon the first, second, third, and remanent days of the months of January, February, March, and remanent months of the years 1680 and 1681, and upon the first, second, third, and remanent days of the months of January, February, March, April, and May last, or one or other of the days of the months of the said years, Dame Catharine Rigg, Lady Cavers, having been present at divers conventicles in the shires of Roxburgh and Selkirk, and several other places, where she hath heard Mr. Matthew Selkirk, a vagrant preacher, Mr. Donald Cargill, and Mr. Gabriel Semple, declared traitors, Mr. Thomas Douglas, Mr. Samuel Arnot, Mr. Archibald Riddell, and Mr. James Osburn, preach, expound scripture, pray, and exercise the other functions of the ministry,* and, in the said seditious meetings, vent several malicious and wicked expressions against his majesty's government; and particularly

* Field conventicles were frequently held in those days in the parish of Cavers. The hollow dells and rocky recesses of the hill Rubberslaw, which is situated in the lower division of the parish, were the haunts of the persecuted covenanters, and not only the place, but the very stone, on which the volume of God's word was laid when the consecrated Alexander Peden declared its truths to a large congregation there assembled, is still pointed out.—New Statistical Account of Scotland, parish of Cavers.

in the month of November, 1680, the laird of Meldrum having gone to the said shire, in pursuance of his majesty's commands, for putting the laws in execution against disorderly persons, true it is that the said Lady Cavers, to evidence her zeal and forwardness against the putting of his majesty's laws in execution, and so encourage disorderly persons in their irregular practices, did, upon the first, second, third, or one or other of the days of the said month of November, 1680, cause, advertise, and convocate diverse numbers of people, at her house of ———, keeping a seditious conventicle; and accordingly there did convene above the number of three hundred persons, whereof some were within and some were without doors (which, by the law, is declared to be a field conventicle), at which seditious meeting the said Mr. Matthew Selkirk, or one or other of the foresaid persons, traitors, vagrants, disorderly ministers, did intimate a fast to be kept, at the said house, upon the —— day of the said month of November, for Philiphaugh's good success against the laird of Meldrum;* which was accordingly performed, where the said Mr. Matthew Selkirk preached, and at which there were present above two hundred persons, and many of them without doors. Likeas the said Lady Cavers, during the foresaid space, hath constantly entertained and harbored, reset and intercommuned with the foresaid traitors, rebels, and vagrant preachers, as also Thomas Turnbull of Stonehill, John Clunie, barber in Hawick, and divers other seditious and disorderly persons, and hath furnished them with meat, house, and harbor, by herself and tenants; as also Robert Davidson, a declared rebel and fugitive, as her gardener: whereby the said Dame Catharine Rigg is guilty of the manifest crimes above written, and hath contravened the laws and acts of parliament made thereagainst, for which she ought to be severely punished in her person and goods, to the terror of others to commit and do the like in time coming."†

* The laird of Meldrum, one of the most active persecutors, had imposed heavy fines on many gentlemen and tenants in the shire of Teviotdale, and committed to prison such as did not pay their fines. It was calculated that he had uplifted in fines from that shire not less than ten thousand pounds. This, as might have been expected, created great dissatisfaction. James Murray of Philiphaugh, principal sheriff of Selkirk, William Murray, his depute, and some gentlemen and tenants, brought a libel against him before the privy council, in November, 1680, complaining of his many oppressions and wrongous imprisonments. "Philiphaugh," says Wodrow, "proved his libel against Meldrum, to the conviction of all, and answered what Meldrum charged him with; and when Meldrum offered to give in some new queries, he was willing to admit them, providing he should be allowed to begin with new queries to him, and proposed he might be interrogate whether Meldrum was papist or protestant: when he was last at mass: who were present with him when he had conversed last with rebels, and what compositions he had made with them."—Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 240; Decreets of Privy Council, 21st July, 1681. This is the case referred to in the text.

† Decreets of Privy Council.

To answer to the foresaid complaint, and to hear and see such order taken thereanent as appertained, she is charged to compear personally before the council on the 4th of July, 1682, under the pain of rebellion.

Her case came before the council, at their meeting on the 4th of July. But she disobeyed the summons; and, on her being ofttimes called and not compearing, the council granted "certification against her, ordaining her to be denounced his majesty's rebel." Afterward, however, upon application to the council, she was "reponed against the said certification, upon her finding caution to compear before the council on the 13th day of November instant." On that day, the council having met, and her case being again called, she compeared, with a procurator to plead in her defence. Her libel was read, and answers were made to it by her procurator, in the presence of the council. But, not satisfied with these answers, the lords of council ordered her to be brought before them. On her making her appearance, his majesty's advocate "referred the truth of the libel to her oath, and declared that, conformably to his majesty's letter, and the constant practice of the council, he restricted those points of the libel in their own nature criminal, to an arbitrary punishment, and declared that any confession to be made by her should not be any ground of a criminal process against her." But she refused to give her oath. The ground upon which she was required to depone upon oath was the second act of the parliament of 1670;* and the king's letter in 1674, just now referred to, restricted the punishment, in the case of such as confessed their nonconforming delinquencies, to an arbitrary fine. It was the opinion of Sir George Lockhart, an eminent lawyer of that day, delivered in a case exactly similar, that the above act of parliament, though it might compel her to depone against others, could not compel her to depone against herself; and that "she behooved first to have a remission passed the seals, and the king's letter was not equivalent thereto."† But the privy council took a different view of the

* See this act in Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 167.

† The case in which Sir George Lockhart delivered this opinion was that of Edmiston of Duntraith, who, on the 30th of June, 1681, was fined in nine thousand merks, and sentenced to lie in prison till it was paid, for refusing to depone with respect to his conversing and intercommuning with a denounced fugitive minister, with respect to his having been at field conventicles, and with respect to his calling the proceedings of the privy council arbitrary and tyrannical; on all which points he was urged to depone, both from the second act of the parliament of 1670, and from the king's letter in 1674. Sir George Lockhart employed in defence of his client the argument stated in the text. But it was repelled, and Edmiston was holden as confessed for not deponing, and fined.—Fountainhall's Historical Notices, vol. i., page 301.

matter. Upon her refusal to give her oath, "the lords of council, considering that the crimes libelled were of a very high nature, and that, in construction of law, she, by reason of her refusing to depone, was understood to be guilty of the whole crimes libelled, did therefore fine her in the sum of nine thousand merks Scots money, and ordained her to be carried to prison until she should have made payment, or found caution to pay the same, to his majesty's cash-keeper, and found caution for her future good behavior. But if her former cautioner obliged himself, under the penalty of one thousand pounds sterling, to produce her upon Thursday next, the 16th of November, before the council, the lords allowed her to stay out of prison till that day."* Having found this security, she was in the meantime set at liberty. On the 16th of November, her surety, "conform to his bond, produced her at the council bar;" but she having neither "made payment of the fine imposed upon her last council-day, nor given bond for her future good behavior, the lords of council ordained her to be committed prisoner to the tolbooth of Edinburgh until Monday next, and recommended to General Dalziel, the said day, to cause transport her from the said tolbooth of Edinburgh to the castle of Stirling, by a party, and appointed the governor of the said castle of Stirling, or his deputy, to receive, keep, and detain her person in sure firmance, until further order from the council."†

This order was duly executed; and she continued in prison till the close of the year 1684, with the exception of a few weeks' liberty granted her for the benefit of her health. "Her case was indeed very hard," says Wodrow, "to say nothing of her shining virtue and singular piety, and her being chargeable with nothing but simple nonconformity with prelacy, and no ways concerned in anything against the government, nor could once be supposed to be."‡

How she and her children were maintained during the period of her imprisonment, we are not informed. She had a jointure of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, from the rental of the estate of her deceased husband, for the support of herself and her five younger children, but of this she was deprived, the rents of her tenants being arrested for the payment of her exorbitant fine, which was more than her income from her jointure amounted to for three years; and her close imprisonment put it wholly out of her power to procure subsistence for herself and her children by her own exertions. The circumstances connected with the ar-

* Decrees of Privy Council. † Ibid. ‡ Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 54.

restment of her tenants' rents are worthy of particular notice, affording, as they do, an example of the severe treatment which tenants who favored suffering heritors generally met with at the hands of the ordinary magistrates, and in which the magistrates were encouraged and supported by the government.

The instrument of arrestment was served upon her tenants on the 10th of February, 1683, at the instance of Hugh Wallace, his majesty's cash-keeper, arresting all rents then due by them to her, till the payment of her fine. This was severe enough, but it was only a part of the hardships to which, on account of her fine, they were subjected. As they had no tacks, but were moveable tenants, taking their lands every successive year in April, they supposed, as was very reasonable, that that arrestment could only make them liable for what they owed Lady Cavers at the time of its being served upon them, and not for the rent of the new year commencing in April, 1683, when they took their lands anew. Accordingly, when the first term for the payment of the first half of that new year's rent, which was Martinmas, arrived, Lady Cavers having called upon the tenants for the payment, they paid her about eleven hundred pounds, which amounted to about the half of that year's rent; and for this she granted them discharges. But to their surprise, they were summoned, in the beginning of January, 1684, to appear before the sheriff of Roxburghshire, on the 8th of that month, for the payment not only of what was due by them at the time of the arrestment, but also for the whole of the rent of the year commencing in April, 1683, the procurator for the pursuers urging, that the arrestment served upon the tenants put them *in mala fide* to pay any rent to her till her fine was fully paid. The tenants pleaded in their own defence, that the arrestment of February 10th, according to the nature of all arrestments, could only secure what was then due by them to Lady Cavers; that not having taken their lands till April thereafter, they could not be supposed, at the time of the arrestment, to be debtors to her for the new year commencing in April; and that as no new arrestment had ever been served upon them to put them in condition to refuse the payment of their half-year's rent to her at Martinmas, they ought not to be required to pay it again. This was thought the only equitable view of the matter by all who heard of it, and the sheriff delayed to pronounce either interlocutor or decreet in the case till he had advised with his lawyers. But Meldrum's power with the sheriff so prevailed, that, on the 18th of January that same year, he pronounced a decreet against the tenants, for the payment not only of what was due by them at

the time of the arrestment, but also for the payment of the rent of the subsequent year, commencing in April, 1683; and this decreet was pronounced against them without their ever having been summoned to hear and see either interlocutor or decreet and sentence pronounced against them, which was contrary to the form always observed by that court when a process was taken up to be considered.

In these circumstances the tenants sent a petition to the privy council in the beginning of April, 1684, with a paper entitled, "Information for Lady Cavers' Tenants," both which documents contain the facts now stated.* The petition concludes with these words: "The which sentence [the sentence of the sheriff], if it shall be executed against us, and we thereby distressed to make double payment, will not only for ever incapacitate us for paying any more rent, but bring us and our poor families to a starving condition; for all our goods consist of a few nowte† and sheep, which, through this stormy winter that lay very heavy upon our grounds, are now reduced to a very small number; and if they shall be pounded and driven from us, there will be nothing remaining for us but what we can have by begging our bread in the country. May it therefore please your lordships to pity our sad and distressed condition, that we may not be altogether broken and ruined, and to discharge that decreet to be put in execution against us your humble supplicants, till your lordships examine the matter, and hear the business before yourselves; and your poor petitioners shall ever pray for a long and happy reign to his majesty, and health and prosperity to your lordships."

Reasonable as is the prayer of this petition, it was rejected.‡ By virtue of the sentence of the sheriff, letters of horning were raised against the tenants, and so severe were the proceedings against them, that about the middle of May, all of them were apprehended and carried by a party of Meldrum's troops to the tolbooth of Jedburgh. They were indeed soon after liberated, but it was only to go home for the better making up of the money which they were required to pay.‖ "I find," says Wodrow, "they were so discouraged by the finings and harassings they were put to, that, had not the laird of Cavers returned that year and got the prosecution stopped, they had all left the ground."§

To return to Lady Cavers: when she had been confined in

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxiii., Nos. 66, 67. Wodrow's Hist., vol. iv., pp. 54, 55.

† That is, cattle. ‡ Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 55.

‖ Letter of Mr. Gladstanes to Sir William Douglas, dated 24th May, 1684. Wodrow MSS., vol. xxx., 4to., No. 114.

§ Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 55,

Stirling castle about eight months, she was induced, in consequence of the declining state of her health, to present a petition to the privy council, supported by the testimonial of a physician, praying for liberty to go for some time to the wells in England. In answer to her petition, the council, at their meeting on the 19th of July, 1683, "allow her from that date to the 15th of October, to go to the wells for her health, and give order and warrant to the governor or deputy-governor of the castle of Stirling, to set her at liberty, to that effect, in regard she hath found sufficient caution acted in the books of privy council, that at or betwixt the said 15th day of October, she shall re-enter her person in prison, within the said castle of Stirling, under the penalty of 500*l.* sterling, and that during the time of her being at liberty, and in this kingdom, she shall live orderly under the same penalty in case of failure."*

At this time, Lady Cavers' eldest son, Sir William Douglas, was travelling on the continent, accompanied by his tutor, Mr. Robert Wylie, who, after the revolution, became minister of Hamilton. In her present circumstances, and especially as she was not without fears that though a settlement were made for her fine, this would not terminate her sufferings for nonconformity, she was naturally anxious for the return of her son, hoping that it might be in his power to procure her liberation from prison, and to protect her from future hardships. Mr. Gladstanes, his factor, in a letter to Sir William, dated Edinburgh, October 2, 1683, says: "It is thought by many, when they see how severely others are handled for reset and converse, that albeit there were some settlement made for this fine for which she [your mother] is now imprisoned, her trouble shall not end there, and whereof being now apprehensive, she is the more desirous to see you here before any new trial; and if your coming home could contribute anything to her liberation, I do not doubt but you have already resolved that everything else shall give place to so natural a duty."†

To have obtained her liberty through the interposition of her son, whom she loved so tenderly, would doubtless have been highly gratifying to Lady Cavers; but the assurance that he was living a god-fearing and virtuous life, would have still more gladdened her heart, whereas her hearing of or witnessing his living a life of an opposite description, would have been to her a source of more poignant distress than all she had hitherto suffered or might yet suffer on account of her religious principles.

* Decreets of Privy Council. † Wodrow MSS., vol. xxx, 4to., No. 113.

As an instance of this pious solicitude for the spiritual welfare of her children, we may quote the following passage from the same letter: "I doubt not," says Mr. Gladstanes, "but you have already heard of the little liberty granted to your mother for going to a well for her health, and that she is to return to her prison before the 16th of this month. I saw her here very much afflicted for some expressions of a letter that you had written to your uncle, and which she takes more heavily than all the trouble which she hath met with herself, or whereof she is yet in hazard. I know not how it is, but I am very sure you would not willingly write or do anything to the increasing of her sorrows. It is like she may be afraid lest French liberties should spoil a good Christian education."* In the same letter he says: "Your uncle Letholme went south eight days ago to the drawing of your tithes, and we expect both him and your mother here some time this week."

Before the time appointed for Lady Cavers returning to prison in Stirling castle arrived, a petition was presented to a committee of the privy council, praying for the extension of the period of her liberty, but the prayer was refused. She accordingly again became a prisoner. Being, however, permitted to take her children to Stirling, where they were to attend the school, and where she would probably have frequent opportunities of seeing them, this would in some degree alleviate the hardships of her confinement. Mr. Gladstanes, in a letter to Sir William, who was then at Paris, dated October 23, 1683, thus writes: "Your mother went from this on Saturday was eight days, to re-enter her prison in Stirling castle. There was an address made to a committee of the council before she went away, for continuing her liberty. Most of them inclined to favor her bill, but did not think their power full enough for granting it, till a more numerous meeting of the haill council, which is not to be till the 8th of November. Archibald and John went west with her to Stirling school; James and Tom were left at Cavers till Jamie recovered of a little distemper, whereof now I hear he is grown better. Your sister was left here till your mother considered whether it were better to put her to a school here, or take her west with a woman to teach her there."†

From the mitigated tone in which the committee of the privy council expressed themselves regarding Lady Cavers, one would be prepared to anticipate that at the meeting of council on the

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xxx., 4to, No. 113.

† Ibid. The letter is addressed on the back, "For the laird of Cavers Douglas."

8th of November, the period of her temporary liberty would be prolonged. But such was not the case. She continued lying in prison for more than a year longer. Depressed, though not subdued, by long and close confinement, by the impoverished circumstances of herself and her children, and by the weak state of health to which she was reduced, she presented a petition to the privy council, praying them to remit her fine, or favorably to represent her case to his majesty, or to allow her to obtain her jointure for the support of herself and her children. The petition is as follows:—

"Unto the Right Honorable the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council—The Petition of the Lady Cavers, Humbly Showeth,

"That whereas by your lordships' sentence upon the [13th] day of November, 1682, she was fined in five hundred pounds sterling, and committed prisoner to the castle of Stirling until the same were paid, she does now with all humility represent to your lordships, that the said decreet was founded singly upon her declining to give her oath upon the points of the libel, which she did not out of any contumacy, but from a tenderness she hath ever naturally had of giving an oath in any case, but will not decline the most exact and most strict trial in the matters of which she was accused; and is so conscious of her own innocence, that she doubts not but upon such trial it will appear that she was misrepresented to your lordships by misinformations, proceeding either of malice or mistake, to which she is the more exposed, being a person living abstract from all company, employing her time in the education of her numerous fatherless children; and she further humbly represents to your lordships the meanness and smallness of her estate, which consists only of a jointure not exceeding one hundred and fifty pounds sterling a year; that she is in debt, and stands bound by an old settlement with her children's friends, to aliment her younger children, whereof there are five: by which it is more than evident to your lordships, that unless your lordships be favorably pleased to grant her relief from the said fine, she and her poor fatherless children (who are the issue of a family who for many ages have served their king and country faithfully and honorably) will be reduced, not only to ruin, but downright starvation. She hath also suffered a long and tedious imprisonment, by which both her health and estate are exceedingly impaired, and is firmly resolved in all time coming to live inoffensively to the whole world, educating her chil-

dren, and enjoying herself in her recluse and desolate condition, without meddling with any persons or affairs in the world.

"May it therefore please your lordships to take the premises into your serious consideration, and, in compassion to the widow and fatherless, remit her and them the said fine; or (if your lordships think it necessary) that you will be pleased favorably to represent their sad and deplorable condition to his sacred majesty, from whose innate justice, and gracious goodness, and clemency, she submissively hopes for the granting of this her humble desire; and, in the meantime, that your lordships, in your great goodness, will be pleased to permit her to intromit with her jointure for alimenting her poor five fatherless children, which it will hardly suffice to do in respect of the meanness of it, and of the debt with which it stands already affected. And your petitioner shall ever pray," &c.*

Affecting as is this petition, it seems to have been disregarded by the lords of the privy council, who, actuated by a hard-hearted avarice, would neither remit nor mitigate her fine. Her son having, about this time, returned to London from his travels on the continent,† she and her friends cherished the hope that by his intercessions with some of the leading statesmen in London, the government might be prevailed upon to set her at liberty, and to remit her fine. Mr. Gladstanes, his factor, who appears to have sympathized deeply in her case, in a letter to him, dated "Cavers, May 24, 1684," informs him of her circumstances, and strongly incites him to exert himself at London, to the utmost of his power, to obtain for his mother relief. "I am very glad," says he, "to hear of your safe return to London. . . . . I heard from your mother the last week, with some of her tenants that had

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxiii., folio, No. 69. Wodrow, in the Table of Contents, refers the petition to the year 1684.

† Sir William had been, some time previous to his return, married to a French lady, with whom he had fallen in love in his travels. But when he intended to return home, obstacles were interposed in the way of his wife and child returning with him. He was not personally restrained, but his wife and the child, which, in consequence of its mother being a Frenchwoman, was considered as naturalized, were declared to be subjects of France, and, according to the tenth article of the edict of Nantes (which received the royal signature on the 8th of October, 1685), were prohibited from departing out of the realm. Sir William Turnbull, the English embassador in France, in a letter to Lord Sutherland, dated December 19, 1685, thus writes: "I acquainted him [that is, Louis XIV.] also with Sir William Douglas's petition for leave for his wife and child to go into England with him. But this, he told me plainly, the king had refused; for although the husband, being not naturalized, might go if he pleased, yet the wife and child were subjects of France, and should not have that permission."—Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. i., part i., pp. 122, 123.

gone west to Stirling about the taking of their land. If it were not that her restraint confines both her and the children to Stirling, I know the condition of their health is such as requires her and most of them to be at some wells this summer. I need not tell you with what joy she received the message which brought the news of your curators having resolved to bring you home this summer. The solicitous care and constant tenderness she hath ever had for you, may gain your belief that nothing is capable of giving such ease to her present sufferings as the hopes of seeing you soon, after so long an absence. She hath endured very much in a long and tedious imprisonment, and the restoring her to liberty seems only to have been reserved for you, as the fittest and most proper instrument for obtaining of the same. All things concur with that desire I know you have to perform so just and necessary a duty. You are trysted to be at London in such a favorable juncture, when you have the opportunity of addressing yourself to our great officers of state. I do not know the methods you will be advised to take, or what hopes there may be of success; but, to every unconcerned person it appears very hard to shut up liferenters and detain them in prison till they pay a sum of money which exceeds three years' rent of their estate, without allowing them any part thereof for their maintenance." And after stating the proceedings against the tenants, which have been already detailed, he says: "We hear that before the treasurer went away, Sir Adam Blair of Carberrie, and Sir William Lockhart of Carstairs were commissionat and empowered by the exchequer to uplift and intromit with your mother's fine, for payment of an old debt due to them by the king; but if a gift thereof (at least some considerable abatement) were procured at London, either for yourself or the rest of the children, it would make void that which is granted to them by the exchequer. Your cousin, Mr. Richard, did solicit the treasurer before he went out of Scotland, that he might both grant liberation, and appoint some aliment to your mother, out of her own jointure, but he [the treasurer] then declined to meddle in the affair. It is Mr. Richard's opinion, if you duly attend the treasurer, while he is at London, as he promised to him you would do, and diligently ply the business, that you may both procure her liberty and a remit of the fine. Castlehill may also be very useful to gain the chancellor to favor your suit, and who, I suppose, is both well enough known to yourself and Mr. R. W.;" [Robert Wylie].*

Sir William would doubtless do what he could in his mother's

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xxx., 4to., No. 114.

case; but his success was less than had been anticipated. After using many means in private with influential persons, he at length, in the close of the year 1684, presented in her behalf the following petition to the privy council:—

"To the Right Honorable the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council—The humble Petition of Sir William Douglas of Cavers, SHOWETH,

"That your petitioner's mother having been several years now in prison, for not going to the church, your petitioner is very desirous she should be reclaimed, but yet such is his respect to his majesty's government and laws, that he will not interpose for anything that may be of ill example to others, and therefore he humbly offers to your lordships, that because of her great indisposition, and that she may be dealt with by her friends who are now very remote from her, he may be allowed to be cautioner for her, that she shall either live regularly, or else that within three months after the date of her liberation, she shall remove forth of this kingdom, and not return thereto without special allowance from his majesty or his privy council, by which the country, if she comply not, will be freed from any influence she may have, or any prejudice she may do, and which can not be expected by keeping her in prison; and as this is a safe remedy, and will be a sufficient terror to others in the like circumstances, there being nothing so terrible to a woman as to leave her native country, her children, her friends, and acquaintances, so the justices do ordinarily allow this to such as are even denounced fugitives upon this occasion, and particularly this was allowed to the lady Longformacus,* Lady Moriston,† and others; and your lordships will find it upon trial to be a far more effectual remedy than imprisonment, which, being within one's native country, becomes

* "August 2, *et diebs seq.*, 1683. The lady Longformacus being pursued for resetting of rebels; and it being alleged for her that she lived at Berwick; the criminal lords ordained her to find caution to live orderly when in Scotland, under the pain of three thousand merks, or else to remove out of Scotland, never to return without the king's special license. And this course they took with other women pursued, because they could not put them to take the test."—Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., p. 236. This lady was probably the relict of Sir Robert Sinclair, first baronet of Longformacus, who died in 1678. She was his second wife; and was Margaret, second daughter of William Lord Alexander, by his wife, Lady Margaret Douglas who was the eldest daughter of William, marquis of Douglas.—Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, p. 250.

† Lady Moriston, "a pious and sensible gentlewoman," was also sentenced, in August, 683, by the justiciary court, to leave the kingdom before the 1st of November. "She appears," says Wodrow, "not to have been cited, or any probation led against her, but summarily is banished for her respect to the gospel and sufferers."—Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 472.

very familiar and easy in a very short time, especially to melancholy women, who use to stay much within doors; and your lordships' answer," &c.*

The tutors of Sir William had succeeded, it would appear, in training him up, if not to a hearty approval of the persecuting and tyrannical measures of the government, at least to an acquiescence in these measures, from considerations of worldly advantage; although by doing so he could not fail to grieve the heart of his mother, whose earnest desire it was to see him following in the steps of his honored ancestors, who had nobly struggled in their day for the truths of Christ, and the liberties of the church. In July, 1684, he took the test (which his father would never have done), to qualify him for acting as sheriff of Teviotdale;† and the style of the above petition breathes a temporizing spirit. But compromising as was Sir William in his political and religious principles, the only ground upon which he could induce the council to set his mother at liberty, was his becoming surety for her, "that she should depart forth of this kingdom within the space of fourteen days inclusive, after she should be liberated, and should never return thereto without his majesty's or the council's special license; and that, in the meantime, until the said fourteen days elapse, and thereafter, if she remained within the country, she should live regularly and orderly, and that under the penalty of nine thousand merks Scots money, in case of failure; and farther, that she should make payment to his majesty's cash-keeper, for his majesty's use, of the sum of five hundred pounds sterling, formerly imposed upon her by sentence of council, at least of so much thereof as is yet resting, and not discharged, and that betwixt and the term of . . . next." Sir William having given the security required, an act of council was passed, December 24, 1684, giving orders for his mother's liberation.‡ The money was exacted from him to the last farthing; and his mother removed out of Scotland within the time specified, retiring to England. These facts we learn from a petition which Sir William presented to the privy council, humbly showing that he had fully obeyed their lordships' sentence, by paying to the cash-keeper, and those having power and commission from him, the sum of five hundred pounds sterling, being his mother's fine, and that she had removed, within the space of fourteen days after her liberation, from Scotland "into the kingdom of England,

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxiii., folio, No. 68. In the Table of Contents, Wodrow marks this petition as written in 1684.

† Register of Acts of Privy Council, 25th July, 1684. ‡ Ibid.

where she still remains;" and therefore praying their "lordships to appoint and ordain the clerks of council to deliver up to him his bond, as having satisfied and performed the same in all points." At their meeting on the 28th of January, 1686, the lords of council complied with the prayer of this petition.*

Such was the issue of the grievous outrage committed upon the person of Lady Cavers, who was first foully slandered, then punished by a heavy fine, without proof of any offence committed, then thrown into prison, where she was detained till security was given that the fine should be paid; and who, even when that security had been given, and after she had for years been so deeply injured, was compelled to leave the kingdom. How unfeeling the rapacity of these unjust rulers! How contemptible their unmanly treatment of a lady whose helpless situation claimed for her sympathy and protection! But so hateful in their eyes was the taint of presbyterianism, and so lost were they to every honorable feeling, that the most eminent virtue and piety in ladies of this persuasion, afforded no security against their becoming the victims of the most flagrant injustice and oppression. The subsequent history of Lady Cavers has not been preserved; nor have we been able to discover the time of her death.

ISABEL ALISON.

We have previously met with some of our female worthies who suffered great hardships, though not unto the death. We now come to record the history of others of them who were called to seal their testimony with their blood. Of this class were Isabel Alison, and Marion Harvey, two young women in humble life, but of unsullied character, and genuine piety. Their tragic and deeply interesting story is enough of itself to entail everlasting infamy on the bloody rulers who pursued them to the death, not for any crime, for they had committed none, but simply and solely for their private opinions, which the council had extorted from them by artful and ensnaring questions. They were tried together upon the same indictment, and executed on the same day at the Grassmarket of Edinburgh. We shall give a separate account of each, beginning with the eldest.

* Warrants of Privy Council.

Isabel Alison was an unmarried woman who lived at Perth, and probably did not exceed twenty-seven years of age. Among her religious acquaintances she maintained a high reputation for sobriety of character and enlightened piety. She had sometimes heard Mr. Donald Cargill and some other ministers preach in the fields, before the battle of Bothwell bridge, but not often, field conventicles not having been common in the part of the country where she lived. The sermons she heard on these occasions were greatly blessed to her, and if not the means of her conversion, had confirmed her in the faith, and fortified her for suffering in the cause of Christ. By the ministrations of Mr. Cargill, she had in particular been deeply impressed, and had imbibed the peculiar opinions held by him and Mr. Richard Cameron.

These two ministers, though different as to age, were one in spirit. Cargill had seen many years pass over him; his head had become gray in the service of his Master: Cameron was in the prime of youth, and had but recently put on the harness. Yet both were actuated by the fearless intrepidity which high principle and deep piety, combined with constitutional fortitude, often impart. With the exception of Mr. John Blackadder, they were the only ministers who, after the battle of Bothwell bridge, preached in the fields till Mr. James Renwick appeared on the stage; the other field preachers having desisted by reason of the increased danger arising from the increased exasperation of the government. They and their followers thus became the special objects of persecuting vengeance, and the consequence was, that, driven to extremity, they renounced Charles Stuart as their lawful sovereign, and proclaimed war against him as a tyrant and usurper.* To this party, we have said, Isabel Alison belonged; and it was for holding their principles in regard to the unlawfulness of the then existing civil government that she was doomed

* Cargill and Cameron, with their followers, separated from all the other presbyterian ministers and people who could not go to the length of disowning the authority of Charles, or who had accepted the indulgence, or who, though they had not accepted it, continued to maintain Christian fellowship with such as had done so. Mr. John Blackadder, though one of the most intrepid field preachers, did not join with Cargill and Cameron's party, not only because he could not see it to be his duty to disown the then existing government, tyrannical as it was, but also because, though he would rather have laid his head on the block than have accepted the indulgence himself, he considered it wrong to separate, as they did, from the indulged ministers. Between the Cameronians and the indulged party, much bitterness and animosity prevailed. Blackadder, who occupied a middle position between the two parties, was anxious to compose their differences, and to prevent them, if he could not unite them, from receding farther from each other—a very laudable undertaking, but very fruitless in its results, as too frequently happens in regard to the efforts of peace makers, to allay the contentions and heal the divisions which arise even among good men in this world of strife.

to undergo a traitor's death. These principles, as we learn from herself, she had been led to embrace from the severities exercised by the curates of Perth upon the presbyterians in that place, and from the cruelty of the government in publicly executing many of the presbyterians in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, and sending soldiers through the country to oppress and murder the poor inoffensive people. But while holding these sentiments, she held them quietly, there being no evidence that she had endeavored to propagate them in any way, either by calm representation, or by inflammatory speeches; nor had the government any ground for alarm from any influence which a female, in so humble a condition of life, could have in weakening or undermining their authority.

She was first apprehended for the freedom of her remarks upon the harsh treatment to which some religious nonconforming people in Perth were subjected; and when brought before the magistrates of that town they had nothing else than this of which to accuse her, till, in her simplicity she voluntarily confessed that she had conversed with some whom the government had denounced rebels; by which she had exposed herself to heavy penalties. Having been examined, she was dismissed by the magistrates; but not long after, she was apprehended in her chamber at Perth, by a party of soldiers, in execution of an order from the privy council, and carried to Edinburgh, where she was thrown into prison. She was next brought before a committee of the privy council, who, having no evidence that she had violated the laws then in force against nonconformists, proceeded, in the true spirit of the inquisition, to put to her entrapping questions, with the view of extracting matter which might form the ground of criminal procedure against her. Beside the injustice of this treatment in itself, the heartless levity with which her examination was conducted, and the attempts made at one time to overawe a young inexperienced female by threatenings, and at another time to coax her by promises and commendations, was in the highest degree disgraceful to the privy council. But though her life was at stake, she was in no wise daunted by the presence of her persecutors; she retained her self-possession in the novel and embarrassing circumstances in which she was placed, and the pointed answers she returned to the questions put to her, though they show that on one or two points she had adopted extreme opinions, are yet highly creditable not only to the integrity of her character, but to the soundness of her judgment; while her whole demeanor was marked by a propriety and dignity above her sta-

tion, and which stand favorably contrasted with the behavior of the lords of his majesty's privy council, who, as Wodrow observes, "acted the buffoon," instead of maintaining the decorum and dignity which became their high office. Indeed the wisdom and self-possession with which, without premeditation, she answered the questions put to her by the council, is so striking that we can not resist the impression that the promise which the Savior made to his disciples, when brought into such circumstances, was remarkably verified in her case: "And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles. But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak," (Matt. x. 18, 19.)

The questions put to her by the privy council, and the answers she returned, which we give entire, are as follows:—

P. C. "Where do you live, at St. Johnstoun?"*

I. A. "Yes."

P. C. "What is your occupation?"

To this question she returned no answer.

Bishop Patterson. "Have you conversed with Mr. Donald Cargill?"

I. A. "Sir, you seem to me a man whom I have no clearness to speak to." He desired another member of the council to put the same question, which being done, she answered, "I have seen him, and I wish that I had seen him oftener."

P. C. "Do you own what he has done against the civil magistrate?"

I. A. "I do own it."

P. C. "Can you read the Bible?"

I. A. "Yes."

P. C. "Do you know the duty we owe to the civil magistrate?"

I. A. "When the magistrate carrieth the sword for God, according to what the Scripture calls for, we owe him all due reverence; but when magistrates overturn the work of God and set themselves in opposition to him, it is the duty of his servants to execute his laws and ordinances on them."

P. C. "Do you own the 'Sanquhar Declaration'?"†

* The old name of Perth.

† This was a paper or manifesto drawn up in 1680 by Mr Richard Cameron and some of his followers, in which they "disown Charles Stuart as having any right, title to, or interest in, the said crown of Scotland for government, as forfeited several years since by his perjury and breach of covenant to both God and his kirk, and usurpation of his crown and royal prerogatives therein, and many other breaches in

I. A. "I do own it."

P. C. "Do you own the papers taken at the Queensferry on Henry Hall?"*

I. A. "You need not question that."

P. C. "Do you know Mr. Skene?"

I. A. "I never saw him."

P. C. "Have you conversed with rebels?"

I. A. "I never conversed with rebels."

P. C. "Have you conversed with David Hackstoun?"

I. A. "I have conversed with him, and I bless the Lord that ever I saw him, for I never saw aught in him but a godly, pious youth."

P. C. "Was the killing of the bishop of St. Andrews† a pious act?"

matters ecclesiastic, and by his tyranny and breach of the very *leges regnandi* in matters civil;" and in which they declare war against him as a tyrant and usurper. About twenty of the party came together in arms to Sanquhar upon the 22d of June, and after the Declaration was read at the cross, affixed a copy of it there. It is accordingly usually called "The Sanquhar Declaration," from the place where it was published. What share Cargill had in the compilation of this paper is not known. At his examination before the privy council, he denied that he was at the emitting of it, and declared that he did not see it till after it was published, but refused to say whether he had any hand in drawing it up.—(Wodrow's Hist., vol. iii. pp. 212, 280.) The Sanquhar Declaration, as might have been expected, infuriated the government against the Cameronians, and one of the questions which, after its proclamation, was usually put to the presbyterians brought before the privy council was, "Do you own the Sanquhar Declaration?" If they answered in the affirmative, this was considered equivalent to a confession of high treason, and on this confession they were hanged at the Grassmarket.

* The papers here referred to were what was commonly called "The Queensferry Paper," or "Cargill's Covenant," and, by the government, "The Fanatics' New Covenant." This document was found on Henry Hall of Haughead, in the following manner: He and Mr. Cargill, when travelling in the South Queensferry by the castle of Blackness, about the beginning of June, 1680, were followed by the captain of the garrison of the castle, and taken immediately on their arrival at the town of Queensferry, but were soon after rescued by a company of women. Cargill made his escape; but Hall, having in a scuffle with the soldiers been mortally wounded, soon after fell into the hands of a party under the command of Dalziel; and on his being searched, there was found upon him an unsubscribed paper in the form of a covenant, in which, among other things, Charles is rejected from being king. It was generally supposed to have been drawn up by Cargill, with the advice and knowledge of only a very few of his party, and was merely a rude draught intended to be sent over to the banished and refugee presbyterians in Holland for their consideration, and to be laid aside, or acted upon, as they should advise. Hall was waiting for an opportunity of going over to Holland when he fell into the hands of the enemy. After this paper was discovered, a constant question put by the privy council to the presbyterians brought before them was, "Do you own the Queensferry Paper?"—(Wodrow's History, vol. iii., pp. 206–212.) And not a few were hanged simply for declaring that they adhered to it.—(Fountainhall's Historical Notices, &c., vol i., p. 284.) The Sanquhar Declaration, mentioned in the preceding note, was drawn up in less than three weeks after the discovery of the Queensferry Paper.

† James Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews, fell by violence on Saturday, the 3d of May, 1679, at midday, on Magus muir, within two miles of St. Andrews. "Sat-

I. A. "I never heard him say that he killed him; but if God moved any, and put it upon them to execute his righteous judgments upon him, I have nothing to say to that."

P. C. "When saw you John Balfour, that pious youth?"

I. A. "I have seen him."

P. C. "When?"

I. A. "These are frivolous questions; I am not bound to answer them."

At which they said, "You don't think that a testimony."

P. C. "What think you of that in the 'Confession of Faith,' that magistrates should be owned though they were heathens?"

I. A. "It was another matter than when those who seemed to own the truth have now overturned it, and made themselves avowed enemies to it."

P. C. "Who should be judge of these things?"

I. A. "The Scriptures of truth and the Spirit of God, and not men that have overturned the work themselves."

P. C. "Do you know the two Hendersons that murdered the Lord St. Andrews?"

I. A. "I never knew any Lord St. Andrews."

P. C. "Mr. James Sharp, if you call him so?"

I. A. "I never thought it murder; but if God moved and stirred them up to execute his righteous judgment upon him, I have nothing to say to that."

P. C. "Whether or not will you own all that you have said, for you will be put to own it in the Grassmarket?" And they expressed their regret that she should put her life in hazard in such a quarrel.

I. A. "I think my life little enough in the quarrel of owning my Lord and Master's sweet truths; for he hath freed me from everlasting wrath, and redeemed me: and as for my body, it is at his disposal."

P. C. "You do not follow the Lord's practice in that anent Pilate."

I. A. "Christ owned his kingly office when he was questioned on it, and he told them he was a king, and for that end was he born. And it is for that we are called in question this day, the owning of his kingly government."

Bishop Paterson. "We own it."

I. A. "We have found the sad consequence of the contrary."

Bishop Paterson. "I pity you for the loss of your life."

urday had been fatal to him," says Fountainhall; "on it Mitchell made his attempt."—Historical Notices, &c., vol. i., p. 225.

I. A. You have done me much more hurt than the loss of my life, or all the lives you and they have taken; for it hath much more affected me that many souls have been killed by your doctrine."

Bishop Paterson. "Wherein is our doctrine erroneous?"

I. A. "That has been better debated already than a poor lass can debate it."

P. C. "Your ministers do not approve of these things; and you have said more than some of your ministers; for your ministers have brought you to these opinions, and left you there."

I. A. "You have cast in baits among the ministers, and hurled them aside; and although ministers say one thing to-day, and another to-morrow, we are not obliged to follow them in that."

P. C. "We pity you; for we find reason and a quick wit in you; and would have you to take the matter into consideration."

I. A. "I have been advising on it these seven years, and I hope not to change now."

P. C. "Do you lecture any?" asked they, mockingly.

I. A. "Quakers [quakeresses?] used to do so."

P. C. "Do you own presbyterian principles?"

I. A. "I do."

P. C. "Are you distempered?"

I. A. "I was always solid in the wit that God has given me."

P. C. "What is your name?"

I. A. "Since you have staged me, you might remember my name, for I have told you already, and will not always be telling you."

One of them said, "May you not tell us your name?" Then one of themselves told it.*

From these answers, the council had now discovered all that they deemed necessary for instituting criminal proceedings against her for high-treason. But what had they discovered? Merely certain opinions which she had adopted, some of them indeed extreme, such as it was natural enough for a young, unlettered, religious female, in the circumstances of the times, to embrace, but which an upright and honorable government would have deemed it beneath its dignity to notice. "There is no treason, sure," says one of Sir Walter Scott's characters, "in a man enjoying his own thoughts under the shadow of his own bonnet;" and every man possessing an ordinary sense of justice will be of the same mind. The opinions of this female as to the unlawfulness of the civil government then existing could certainly do no

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 85–87.

harm as long as they were confined within the recesses of her own mind; and the council had no evidence that she had ever given utterance to them even in a single instance, except in answer to the harassing questions with which they plied her; and yet, for mere opinions thus extorted, they resolved to pursue her to the death! She was accordingly next brought before the lords of justiciary on the 6th of December, 1680, with the design of bringing her to own, before that court, the confession she had made before the privy council, that the confession, thus becoming judicial, might be made the ground of a criminal process. Such was the constant practice of the privy council at this time —the one day to bring the covenanters who fell into their hands before them, and there involve them by inquisitorial examinations into a confession of statutory crimes, sometimes threatening them with the thumbscrew and boot, if they were not free and ingenuous; and the next day to bring them before the justiciary court, "where, if they were silent, they were asked if they would quit the testimony they had given yesterday."* From the confessions thus extorted, an indictment was framed, and a packed juay having brought them in guilty, they were hanged at the Grassmarket or the Gallowlee. Such was the mode of procedure which the government thought proper to adopt against this excellent woman.

The questions put to her when brought before the lords of justiciary, and the answers she returned, are as follows:—

L. J. "Will you abide by what you said last day?"

I. A. "I am not about to deny anything of it."

L. J. "You confessed that you harbored the killers of the bishop, though you would not call it murder?"

I. A. "I confessed no such thing."

Lord Advocate. "You did!"

I. A. "I did not; and I will take with no untruths!"

Lord Advocate. "Did you not converse with them?"

I A. "I said I did converse with David Hackstoun, and I bless the Lord for it."

L. J. "When saw you him last?"

I. A. "Never since you murdered him."

Then they desired her to say over what she said the last day; to which she replied, "Would you have me to be my own accuser?" They said to her that the advocate was her accuser. "Let him say on, then!" rejoined she, with spirit. Then they repeated what had passed between the council and her the other day, and required her to say whether or not that was true—yes

* Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 276.

or no. She answered, "Ye have troubled me too much with answering questions, seeing ye are a judicature which I have no clearness to answer."

L. J. "Do you disown us, and the king's authority in us?"

I. A. "I disown you all, because you carry the sword against God, and not for him; and have, these nineteen or twenty years, made it your work to dethrone him, by swearing, year after year, against him and his work, and assuming that power to a human creature which is due to Him alone, and have rent the ministers from their Head (Christ) and one another."

L. J. "Who taught you these principles?"

I. A. "I am beholden to God that taught me these principles."

L. J. "Are you a quaker?"

I. A. "Did you hear me say I was led by a spirit within me? I bless the Lord I profited much by the persecuted gospel; and your acts of indemnity, after Bothwell, cleared me more than anything I met with since."

L. J. "How could that be?"

I. A. "By your meddling with Christ's interests, and parting them as you pleased."

L. J. "We do not usurp Christ's prerogatives."

I. A. "What, then, mean your indulgences, and your setting up of prelacy? for there has none preached publicly these twenty years without persecution, but those that have had their orders from you."

Then they caused bring the Sanquhar Declaration, and the paper found on Mr. Richard Cameron, and the papers taken at Queensferry, and asked, "Will you adhere to them?"

I. A. "I will, as they are according to the Scriptures, and I see not wherein they contradict them."

L. J. "Did ever Mr. Welsh or Mr. Riddell teach you these principles?"

I. A. "I would be far in the wrong to speak anything that might wrong them."

L. J. "Take heed what you are saying, for it is upon life and death that you are questioned."

I. A. "Would you have me to lie? I would not quit one truth though it would purchase my life a thousand years, which you can not purchase nor promise me an hour."

L. J. "When saw you the two Hendersons and John Balfour? Seeing you love ingenuity [ingenuousness], will you be ingenuous, and tell us if you saw them since the death of the bishop?"

I. A. "They appeared publicly within the land since."

L. J. "Have you conversed with them within these twelve months?"

At this question she remained silent.

L. J. "Say either yea or nay."

I. A. "Yes."

L. J. "Your blood be upon your own head! we shall be free of it."

I. A. "So said Pilate; but it was a question if it was so: and you have nothing to say against me but for owning of Christ's truths, and his persecuted members."

To this they made no answer. Then they desired her to subscribe what she had owned, but she refused; upon which they subscribed it for her.*

The substance of the answers she had given, in so far as the court judged them criminating, was drawn up by the clerk into the following document, which they called her confession, and which was subscribed by the lords justiciary:—

"EDINBURGH, *December* 6, 1680.

"The said day, in presence of the lords, justice-clerk, and commissioners of justiciary, sitting in judgment, compeared Isabel Alison, prisoner; and being interrogate concerning several matters, answered, that she was not obliged to answer to the lords of justiciary, for she did not look upon them as judges, and declined their authority, and the king's authority by which they sit, because they carry the sword against the Lord; and owns the 'Bond of Combination,'† subscribed by Mr. Richard Cameron, Mr. Thomas Douglas, and others, and adheres thereto, the same being publicly read to her; and the fourth article of the 'Fanatics' New Covenant'‡ being read to her, as also the 'Declaration at

* Cloud of Witnesses.

† This was a bond or covenant for mutual defence, which Richard Cameron, and about thirty more, entered into and subscribed shortly after the publication of the Sanquhar Declaration. Among other things, it disowned the civil government then existing. It was found on Richard Cameron at Airsmoss, where he fell fighting bravely in self-defence.—See Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 218

‡ That is, the Queensferry Paper or Covenant. The fourth article of this Covenant runs as follows: "That we shall endeavor, to our utmost, the overthrow of the kingdom of darkness, and whatever is contrary to the kingdom of Christ, especially idolatry and popery, in all the articles of it, as we are bound in our national Covenants; superstition, will-worship, and prelacy with its hierarchy, as we are bound in our Solemn League and Covenant; and that we shall, with the same sincerity, endeavor the overthrow of that power (it being no more authority) that hath established and upholds that kingdom of darkness, that prelacy, to wit, and Erastianism over the church, and hath exercised such a lustful and arbitrary tyranny over the subjects, taken all power in their hand, that they may at their pleasure introduce popery in the church, as they have done arbitrary government in the state."—Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 208.

Sanquhar,' she adhered thereto; and said she saw nothing in them against the Scriptures, and therefore she owned them, but refused to sign this her declaration, though she can write.

(Sic subscribitur)—

"MAITLAND,
"DANIEL BALFOUR,
"JA. FALCONER,
"ROGER HOG."*

It was now resolved to proceed against her before the justiciary court, and a libel was drawn up, founded solely upon her own confession. Her trial took place on the 17th of January, 1681. In the indictment† she is charged with receiving, maintaining, supplying, intercommuning, and keeping correspondence with Mr. Donald Cargill, Mr. Thomas Douglas, Mr. John Welsh, the deceased Mr. Richard Cameron, the bloody and sacrilegious murderers of Archbishop Sharp, and with having heard the said ministers preach up treason and rebellion. In it she is further charged with owning and adhering to the "horrid and treasonable papers" called "The Fanatics' New Covenant," and the Sanquhar Declaration, which the above ministers and their associates, it is asserted, formed and devised, and with owning and adhering to the "unchristian expressions, principles, and opinions therein contained." And it concluded with declaring that of the above treasonable crimes she was actor, art and part, which being found proven by a jury, she ought to be punished with forfeiture of life, land, and goods, to be a terror of others to commit the like hereafter.

The indictment having been read, she was asked by the court if she had any objections against it, to which she answered that she had none. They next successively read the Sanquhar Declaration, and the document called the New Covenant, asking at the close of the reading of each paper, if she owned it, to which she answered in the affirmative. The indictment having been found relevant by the court, and remitted to the knowledge of a jury, the jury were next called, who showed considerable reluctance to appear, and only came forward on being threatened with fines. Two of them absented themselves altogether, for which they were fined by the court;‡ and one of them had so strong a

* Records of the Justiciary Court.

† See her indictment, and that of Marion Harvey, in Appendix, No. VI.

‡ "December 22, 1680. The said day, Robert Campbell, merchant, and Alexander Hume, his majesty's taylor, being oftimes called to have compeared before the said lords this day and place, in the hour of cause to have passed upon the assize of Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey, prisoners, as they were lawfully cited for that

conviction of the iniquity of the whole proceedings, that when, after the court refused, at his desire, to exempt him from being a juryman, he was required to swear the usual oath, he trembled so much that he could not hold up his hand. Before the jury was sworn, on being asked by the court if she had any objections to offer against any of them, she answered that they were all alike, for no honest man would take the trade in hand. The jury being sworn, she told them that all authority is of God (Rom. xiii. 1); that when they appeared against him she was clear to disown them; that had they not been against them she would not have been there, and added, "I take every one of you witness against another at your appearance before God, that your proceeding against me is only for owning of Christ, his gospel and members; which I could not disown, lest I should come under the hazard of denying Christ, and so be denied of him."*

The probation then proceeded. But the only proof which the prosecutor, Sir George M'Kenzie, his majesty's advocate, could adduce, was her own confession, which she had made before the lords of justiciary. This document (see p. 281) was now read in court; and in answer to a question put to her, she owned and adhered to it in presence of the jury. The king's advocate then addressed the jury. "You know," said he, "that these women† are guilty of treason." "They are not guilty of matter of fact," said the jury. "Treason is fact," said he; but correcting himself, he added, "it is true, it is but treason in their judgment; but go on according to our law, and if you will not do it, I will proceed."‡ He further said, making a feeble attempt to ward off from the government the odium of taking the lives of these two confessors, "We do not desire to take their lives; for we have dealt with them many ways, and sent ministers to deal with them, and we can not prevail with them."

effect, lawful time of day bidden, and they not compeared: the lords justice-clerk and commissioners of justiciary, therefore, by the mouth of John Bauzie, macer of court, decerned and adjudged them, and each of them, to be an unlawe, and amerciat of one hundred merks Scots, which was pronounced for doom."—Records of the Justiciary Court. * Cloud of Witnesses, p. 89.

† Marion Harvey, as has been said before, was tried at the same time, and on the same indictment with Isabel Alison.

‡ This seems like threatening them with an assize of error. "This relict of barbarous times was a power intrusted to the public prosecutor to bring any of the jurymen, or a majority of them, to trial, for not having decided according to the law as laid down to them. Of this absurd and tyrannical engine to intimidate the jury from deciding according to their convictions, M'Kenzie made ample use: he no sooner observed any symptoms of hesitation, or of a desire to befriend the prisoners at the bar times, with a terrific frown, he would swear that if they did not give their verdict according to law, he knew what to do with them!"—M'Crie's Sketches of Scottish Church History, 2d Edition, p. 483.

The speech of the lord advocate being concluded, the jury removed from the court to the jury-house, to reason and vote upon the articles of the indictment and the proof, but soon returned to the court, and by their chancellor delivered their verdict in presence of the lords of justiciary, unanimously finding Isabel Alison "guilty, conform to her confession of adherence to the fourth article of The Fanatics' New Covenant, and to the Declaration at Sanquhar, and to the Bond of Combination; but as actor or receipter of rebels, they find it not proven."

The lords delayed the pronouncing of doom and sentence against her till Friday at twelve o'clock, being the 21st of the current month. On the 21st, she was again brought before the court to receive her "doom and sentence for the treasonable crimes mentioned in her dittay" (indictment), which was, that she "be taken to the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, upon Wednesday next, the 26th instant, betwixt two and four o'clock in the afternoon, and there to be hanged on a gibbet till she be dead, and all her lands, heritages, goods, and gear whatsomever, to be escheat, and inbrought to our sovereign lord's use, which was pronounced for doom."*

Such was the bloody sentence pronounced upon this female, not for any act of resistance to the laws, but solely for the *opinions* she held, and which had been discovered only by the artful and captious questions with which she had been teased. But though condemned to die ostensibly for treason, she felt perfectly persuaded in her own mind that the real ground upon which her condemnation proceeded, was her adherence to the persecuted cause of Christ. In her dying testimony, which she subscribed and left behind her, dated Edinburgh tolbooth, January 26, 1681, speaking on this subject, she says: "The manner of my examination [before the committee of the privy council, and before the justiciary court], was, 1st, If I conversed with David Hackstoun, and others of our friends? Which I owned upon good grounds. 2dly, If I owned the excommunication at the Torwood, and the papers found at the Queensferry, and the Sanquhar Declaration, and a paper found on Mr. Cameron, at Airsmoss? All which I owned. Likewise I declined their authority, and told them that they had declared war against Christ, and had usurped and taken his prerogatives, and so carried the sword against him, and not for him: so I think none can own them unless they disown Christ Jesus. Therefore, let enemies and pretended friends say what they will, I could have my life on no easier terms than

* Records of the Justiciary Court.

the denying of Christ's kingly office. So I lay down my life for owning and adhering to Jesus Christ, his being a free king in his own house, and I bless the Lord that ever he called me to that."

Among other things, she expresses her adherence to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant,* and enters her protestation against all the violence done to the work of God for twenty years bygone.

During the time which elapsed from her condemnation to her execution, the grace of God, by which she had been hitherto sustained, did not forsake her. She not only retained her composure and fortitude, but was full of hope and joy, accounting it her honor that she had been called to surrender her life in the cause of Christ. "Oh, the everlasting covenant," she says, "it is sweet to me now! And I would also say, they that would follow Christ need not scare at the cross, for I can set my seal to it, 'His yoke is easy and his burden is light.' Yea, many times he hath made me go very easy through things that I have thought I would never have win through. He is the only desirable master, but he must be followed fully. Rejoice in him all ye that love him, 'wherefore lift up your heads and be exceeding glad, for the day of your redemption draweth nigh.' Let not your hearts faint, nor your hands grow feeble; go on in the strength of the Lord, my dear friends, for I hope he will yet have a remnant of both sons and daughters, that will cleave to him, though they will be very few, 'even as the berries on the top of the outmost branches.' As for such as are grown weary of the cross of Christ, and have drawn to a lee-shore that God never allowed, it may be, ere all be done, it will turn like a tottering fence; and a bowing wall to them, and they shall have little profit of it, and as little credit. But what shall I say to the commendation of Christ and his cross? I bless the Lord, praise to his holy name, that hath made my prison a palace to me; and what am I that he should have dealt thus with me? I have looked

* Like "the testimony" of the two Apocalyptic witnesses, which "tormented them that dwelt on the earth," the Solemn League and Covenant was gall and wormwood to the government. So deeply did they hate it, that on the 18th of January, 1662, by act of the privy council, it, along with Cargill's Covenant, and some other papers, were solemnly burnt at the market cross of Edinburgh, the magistrates being present in their robes. This stupid malignity is justly censured by Fountainhall, one of their own party, while, at the same time, he betrays his hatred of the Solemn League. "Some wondered," says he, "to see their policy in reviving the memory of so old and buried a legend as the Solemn League was (which was burnt in 1661, before); and set people now a-work to buy it, and read it. And for Cargill's ridiculous Covenant, they had, about a twelve-month before this, caused print it, though that was only in contempt of it."—Fountainhall's Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs, vol. i., p. 346.

greedy-like to such a lot as this, but still thought it was too high for me, when I saw how vile I was; but now the Lord hath made that Scripture sweet to me, Isaiah vi., 6, 7, 'Then flew one of the seraphims unto me, having a live coal in his hand—and he laid it upon my mouth, and said, Lo! this hath touched thy lips; and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged.' Oh, how great is his love to me, that hath brought me forth to testify against the abominations of the times, and kept me from fainting hitherto, and hath made me to rejoice in him. Now I bless the Lord that ever he gave me a life to lay down for him. Now farewell all creature comforts; farewell, sweet Bible; farewell ye real friends in Christ; farewell faith and hope; farewell prayers, and all duties; farewell, sun and moon. Within a little I shall be free from sin, and all sorrows that follow thereon. Welcome, everlasting enjoyment of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, everlasting love, everlasting joy, everlasting life!"*

According to her sentence, she was conducted, on the 26th of January, to the Grassmarket to be executed. An immense crowd assembled to witness the scene. Marion Hervey suffered along with her. Five women of bad fame were also executed at the same time, for the murder of their illegitimate children.†

On coming to the scaffold, she sung the eighty-fourth psalm, to the tune called "The Martyrs," the melody most frequently used by the suffering covenanters in singing their psalms, as in some parts of Scotland has been handed down by a rude rhyme:—

> 'This is the tune the martyrs sang,
> When at the gallows-tree they stood,
> When they were gaen to die,
> Their God to glorifie."

She next read the sixteenth chapter of Mark; after which she desired to pray at the place where she then stood; but the provost took her away to the foot of the ladder, and there she engaged in prayer. In this her last trying hour, God, in whom she trusted, did not fail to sustain her spirit, and carry her unscathed through the fires of martyrdom. The greatness of her peace, and cour-

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 93, 94.

† "17 and 18 January, 1681. At the criminal court, one Sibilla Bell and her mother are sentenced to be hanged, for murdering and strangling a child born by the said Sibilla, in adultery. Item, three other women are condemned for the same crime committed by them on their bastards; which sentences were accordingly put to execution the 26th of January, thereafter, on them. As also two other women were then hanged for their opinions and principles, disowning the king and the government, and adhering to Cameron's reasonable Declaration. They called one of them Isabel Alison, from Perth, and the other [Marion] Harvey, brought from Borrowstounness."—Fountainhall's Historical Notices, vol. i., p 281.

age, and joy, was such as strong faith in a reconciled God, and the unclouded hope of heaven, could alone impart. Only one thing seemed to wound her delicacy, and that was the circumstance of her being exposed in the company of those five unhappy females, who had murdered their own offspring. But this indignity she bore with meekness and patience, on reflecting that her Savior was crucified between two thieves, as if he had been the most criminal of the three. She addressed a few sentences to the spectators; and her last words were, "Farewell, all created comforts; farewell, sweet Bible, in which I delighted most, and which has been sweet to me since I came to prison; farewell, Christian acquaintances. Now into thy hands I commit my spirit, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost!" On her uttering these words, the hangman threw her over, and her spirit returned to her God and Savior to receive the martyr's crown.

We are not informed where her body was buried; but there is little doubt that it was disgracefully cast into that spot, in the Greyfriars' churchyard, which was the receptacle of the dead bodies of malefactors, and into which the dead bodies of most of the martyrs who suffered death at Edinburgh during the reigns of Charles II. and James VII., were consigned. The ignominy which once attached to this spot, as the burial-place appropriated for condemned robbers and murderers, has been obliterated by the sacredness with which, as the last resting-place of nearly a hundred martyrs, it is now invested. A large and handsome tombstone has been erected in honor of their memory, bearing the following inscription:—

"Halt, passenger, take heed what you do see,
This tomb doth show for what some men did die,
Here lies interred the dust of those who stood
'Gainst perjury, resisting unto blood;
Adhering to the Covenants, and laws
Establishing the same; which was the cause
Their lives were sacrificed unto the lust
Of prelates abjured. Though here their dust
Lies mixt with murderers and other crew,
Whom justice justly did to death pursue:
But as for them no cause was to be found
Worthy of death, but only they were sound,
Constant, and steadfast; zealous, witnessing,
For the prerogatives of CHRIST, their KING.
Which truths were sealed by famous Guthrie's head;
And all along to Mr. Renwick's blood.
They did endure the wrath of enemies,
Reproaches, torments, deaths, and injuries
But yet they 're those, who from such troubles came,
And now triumph in glory with the LAMB.

"From May 27th, 1661, when the noble Marquis of Argyle was beheaded, to the 17th of February, 1688, that Mr. James Renwick suffered; were, one way or other,

murdered and destroyed for the same cause, about eighteen thousand, of whom were execute at *Edinburgh* about an Hundred of Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ministers, and Others; noble martyrs for JESUS CHRIST. The most of them lie here.

"For a particular account of the cause and manner of their sufferings, *see* The Cloud of Witnesses, Crookshank's and Defoe's Histories."

Beneath this inscription is sculptured an open bible, with the following passages of scripture engraven:—

"Rev. vi. 9, 10, 11.—And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held: And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they *were* should be fulfilled.

"Rev. vii. 14.—These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

"Chap. 2d, 10.—Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

MARION HARVEY.

MARION HARVEY was a servant girl in Borrowstounness. Her father, who lived in that village, appears to have been a man of piety, and had sworn the National Covenant and Solemn League. It may, therefore, be presumed that she had received a religious education. But it was not till she had passed her fourteenth or fifteenth year that her attention was turned, in good earnest, to divine and eternal things. Previous to that period, thoughtless about God and her own spiritual interests, she had conducted herself like thoughtless young people; yea, she tells us that, in the fourteenth or fifteenth year of her age, she was a "blasphemer and sabbath-breaker." About this time, however, a decided change took place upon her character. Attracted by curiosity, or following the crowd, she began to attend meetings for the preaching of the gospel in the fields, which had become very frequent in the part of the country where she lived, as well as extremely popular—thousands flocking to hear the persecuted ministers. These conventicles, as they were nicknamed, though denounced by the government, and prohibited, under the penalty of death to the minister, and severe penalties to the hearers, were accompanied with signal tokens of the Divine approbation; and among the many thousands who, by their instrumentality, were brought to the saving knowledge of Christ, was the subject

of this notice. The change produced upon her character soon became apparent in her life. She left off hearing the curates, whose ministry she had formerly attended without scruple; she venerated the name of God, which she had formerly blasphemed; she sanctified the sabbath, which she had formerly desecrated; and she delighted in reading the Bible, which she had formerly neglected and undervalued. Among the ministers whom she heard at these field meetings were, Mr. John Welsh, Mr. Archibald Riddell, Mr, Donald Cargill, and Mr. Richard Cameron. In her examination before the privy council, she expresses how much spiritual profit she had derived from the sermons of these worthy men; and in her dying testimony she says, "I bless the Lord that ever I heard Mr. Cargill, that faithful servant of Jesus Christ: I bless the Lord that ever I heard Mr. Richard Cameron; my soul has been refreshed with the hearing of him, particularly at a communion in Carrick, on these words, in Psalm lxxxv. 8; 'The Lord will speak peace unto his people, and to his saints; but let them not turn again to folly.'" The two last of these ministers, as we have seen before, (p. 273), separated from the rest of the presbyterian ministers, forming a party by themselves, and to this party Marion Harvey was a zealous adherent.

Like many others in those unhappy times, she fell into the hands of the government, through the malignity and avarice of a base informer. One of this class, named James Henderson, who lived in North Queensferry, and who was habit and repute in such infamous transactions, had informed against her,* for which he received a sum of money; and when going out of Edinburgh, to hear a sermon to be preached in the fields by one of the persecuted ministers, she was apprehended on the road, by Sergeant Warrock and a party of soldiers, who, it seems, having, by ensnaring questions, extorted from her a confession that she had attended field conventicles, carried her to Edinburgh, where she was imprisoned. Such was the first step of the bloody proceedings of which this humble female, who was only about twenty years of age, was made the victim. She was next brought before the lords of his majesty's privy council, who had nothing with which to charge her except that she had attended field conventicles; and no evidence that she had committed even this offence except her own confession. To have inflicted upon her, in the absence of other evidence, the penalties of the laws then

* This person was, as Marion Harvey expresses it, "the Judas that sold Archibald Stewart and Mr. Skene to the bloody soldiers, for so much money." Both these men suffered martyrdom.

in force against such as were guilty of being present at field conventicles, would have been flagrantly unjust. But to rest satisfied with the perpetration of even this injustice was too lenient a course for the privy council. Apparently with the design of extracting from her self-criminating confessions, on the ground of which they might take away her life, they proceeded to subject her to the same style of inquisitorial examination to which they had subjected Isabel Alison; and they succeeded in drawing from her an expression of her approbation of Cargill's Covenant, of the Sanquhar Declaration, of the killing of Archbishop Sharp, in so far as the Lord raised up instruments for that purpose, and of the Torwood Excommunication. Her examination was conducted with the same inhuman levity as that of Isabel Alison. One of the counsellors scornfully said to her, that "a rock, a cod, and bobbins, would set her better than these debates;" and "yet," says Wodrow, "they cast them up to her, and murder her upon them." Such was the brutality of Dalziel that he threatened her with the boot, as she mentions in her dying testimony. Her answers to the artful questions of the privy council show that, like her fellow-martyr, Isabel Alison, she had adopted some extreme opinions; but her behavior was dignified, compared with that of her lordly inquisitors.

The following are the questions put to her by the privy council, and the answers she returned:—

P. C. "How long is it since you saw Mr. Donald Cargill?"

M. H. "I can not tell particularly when I saw him."

P. C. "Did you see him within these three months?"

M. H. "It may be I have."

P. C. "Do you own his covenant?"

M. H. "What covenant?"

Then they read it to her, and she said she owned it.

P. C. "Do you own the Sanquhar Declaration?"

M. H. "Yes."

P. C. "Do you own these to be lawful?"

M. H. "Yes; because they are according to the Scriptures and our covenants, which ye swore yourselves, and my father swore them."

P. C. "Yea; but the covenant does not bind you to deny the king's authority."

M. H. "So long as the king held the truths of God, which he swore, we were obliged to own him; but when he broke his oath, and robbed Christ of his kingly rights, which do not belong to him, we were bound to disown him and you also."

P. C. "Do you know what you say?"

M. H. "Yes."

P. C. "Were you ever mad?"

M. H. "I have all the wit that ever God gave me; did you see any mad act in me?"

P. C. "Where was you born?"

M. H. "In Borrowstounness."

P. C. "What was your occupation there?"

M. H. "I served."

P. C. "Did you serve the woman that gave Mr. Donald Cargill quarters?"

M. H. "That is a question which I will not answer."

P. C. "Who grounded you in these principles?"

M. H. "Christ, by his Word."

P. C. "Did not ministers ground you in these?"

M. H. "When the ministers preached the Word, the Spirit of God backed and confirmed it to me."

P. C. "Did you ever see Mr. John Welsh?"

M. H. "Yes; my soul hath been refreshed by hearing him."

P. C. "Have you ever heard Mr. Archibald Riddell?"

M. H. "Yes; and I bless the Lord that ever I heard him."

P. C. "Did ever they preach to take up arms against the king?"

M. H. "I have heard them preach to defend the gospel, which we are all sworn to do."*

P. C. "Did you ever swear to Mr. Donald Cargill's Covenant?"

M. H. "No; but we are bound to own it."

P. C. "Did you ever hear Mr. George Johnston?"†

M. H. "I am not concerned with him; I would not hear him, for he is joined in a confederacy with yourselves."

* Though Welsh, Riddell, and Blackadder, did not join with the Cameronians in disowning the authority of the government, yet as the government not only refused to protect the nonconformists in hearing the gospel, but sent out the military to dispense, apprehend, and murder them, when so engaged in the fields, they asserted the lawfulness of carrying arms to field conventicles for self-defence, on the principle of the law of self-preservation, which is antecedent to all human laws, and which is in truth a law of God.

† Mr. George Johnston was, at the Restoration, minister of Newbottle, from which he was ejected for nonconformity, by the act of the privy council at Glasgow, 1662. He was a noted field-preacher, but had accepted of the third indulgence granted in the middle of the year 1679. This accounts for the somewhat disrespectful tone in which Marion Harvey speaks concerning him in her answer to this question. The disaffection between the Cameronians, to which party she belonged, and those who had accepted the indulgence, was in truth about equally cordial on both sides: both parties, as is almost universally the case in religious controversy, acted very much on the *lex-talionis* principle—"If you disrespect me, I'll disrespect you."

P. C. "Did you hear the excommunication at the Torwood?"

M. H. "No; I could not win to it."

P. C. "Do you approve of it?"

M. H. "Yes."

P. C. "Do you approve of the killing the Lord St. Andrews?"

M. H. "In so far as the Lord raised up instruments to execute his just judgments upon him, I have nothing to say against it; for he was a perjured wretch, and a betrayer of the kirk of Scotland!"

P. C. "What age are you of?"

M. H. "I can not tell."

They said among themselves that she would be about twenty years of age, and began to regret her case, and said to her, "Will you cast away [your] self so?"

M. H. "I love my life as well as any of you do, but will not redeem it upon sinful terms; for Christ says, 'He that seeks to save his life, shall lose it.'"

Then one of them asked when the jury should sit; and some other of them answered, "On Monday."

P. C. "Can you write?"

M. H. "Yes."

P. C. "Will you subscribe what you have said?"

M. H. "No."

They bade the clerk set down that she could write, but refused to subscribe.

P. C. "Do you desire to converse with one of your ministers?"

M. H. "What ministers?"

P. C. "Mr. Riddell."

M. H. "I will have none of *your* ministers."*

For the opinions expressed in these answers, the government were resolved to take the life of this inoffensive girl. But as the confession of her holding such opinions could only become judicial and be used in judgment against her when made before the lords of justiciary, she was next, in conformity with the usual practice, brought before them on the 6th of December, 1680, to undergo a similar examination. On her being brought before them and examined, the answers she gave were substantially the same as those she had given when examined before the privy council, and the following is the substance of her answers, as drawn up by the clerk of the justiciary court, and subscribed by the lords as her confession:—

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 95–97.

"EDINBURGH, *December* 6, 1680.

"In presence of the lords, justice-clerk, and commissioners of justiciary, sitting in judgment, compeared Marion Harvey, prisoner, and being examined, adheres to the fourth article of the 'Fanatics' New Covenant,' the same being read to her, and disowns the king and his authority, and the authority of the lords of justiciary, and adheres and abides at the treasonable Declaration emitted at Sanquhar, and approves of the same; and says it was lawful to kill the archbishop of St. Andrews, when the Lord raised up instruments for that effect, and that he was as miserable and perjured a wretch as ever betrayed the kirk of Scotland: declares that ministers brought them up to these principles, and now they have left them; and that she has heard Mr. John Welsh and Mr. Riddell preach up these principles she now owns, and blesses God she ever heard them preach so, for her soul has been refreshed by them: she approves of Mr. Cargill's excommunicating the king; declares she can write, but refuses to sign the same. *(Sic subscribitur)*—

"MAITLAND,
"DAVID BALFOUR,
"JA. FALCONER,
"ROGER HOG."*

On the sole ground of this confession, an indictment was drawn up against her, and she was brought to trial on the 17th of January, 1681. Tried on the same indictment with Isabel Alison, she was charged with the same crimes (for which see page 281), with the addition that she had "most treasonably approved of the execrable excommunication used by Mr. Donald Cargill against his sacred sovereign at Torwood, upon the —— day of [September] last, and likewise owned and approved of the killing of the archbishop of St. Andrews as lawful, declaring that he was as miserable a wretch as ever betrayed the kirk of Scotland."

Her indictment having been read, she was asked if she pleaded guilty to the charges it contained, to which she answered in the affirmative. They next successively read the "Sanquhar Declaration," and the "Queensferry Paper," asking her at the close of the reading of each paper if she owned it, to which she answered that she did. She then protested before the court that they had nothing to say against her as to matter of fact, but only that she owned Christ and his truth; to which they made no re-

* Records of the Justiciary Court.

ply, but called the jury, who, as we have seen before, showed considerable reluctance to appear.* She offered no objections to any of the jury, but, on their taking their places, she addressed them in these words: "Now beware what you are doing, for they have nothing to say against me, but only for owning Jesus Christ and his persecuted truths; for you will get my blood upon your heads."

The court then proceeded with the evidence against her. But the only proof which the prosecutor, his majesty's advocate, could adduce, was her own confession before the lords of justiciary. This confession, as they had taken it down, was accordingly read; and being asked if she adhered to it, she objected to the clause which represented her as having said that the ministers had taught her these principles, observing that what she said was, that it was Christ by his Word who taught her; but she adhered to the rest of her confession as it was read. The king's advocate then addressed the jury. He told them, as has been stated before,† that much dealing had been employed with her and Isabel Alison, and that ministers had been sent to them in prison, to endeavor, if possible, to reclaim them, but that every effort had proved unavailing. "We are not concerned with you and your ministers," said Marion, sharply. The advocate, turning to her, replied, "It is not for religion that we are pursuing you, but for treason."—"It *is* for religion that you are pursuing me," she instantly retorted; "and I am of the same religion that you are all sworn to be of. I am a true presbyterian in my judgment." On the conclusion of the advocate's address, the jury retired for consultation, but soon returned to court and delivered their verdict, unanimously finding Marion Harvey "guilty, conform to her confession of adherence to the fourth article of the 'Fanatics' New Covenant,' and to the 'Declaration at Sanquhar,' and to the 'Bond of Combination;' but as actor and receipter of rebels, they find it not proven."

The lords delayed the pronouncing of the sentence upon her till Friday, at twelve o'clock, being the 21st of the current month. On the minute of the day being read, she said, "I charge you before the tribunal of God, as ye shall answer there! for ye have nothing to say against me but for my owning the persecuted gospel."

On the 21st, she was again brought before the court to receive her sentence, which was, that she "be taken to the Grassmarket of Edinburgh upon Wednesday next, the 26th instant, betwixt

* See notice of Isabel Alison, pp. 282, 283. † Ibid.

two and four o'clock in the afternoon, and there to be hanged on a gibbet, till she be dead, and all her lands, heritages, goods, and gear whatsomever, to be escheat and inbrought to our sovereign lord's use, which was pronounced for doom."*

During the whole of the proceedings now detailed, Marion betrayed no symptoms of wavering, hesitation, or timidity; and now when her days on earth were numbered—when she had only five brief days to live—she maintained to the last her Christian fortitude. The testimony of her conscience, that she had done nothing worthy of death, and that she was in reality doomed to die on the scaffold for her adherence to the truths of Christ, was to her a source of great satisfaction. In her dying testimony, which she left behind her, dated "from the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the Woman House, on the east side of the prison, January 21st, 1681," she begins as follows: "Christian friends and acquaintances—I being to lay down my life on Wednesday next, January 26, I thought fit to let it be known to the world wherefore I lay down my life, and to let it be seen that I die not as a fool, or an evil-doer, or a busy-body, in other men's matters. No; it is for adhering to the truths of Jesus Christ, and avowing him to be king in Zion, and head of his church; and the testimony against the ungodly laws of men, and their robbing Christ of his rights, and usurping his prerogative royal, which I durst not but testify against."

Nor was she deprived of those heavenly consolations which have so often sustained the soul of the martyr, and made him triumph over death. The presence of a reconciled God, and the peace and comfort which he spoke to her soul, divested death of its terrors, and inspired her with a holy willingness and cheerfulness to surrender her life, in testimony of her love to him and his cause. "I desire," says she, in the same document, "to bless and magnify the Lord for my lot, and may say, he hath brought me to the wilderness to allure me there, and speak comfortably to my soul. It was but little of him I knew when I came to prison; but now he has said to me, because he lives, I shall live also. And he has told me, 'I am he that blotteth out thine iniquity, for my own name's sake.' Kind has he been to me since he brought me out to witness for him. I have never sought anything from him that was for his glory, since I came to prison, but he granted me my desire. For the most part I have found him in everything that hath come in my way, ordering it himself for his own glory. And now I bless him that

* Records of the Justiciary Court. Cloud of Witnesses, p. 97.

thoughts of death are not terrible to me. He hath made me as willing to lay down my life for him as ever I was willing to live in the world. And now, ye that are his witnesses, be not afraid to venture on the cross of Christ, for his yoke is easy, and his burden light. For many times I have been made to think strange what made folks cast at the cross of Christ, that hath been so light to me that I have found no burden of it at all; he bore me and it both. Now let not the frowns of men, nor their flatteries, put you from your duty. . . . . It is my grief that I have not been more faithful for my master, Christ. All his dealings with me have been in love and in mercy. His corrections have been all in love and free grace. Oh, free love! I may say I am a brand plucked out of the fire; I am a limb of the devil plucked out from his fireside. Oh! I am made to wonder and admire at his condescending love." And she concludes with these words: "Now farewell, lovely and sweet Scriptures, which were aye my comfort in the midst of all my difficulties! farewell, faith! farewell, hope! farewell, wanderers, who have been comfortable to my soul, in the hearing of them commend Christ's love! Farewell, brethren! farewell, sisters! farewell, Christian acquaintances! farewell, sun, moon, and stars! And now welcome, my lovely and heartsome Christ Jesus, into whose hands I commit my spirit throughout all eternity. I may say, few and evil have the days of the years of my pilgrimage been, I being about twenty years of age."*

There is one thing in the dying testimony of this female which we could wish had been modified, and that is the paragraph in which she leaves her blood upon the tyrant on the throne, upon the duke of York, who was sitting in the council the first day on which she was examined, and upon all others who were concerned in her death, whom she particularly names. This was done by others of the Cameronian martyrs; and it was done, we believe, not in a spirit of revenge, but simply to impress, if possible, upon their murderers a conviction of their guilt, and to awaken them to repentance.† In proof of this, we may quote the testimony of a very intelligent gentleman, who had opportunities of being very much among the Cameronian party who suffered between the years 1680 and 1685, and who conversed with most, if not all, who suffered till August, 1685—that of Mr. Gray, of Chryston; and his testimony is the more valuable from

* Cloud of Witnesses, pp. 98–101.

† The words of Jeremiah, in his address to the princes of Judah (chap. xxvi. 15), have been adduced in vindication of these martyrs on this head.

his having belonged, not to the Cameronian, but to the moderate presbyterians. In a letter to Wodrow, he says, "As to their leaving their blood upon their enemies in general, or upon particular persons accessory to their trouble, I could never understand that they meant more by it than the fastening a conviction upon a brutish, persecuting generation, who vainly justified themselves as acting by law, and inferred that not they, but the legislature, were answerable, if any injustice was done."* This explains the ground upon which Marion Harvey and others left their blood upon their persecutors, and it amply vindicates them from acting under the impulse of a revengeful spirit. Something more, however, is required of the Christian than the mere absence of revenge toward his enemies; he is bound from the heart to forgive them. We do not affirm that this female martyr, and other Cameronian martyrs, did not forgive their persecutors. We are persuaded of the contrary. They knew the New Testament too well not to know that the forgiveness of enemies is an imperative Christian duty, and they possessed too much of the Christian spirit not to exercise it. But they erred in not being sufficiently forward to express this feeling, and in not giving it prominence in their dying testimonies. If, instead of the clause to which we are now objecting, they had substituted a clause cordially forgiving their persecutors, it would have been more in harmony with the precepts of the New Testament, and it would have been more like Jesus, who, on the cross, showed how intensely forgiving his heart was, when he prayed his holy Father to forgive his murderers, and urged in their behalf the only extenuating plea of which their crime admitted—"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Nor is it unworthy of notice, that had they taken this course, they would have deprived their enemies of an occasion which they eagerly laid hold on, and over which they gloated, of charging them, falsely, indeed, but still with some degree of color, of being baited into savageness and stubbornness, of being actuated by vindictive feelings, and of mistaking these feelings for emotions of piety.

On the day of her execution, Marion not only retained her composure, but experienced the utmost joy in the anticipation of future felicity. When coming out of the tolbooth door to go to the council-house, whence she was to be conducted to the place of execution, she said, to some friends attending her, in a tone of heavenly joy and ecstacy, at once surprising and delightful to them, "Behold, I hear my beloved saying unto me, Arise my

* Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 214.

love, my fair one, and come away." In the council-house, a base and heartless attempt was made, by Bishop Paterson, to disturb her tranquillity, and the tranquillity of her fellow-sufferer in the same cause, Isabel Alison. This man, who had an active hand in bringing them to the scaffold, and who, with a meanness and wanton cruelty worthy of a persecutor, had brought a curate with him to the council-house, for the express purpose of annoying them, said to Marion Harvey, "Marion, you said you would never hear a curate, now you shall be forced to hear one;" upon which he called on the curate to pray. This cruel insult, offered to them when placed in circumstances calculated to excite the deepest commiseration, was met by the sufferers with becoming spirit. They made no reply to the bishop, but as soon as the curate began to pray, Marion said to her fellow-martyr, "Come, Isabel, let us sing the twenty-third psalm," which they accordingly did—Marion repeating the psalm line by line without book—which drowned the curate's voice, and confounded both him and the bishop. When they were brought to the scaffold, a second attempt was made to harass their feelings and disturb their composure in their last moments, by one of the prelatic curates of the city, who came to pray with the five women condemned to be executed at the same time for child-murder. This man, who appears to have had neither correct views of religion, nor humane feelings, flattered these five murderers with the hope of heaven, though they had given no evidences of repentance, while he vehemently railed on our two martyrs, and remorselessly told them that they were on the road to damnation. But they remained unmoved; "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, kept their hearts and minds through Christ Jesus." On the scaffold, Marion sung the eighty-fourth psalm, and read the third chapter of Malachi; after which she shortly addressed the vast crowd of spectators "I am come here to-day," she said, "for avowing Christ to be the head of his church, and king in Zion. O seek him, sirs! seek him, and ye shall find him; I sought him and found him; I held him and would not let him go." Then she briefly narrated the manner in which she was apprehended, and the leading questions put to her by the privy council, with the answers she returned. "They asked me if I adhered to the papers gotten at the ferry? I said I did own them, and all the rest of Christ's truths. If I would have denied any of them, my life was in my offer; but I durst not do it, no, not for my soul. Ere I wanted an hour of his presence, I had rather die ten deaths. I durst not speak against him, lest I should have

sinned against God. I adhere to the Bible and Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Covenants, which are according to this Bible." But, in her dying speech, she chiefly spoke of God's love to her, and in commendation of free grace. "Much of the Lord's presence," said she, "have I enjoyed in prison; and now I bless the Lord the snare is broken, and we are escaped." When she came to the foot of the ladder, she engaged in prayer; and, on going up the ladder, she exclaimed, "O my fair one, my lovely one, come away;" and sitting down upon it, she said, "I am not come here for murder, for they have no matter of fact to charge me with, but only my judgment. I am about twenty years of age; at fourteen or fifteen I was a hearer of the curates, and indulged; and while I was a hearer of these, I was a blasphemer and sabbath-breaker, and a chapter of the Bible was a burden to me; but since I heard this persecuted gospel, I durst not blaspheme nor break the sabbath, and the Bible became my delight." These were her last words; for on her having uttered them, the hangman, at the orders of the provost, cast her over. Her body, as a mark of reprobation, was buried, it is probable, in the Greyfriars' churchyard, Edinburgh, along with the body of her fellow-martyr, Isabel Alison,* in the spot appropriated as a burying-place for the most flagrant criminals; but, whatever indignities were put upon her mortal part, her spirit, brought out of great tribulation, was, doubtless, put in possession of that exceeding great reward reserved for those who "overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, and who love not their lives unto the death."

* The following notices of Marion Harvey and Isabel Alison, written by a contemporary belonging to the government party, may be interesting to the reader: "26th January, 1681. There were hanged at Edinburgh two women of ordinary rank, for their uttering treasonable words, and other principles and opinions contrary to all our government; the one was named Janet [Isabel] Alison, a Perth woman, the other [Marion] Harvey, from Borrowstounness; they were of Cameron's faction, bigot and sworn enemies to the king and the bishops; of the same stamp with Rathillet, Skene, Stewart, and Potter; of whom *supra*, p. 4, *et seq.*, where we debate how far men (or women are scarce to be honored with that martyrdom, as they think it) are to be punished capitally for their bare perverse judgment without acting. Some thought the threatening to drown them privately in the North Loch, without giving them the credit of a public suffering, would have more effectually reclaimed them nor any arguments which were used; and the bringing them to a scaffold but disseminates the infection. However, the women proved very obstinate, and for all the pains taken, would not once acknowledge the king to be their lawful prince, but called him a perjured bloody man. At the stage, one of them told so long as she followed and heard the curates, she was a swearer, sabbath breaker, and with much aversion read the Scriptures, but found much joy upon her spirit since she followed the conventicle preachers. There were five other miserable women executed with them, for infant murder. See with what wonderful patience most execrable heretics suffer, in Baker's Chronicle, in the reign of King Henry II, p. 58, and of Henry III., p. 89."—Fountainhall's Hist. Ob., pp. 26, 27.

HELEN JOHNSTON,

LADY GRADEN.

Helen Johnston was the daughter of the well-known Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston, who acted so prominent a part in the civil and ecclesiastical transactions of his day, and who at last fell a martyr to the cause of civil and religious freedom. Lord Warriston was not less distinguished for personal piety than for public patriotism. An anecdote, which strikingly illustrates how completely, in the exercise of prayer, his mind was abstracted from surrounding objects, and concentrated on the great object of religious worship, has been preserved by Wodrow. "Mrs. Lilias Stewart," says that indefatigable memorialist, "tells me that my Lord Warriston was very frequently in her father's house, Sir James Stewart's; and when he came before dinner, he [Sir James] usually desired him to pray in the family, and he made no more ceremony to do it than one minister would do in another's house. That it was remarked of him that in prayer he was the most staid, and swallowed up in the work, of any man in his time. He heard or noticed nothing when praying. One day in his family, his lady being indisposed she fell into a swarff,* in the room beside him, and continued some time in it; and the servants observing [it], lifted her up and laid her in bed. All this was done beside him, and he knew nothing of it till all was over and duty ended."† Like the marquis of Argyll, he may be said to have fallen a victim to the revenge of Charles II., who never forgave him for the fidelity with which, on one occasion, he reproved him for his vices. Writing in January, 1713, Wodrow says: "My author [Mr. James Stirling, minister of Barony parish, Glasgow], has it from Mr. Oliphant, who was my Lord Warriston's chaplain at the time, that one day he told Mr. Oliphant he was going to use freedom with the king. Mr. Oliphant dissuaded him from it, but he took his cloak about him and went away, and did use freedom with him. The king seemed to take all well, and gave him very good words, calling him 'Good Lord Warriston, but bore a rooted grudge at him after that, and prosecuted it to his death."‡ His enemies, like bloodhounds, dogged his footsteps on the continent, and suc

* That is, a swoon or fainting-fit.

† Wodrow's Analecta, vol. ii., p. 145. ‡ Ibid., vol. ii., p. 145.

ceeding their object, brought him home, to be tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor. "His natural temper was just, generous, self-denying; insomuch that he left behind him but a very small provision for a family of thirteen children, though for many years he had been intrusted with the whole government of Scotland."*

Thus the subject of this notice enjoyed the inestimable blessing of a sound Christian education, and of a holy example under her father's roof. From her cradle, she had been surrounded with the genial influences of piety, as well as trained to the love of liberty. With the principles of the second reformation church, all her feelings and early associations were inseparably linked. The summary overthrow of the presbyterian church by the government of Charles II., and the grinding oppression by which it was attempted to force the consciences of men and women to act in matters of religion in conformity with the wishes of the monarch, she could not then, with such impressions and sentiments, but regard with aversion and distrust. And this aversion and distrust must have been aggravated from the relentless cruelty with which, from the moment of the restoration, her father was persecuted, till he was put to death as a traitor on the scaffold.

In the summer of 1659, Miss Johnston was married to Mr. George Hume or Home, proprietor of an estate called Graden, in the south of Scotland.† Hence, according to the courtesy of those times, he was generally called Graden, and his wife Lady Graden. Their marriage contract is dated 10th May, 1659. In this contract, made with consent of several persons therein specified on both sides, Mr. Hume, "in contemplation of the marriage then contracted, bound and obliged himself, his heirs, executors, and successors, to provide and secure the said Helen Johnston, his future spouse, during all the days of her lifetime (in case she should survive him), in the sum of two thousand merks Scots‡ yearly, free of all burdens whatsoever, and that out of the first and readiest of his fortunes."‖

* Life of Bishop Burnet, by his Son, in Burnet's History of His Own Times, vol. vi., p. 235. The bishop's mother was sister to Lord Warriston. His father was an episcopalian, "but his mother, who was very eminent for her piety and virtue, was a warm zealot for the presbyterian discipline; her education that way had been very strict."—Wodrow's Analecta, vol. ii., p. 145.

† In Acts of Scottish Parliament, vol. vi., p. 85, he is designated "an heritor of the parish of Earlston."

‡ That is, about 111*l.* sterling.

‖ Commissary Records of Edinburgh, 16th December, 1691. Mr. Hume was a man of very considerable wealth. At the time of his death, the debts owing to him were 121,302*l.* 5*s.* 10*d* Scots; and his free gear, the debts due by himself being deducted, was 105,302*l.* Scots.

Mr. Hume, like his wife, was a warm supporter of the principles of the covenanters, and also suffered in their defence. In 1678, being in Northumberland, he was made prisoner in Crookome, a village upon the English border, by a party of English soldiers who were in search of Scottish nonconformists, several of whom had taken shelter from persecution in Northumberland. He was carried first to Lord Hume, and thence to Hume castle. His apprehension was the occasion of the scuffle in which Thomas Ker of Heyhope (whose elegy was written by Colonel William Cleland, and is inserted in Naphtali), was killed by Colonel Struthers' party.* How long he was kept prisoner is uncertain.

We, however, find him among the insurgents at Bothwell bridge, in June, 1679.† His name appears in a list of persons who had been "in the late rebellion," contained in a proclamation of the privy council, dated June 26, discharging all his majesty's subjects, whether men or women, to assist, harbor, reset, correspond with, hide, or conceal the said rebels and traitors, under the pain of treason.‡ He did not long survive, having died in October that year.‖

It was not till 1681, when nearly twenty-four years of misrule and oppression had passed over our ill-fated country, that we meet with the name of Lady Graden as a sufferer in the cause of presbytery. But there is no reason to believe that she had not at an earlier period become obnoxious to the government, on account of her religious principles. The severity with which she was then treated, seems rather like the punishment inflicted on an old offender, than the punishment inflicted on one who had offended only for the first time. The primary instrument of her oppression was Henry Ker, of Graden, who, in 1684, held the office of sheriff-depute of Teviotdale, and who recklessly imposed the most exorbitant fines on such gentlemen and ladies in his bounds as patronized the cause of nonconformity.§ By this

* See Appendix. No. VII. † M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch, &c., p. 463

‡ Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 115

‖ Commissary Records of Edinburgh, 16th December, 1691.

§ Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 52. So reckless was he in imposing fines, that even the government, rapacious as it was, found it necessary, from the complaints made against him, to institute inquiries as to his proceedings. On the 7th of November, 1684, the privy council ordained one of their clerks, Mr. Colin M'Kenzie, to write to him the following letter, summoning him to appear before them: "Sir, there having been several suspensions, diligences, and petitions, given into the council, by persons fined by you as sheriff-depute of Roxburgh, and the council finding it necessary, before they proceed to consider thereof, that you be present to vindicate your procedure, there being very much alleged against the legality thereof, and which they have reason the rather to suspect, since you, being cited to have compeared before them, have neglected so to do; and therefore they have commanded me to require you, in their name, to attend them upon the first Thursday of Decem-

unscrupulous man she was fined in twenty-six thousand and odd pounds Scots,* as we learn from the report of the committee for public affairs given in to the council, September 10, 1684. In that report, it is also stated that he had fined Lady Greenhead,† in the sum of sixteen thousand and odd pounds Scots,‡ but that the committee found reason to sist execution as to her.‖ The council approved of the report.§ The decreet against Lady Graden not having been preserved, we are unable precisely to state the charges against her which it contained; but we can not be far from the truth in supposing that, like the decreets against ladies in similar circumstances, it charged her with deserting the public ordinances in her own parish church, with haunting and frequenting rebellious field-conventicles, with harboring and resetting rebels, &c., to the great scandal of religion and contempt of the government. As the fine imposed upon her, and with the approbation of the government, was a very heavy one, much heavier than that imposed upon Lady Greenhead, or indeed upon any other person in that part of the country, it is evident that she was a marked person; and there is little doubt that this severity was prompted by the malignant hatred which these wicked rulers cherished toward the memory of her father. As James VI. believed, that in the whole race of the Knoxes and Welshes there lived the germ of enmity to bishops, so the persecutors, during the reigns of his grandsons, seem to have equally believed, that the essence of presbytery had been so concentrated in Archibald Johnston of Warriston, as to taint with an inveterate hostility to prelacy the whole of his race.

But our chief object in introducing this lady to the notice of the reader is, to give a specimen of the Christian sympathy and heroism which ladies often displayed in those trying times, under the sufferings of their near and dear relatives, in the cause of re-

her next peremptory, and to bring along with you the decreets and sentences pronounced by you against persons within your shire guilty of irregularities and disorders, and the grounds and warrants thereof; as also your procurator fiscal, clerk, and officers of court, or any other executors of your summons, precepts, or warnings, to be considered by the council, and herein you are not to fail, as you will be answerable at your peril. I am your affectionate friend and servant (*Sic. sub.*), Colin M'Kenzie."—Register of Acts of Privy Council.

* That is, 2,166*l.* 13*s* 4*d.* and odds, sterling.

† That is, Sir William Ker of Greenhead.

‡ That is, 1,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and odds, sterling.

‖ Execution was sisted as to her in consequence of a petition which her husband, Sir William Ker, presented to the council, desiring that, as "the decreet was pronounced in absence, and that the sum is very exorbitant, his lady might be reponed to her oath, and execution, in the meantime, sisted."—Register of Acts of Privy Council, 10th September, 1684.

§ Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 52.

ligion and liberty. The part which she acted toward Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, who was her cousin-german, and also her brother-in-law,* during his sickness when in prison, and at the time of his trial and execution, is worthy of all praise. Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, than whom the martyrology of the persecution does not embrace a more excellent man, was descended on the mother's side from our illustrious reformer John Knox, his mother having been the grand-daughter of the reformer.† From boyhood he had experienced the power of religion. He had been heard to say that God had begun to work upon him when he was about ten years of age, and that Christ crucified had been his daily study and constant delight. To great natural parts, extensive information, and dignity of manner, he added gentleness of disposition and calm benevolence, combined with warm zeal for the protestant religion, and incorruptible integrity.‡ By the unprincipled government of his day he had all along been regarded with suspicion and distrust, and at last they found a pretext for taking away his life. Being in London at the time of the discovery of the Rye-House Plot in 1683,‖ he and several other Scotch gentlemen at London were made prisoners on suspicion of being concerned in that plot. Baillie had indeed attended some meetings held in London, by several English and Scotch patriots of rank and influence, for the purpose of concerting measures for delivering their country from tyranny, and preventing the duke of York, who was a professed papist, from succeeding to the throne in the event of his brother's death; but he never

* Baillie's mother was sister to Lord Warriston, and he was married to one of Lord Warriston's daughters. His wife was a lady worthy of her lineage. Some ascribed his disaffection to the government to her influence over him. "His marrying Johnston of Warriston's daughter," says Fountainhall, "first alienated his mind from the government."—(Historical Notices, vol. ii., p. 594.) It may here be stated that Baillie had a sister who was married to the celebrated Mr. Andrew Gray, son to Sir William Gray, lord-provost of Edinburgh, and minister of the Outer High church, Glasgow. Mr Gray was licensed 1653, ordained on the 3d of November that year, and died in January, 1656. His relict afterward became the wife of Mr. George Hutchison, one of the ministers of Edinburgh at the restoration, and afterward indulged minister at Irvine. Baillie had another sister who was married to Mr. James Kirkton, one of the ministers of Edinburgh after the revolution.—Wodrow's Analecta, vol. i., p. 168.

† M'Crie's Life of Knox, fifth edition, vol. ii., pp. 356, 357.

‡ Wodrow says that he "had a sort of majesty in his face and stateliness in his carriage."—Analecta, vol. iii., p. 78.

‖ He had gone up to London on the business of the Carolina settlement. A number of Scottish gentlemen having, in consequence of the intolerable oppression at home, projected a settlement in Carolina in America, where such of their countrymen as chose to emigrate might enjoy that freedom of conscience which there was no prospect of their enjoying in Scotland, they sent commissioners to London, among whom was Baillie, in the close of the year 1682, to deal with the government about that matter.

dreamed of accomplishing this end, desirable as it was, by murdering the king and the duke of York, which was falsely given out by the government as the great object of these meetings.* He and his Scotch fellow-prisoners† were, in the end of October, 1683, sent down from London to Scotland; and on their arrival at Leith, they were conducted to the tolbooth of Edinburgh. Baillie continued to languish in prison, till, being tried for high-treason, he was brought in guilty by a packed jury, and condemned to the gallows.

It was during these, his last sufferings, that Lady Graden displayed, in the part which she acted toward Baillie, whom she highly respected and honored for the excellence of his Christian character, that active sympathy, that self-sacrificing spirit, and that noble heroism, to which we have referred. For a considerable period previous to his martyrdom, his rigorous imprisonment had so undermined his health that he was, to all appearance, in a dying condition. In these circumstances, he found in this lady a friend indeed. To her he owed that solace and support which kind and unremitting attentions administer under the pain, anxiety, languor, and fears, which always attend sickness; and which would especially attend it in his case, when he was confined to a prison, and when his life was thirsted after by the unrelenting malice of his enemies. It was about the month of July, 1684, that his illness assumed a dangerous form. To his lady and friends this was a cause of great anxiety and alarm. It would have been highly gratifying to her had she been allowed to remove him for a time to her own chambers; but, though disease was apparently hurrying him to the grave, she could not prevail upon the lords of the privy council to listen so far to the voice of pity as relentingly to allow him to be removed from prison; for they were determined not to forego their hold of a victim whom they so deeply hated, and whose valuable estate would, when forfeited, be so rich a prize. Being then unable to obtain for him a temporary release, she was very desirous that, in his present condition, he might have a constant attendant in prison. Gladly would she have devoted herself, with all the

* Baillie and his Scotch friends had, in fact, broken off all connection with the English conspirators before the conspiracy was discovered, convinced that from the want of unity of views, spirit, and decision, it could not succeed; nor had they ever matured any plan of their own.—Carstairs' State Papers, pp. 10–14.

† These were—Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock, and Sir George Campbell, his son; Sir William Muir of Rowallan, and William Muir, his son; John Crawford of Crawfordland; William Fairly of Brantsfield; Alexander Monro of Beancroftz; William Spence; Robert Murray; John Hepburn; William Carstairs.—Register of Acts of Privy Council, 5th November, 1683.

tenderness of her faithful heart, to the office of nursing him in his sickness; and her presence would doubtless have been more agreeable to him than that of any other friend. But for this office the infirm state of her own health unfitted her. Her sister, Lady Graden, however, a woman of active habits, and of a generous and exalted mind, engaged, with the greatest pleasure, should the privy council grant permission, to attend the sick-bed of her cousin and brother-in-law. Accordingly, she presented a petition to the council, praying that this permission might be granted her. The council, upon inquiry, finding that Baillie was dangerously ill, allowed her, in answer to her petition, to attend him, on condition of her remaining a close prisoner with him. The act of council is as follows:—

"EDINBURGH, *August* 14, 1684.

"The lords of his majesty's privy council having considered an address made by Helen Johnston, Lady Graden, supplicating that she might be made close prisoner with the laird of Jerviswood, to wait upon him, he being at present in a sick and dangerous condition, with the report of the lord-present of the session, and justice-clerk, who were ordered to visit him, bearing that they found him in a very dangerous and sickly condition, do allow the said Lady Graden to be close prisoner with the said Jerviswood, and appoint a macer of council to take her immediately to that room, within the prison of Edinburgh where the said Jerviswood is now prisoner; and appoint the keepers of the tolbooth, before she enter the said room, to take narrow inspection that she have no letters or papers upon her body, and if she have, that they secure the same; and after she has entered the said room, ordain the foresaid keepers to keep her close prisoner therein, in the same way and manner that the said Jerviswood was ordered to be kept, in every respect, until the council further order, as they will be answerable at their highest peril."*

To these restrictions Lady Graden gladly submitted, that she might minister to the comfort of her friend. Over his sick-bed she watched with the most affectionate and assiduous care, administering to him those comforts which his situation required; and nothing which warm sympathy and overflowing kindness could suggest, was wanting to alleviate his distress. Lady Jerviswood, though unable, as we have said, from the delicate state of her health, to undertake the entire charge of attending him, was desirous of being occasionally allowed to visit him. She

* Decreets of Privy Council.

accordingly presented a petition to the privy council, praying that this favor might be granted her; and the council, at their meeting on the 18th of August, "allow her to have access to her husband with any of the physicians who are to visit him, and to stay in the room with him so long as the physicians stay, and no longer, during which stay she is not to utter or speak anything but in audience of the physicians present."* It would appear that, some short time after, she was allowed to remain constantly with him in the prison, subject to the same stringent rules as her sister, Lady Graden, though this permission continued only for a brief period.†

While thus enjoying the society of his wife and of his sister-in-law, the cup of Baillie's affliction was greatly sweetened. Not only was his every wish anticipated, and his sickness alleviated by the gentle language and engaging offices of love, but his intercourse with these beloved friends was, from the congeniality of their minds, sanctified and endeared by religion, in which all of them sought and found their greatest enjoyment, and their most effectual solace under all their afflictions. His confinement and sickness were thus deprived of more than half their bitterness, and, surrounded by his nearest and best-beloved relations, he felt that his prison was in some measure like home. But his sister-in-law had not been with him much above three weeks, and his lady not so long, when the privy council issue orders for their being removed from him. The act of council is as follows:—

"EDINBURGH, 10*th September*, 1684.

"Whereas, the lords of his majesty's privy council were formerly pleased to allow Mr. Robert Baillie of Jerviswood's wife, and the Lady Graden, to be close prisoners in the room with him, he being then under some indisposition of body, they have now thought fit that they be removed from him, and he continued close prisoner by himself as formerly; and therefore do hereby require the keepers of the tolbooth of Edinburgh, forthwith to remove the said Lady Jerviswood and the Lady Graden forth of the room where they are now close prisoners with the said Jerviswood, and to keep him close prisoner, and not to suffer them or any other person to have access to, or converse with, or speak to him, till further order, as they will be answerable."‡

* Register of Acts of Privy Council.

† On the 30th of August, the council also allowed Baillie's advocates and friends to have free access to him until Thursday, and granted warrants to the keepers of the tolbooth for that effect, they being always answerable for the safe custody of his person.—Register of Acts of Privy Council.

‡ Ibid.

On the removal of these dear friends, Baillie continued alone in prison for nearly two months. His recovery had been very partial, and from the want of their kind attentions, and as the cold weather set in, his bodily illness greatly increased, and assumed so dangerous a form as to render it indispensable for him to have a constant attendant. His own lady would again willingly have shared in his imprisonment and ministered to him; but the infirm state of her health rendered it impossible for her to undergo the confinement and fatigue, to which, in the performance of such duties, she would have been subjected. But her sister, Lady Graden, was ready as cheerfully as ever to supply her place, should permission be granted her by the privy council. Accordingly, Lady Jerviswood presented a petition to the council, "in name and behalf of her husband, showing, that the council was graciously pleased, upon application made by the supplicant, to allow her sister [Lady Graden] to wait upon her husband in regard of his dangerous and sick condition, and ever since her coming from him, no person is suffered to visit or speak to him, save the keeper that takes in his necessaries, and therefore humbly supplicating, that, in consideration of the premises, and of the supplicant's husband being so tender and unwell that he can not rise from bed, and of the coldness of the weather, and other things that attend sickness and weakness, the council, out of their clemency and tender compassion, would allow the supplicant's sister, or niece, to attend him, the supplicant herself being so tender that she can not." The lords of council having considered this petition at their meeting on the 6th of November, "allow Helen Johnston, Lady Graden, the petitioner's sister, to be made close prisoner with Jerviswood for waiting on him, he being very valetudinary, the keepers of the tolbooth being always answerable for their safe custody, and that the said lady shall not go out of the room where the said Jerviswood is close prisoner, without order from the council."*

Lady Graden now continued without intermission to attend him till his death. And not only by her presence did she relieve the tedious hours of his confinement, but consoled him under his sufferings, by suggesting to his mind the promises and hopes of the gospel, and especially by reading to him from the Book of God its divine lessons of instruction and comfort, to which the dying martyr listened with that intensity of interest which the near prospect of death and eternity so powerfully tends to inspire. Nor, though those days and nights that she watched

* Register of Acts of Privy Council.

over him were in some respects days and nights of sadness, could she fail to be comforted and edified by the heavenly spirit which he displayed—in witnessing the patience and joy with which he bore his afflictions, in the certain hope of having them more than compensated by the eternal glories of a better world.

Lady Graden accompanied Baillie from the prison to the bar on the day of his trial, which was on the 23d of December; and, taking her place beside him, she watched over him during the whole of the trial, which lasted from eleven o'clock in the forenoon till past midnight. "He was so unwell and weak," says Wodrow, "that when he was in the panel,* his sister-in-law, Lady Graden, behooved to be with him in the panel, and gave him some cordial now and then to support him."† To the lengthened proceedings she would listen with painful and melancholy interest. Sir George M'Kenzie's "most bloody and severe speech" to the jury, as Wodrow characterizes it, would, doubtless, create in her mind more poignant sensations than anything else she heard on that day; nor can we well describe her feelings when he cast it up to Baillie as a reproach—what he felt to be and what really was an honor to him—that he was the nephew and son-in-law of her venerated father, Lord Warriston. The lord advocate's speech being concluded, and Baillie having spoken a few words, his great weakness rendering him unable to say much, the jury, it being then so late, were ordered to bring in their verdict to-morrow by nine o'clock, and the court dismissed. Lady Graden accompanied him from the bar to the prison, where she still continued to watch over him and to minister to his comfort.

But her assiduous and soothing attentions to him she had not now long to perform. On the following day, about ten o'clock, being brought from the prison to the bar of the justiciary court, he was sentenced to be hanged that day (Dec. 24) at the market cross of Edinburgh, between two and four o'clock in the afternoon, and his head to be cut off, and his body to be quartered: his head to be affixed upon the Nether Bow Port of Edinburgh; one leg to be affixed on the tolbooth of Jedburgh (where the greatest part of his estate lay); and another leg to be affixed on the tolbooth of Lanark (near to which his house of Jerviswood lay); another member to be affixed on the tolbooth of Ayr; and another on the tolbooth of Glasgow; his name, fame, memory, and honors, to be extinct; and his blood to be tainted, &c.‡

* That is, "in the dock," or as panel at the bar. † Wodrow's Anal., vol. iii., p.78.
‡ Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii., pp. 78–80. Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 110.

It is highly probable that on that day, as on the day of the trial, Lady Graden attended him to the court, and that, with panting breast and bitter agony of spirit, she heard the sentence of death pronounced upon him. She returned with him again to the prison, resolved to minister to his comfort, as far as in her power, to the last. The scene through which she had now to pass, as well as the scenes through which she had already passed, would have been too much for many female minds. Their fortitude would have abandoned them; and, robbed of all power of acting, they would have resigned themselves to the dominion of uncontrollable anguish. It was different with Lady Graden. On this trying occasion she was greatly supported. Her friend had now only a few hours to live; but it was solacing to her to witness his fortitude, resignation, and heavenly joy; to know that, though feeble in body, he was not infirm of soul; that no terror was upon it; that there was no faltering of his inward strength, but that his trust was firm in God. It afforded her satisfaction, though a painful satisfaction, to listen to the last prayers, so full of fervent devotion and of triumphant faith, that proceeded from his dying lips, and to hear him give expression to the heavenly rapture which filled his soul in prospect of eternity. "When he was brought into the prison [after receiving his sentence], he fell over into the bed, where he broke forth into a most wonderful prayer. He seemed to be in a rapture. There seemed to be a shining majesty in his face; the tears abundantly trickling down from his eyes. He spoke like one in heaven: he showed what great and wonderful joy would be at the meeting of the saints with the Lord, and with one another. He said God had begun the good work in him; he had carried it on, and now he was putting the copestone upon it, and now he had received a wonderful cordial: that within a few hours he would be inexpressibly, beyond conception, well. . . . . He said in his prayer that he was to be made a sacrifice; he prayed it might be an acceptable sacrifice to God, and that his death might put a merciful stop to their cruel shedding of the blood of his people."* To such utterances as these, she could not listen without being convinced that God was present with him of a truth; that the Divine strength was made perfect in his weakness, and that He who now so mercifully sustained him, would continue to sustain him to the end.

The time appointed for Baillie's execution soon arrived. Owing to his sickness, he was carried in a chair to the scaffold. On

* Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii., pp. 78–80.

coming out of the chair, he was so weak as to be unable, without assistance, to go up the ladder. He wore his night-gown. Lady Graden accompanied him from the prison to the scaffold. On their way to it, they passed the house of her father; and, in passing it, Baillie looked up to the chamber where Lord Warriston usually sat, and a multitude of associations connected with the past vividly rushing into his mind, he said to her, "Many a sweet day and night with God had your now glorified father in that chamber." "Yes," she replied; and, thinking of his cruel death, she added, "Now he is beyond the reach of all suffering, equally free from sin and sorrow; and the same grace which supported him is able to support you." She went up with him to the scaffold, and stood by him while he attempted to address the crowd of spectators; which he no sooner began to do—"My faint zeal for the protestant religion has brought me to this end"—than he was interrupted by the beating of the drums; after which he made no farther attempt to speak. Previous to his engaging in prayer and being thrown over, she took her last farewell of him, which struck to the inmost feelings of her soul as with the hand of death. The last adieu of a dying friend, even when he dies upon his bed, though gratifying, is always painful—agonizing to the survivors. But when his death is tragical and outwardly ignominious, the final parting is still more overwhelming to the feelings. After Baillie had been thrown over, Lady Graden had still another duty to perform to him. She knew that the very dust of God's saints is precious in his sight; that their bodies, though they may become the victims of man's implacable rage, continue to be the objects of his incessant care, and in the faith of this, and in imitation of God, she exercised an anxious care over the body of her friend, after the emancipated spirit had ascended from it to the throne of God, to receive the crown of immortal life. "With a more than masculine courage," as Fountainhall justly observes, she continued on the scaffold not only till Baillie was executed, but till she saw the hangman quarter his body. She also went with the hangman to see the pieces oiled and tarred, and she took them and wrapped each up in a linen cloth; after which they were thrown into the thieves' hole, before being dispersed to the respective places where they were to be exhibited as a public spectacle.*

The affliction of Lady Jerviswood, who, while all this was going on, was confined to her chamber, was great; nor did the

* Fountainhall's Historical Notices, vol. ii., p 595. Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii., pp. 78–80.

government show much sympathy for her lacerated feelings. The night after her husband was hanged and quartered, they placed a guard of soldiers at her door; so that a gentleman, who had received from him a paper for her, could hardly get access to deliver it to her. Their object in placing the soldiers at her door, was to get from her his dying speech, with the matter of which they were extremely offended, and the circulation of which they were very anxious to suppress. She gave them a copy of the speech, upon which the soldiers were removed. The idea of his members being dispersed through the country, and exhibited to public view, was peculiarly distressing to her feelings, and she petitioned the privy council to permit them to be buried. The council was too heartless to grant her request from sentiments of humanity; but not altogether insensible to public odium, they would willingly have given her his members for interment could she have called in and suppressed all the copies of his speech, which was so much calculated to create, in the public mind, sympathy for the martyr, and indignation against the bloody men who murdered him. This, however, she very probably could not do, several copies of it having been written out and circulated, and, accordingly, her petition was rejected. The king was also petitioned to the same effect; but, little susceptible of humane emotions, and too much engrossed with his vicious pleasures to lend a favorable ear to a widow's plaint, he also refused to grant her desire.

"I am a king,
And wherefore should the clamorous voice of wo
Intrude upon mine ears."

Little did he know, alas! that before six weeks elapsed, he would be smitten by the relentless hand of death in the midst of his debaucheries, and summoned to give in his account before the Judge of all. The mutilated members of the martyr lay in the thieves' hole about twenty days, till the rats were like to fall upon them; after which they were sent to the several places on the tolbooths of which they were to be fixed, according to the sentence, and there, it would seem, they continued till the revolution, when, it is probable, the conscience-stricken persecutors, dreading retaliation from the persecuted presbyterians, upon the introduction of a new order of things, took them down, as they took down the heads, arms and legs of other martyrs, which, with equal barbarity, they had exposed upon the gates of the capital, and on the tolbooths of the principal towns.*

* Fountainhall's Historical Notices, vol. ii., p. 595. Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii., pp. 78–80.

Of Lady Graden we meet with no additional notices during the persecution. She, however, lived to see the Stuarts expelled from the British throne, and to rejoice in the deliverance which was effected by the prince of Orange. She also saw the descendants of Baillie raised to situations of high honor and trust under the new government, and, what was still better, adorning their high stations by the Christian virtues which distinguished their martyred father, and proving public blessings to their country in their day and generation. She died in Edinburgh, previous to the 11th of September, 1707.*

LILIAS DUNBAR,

MRS. CAMPBELL.

During the persecution, the adherents of presbytery, though most numerous in the south and west of Scotland, were scattered more or less numerously over the northern counties. Even so far north as Morayshire, and in some of the neighboring shires, not a few of them were to be found. The gospel had been preached in these remote parts with considerable success, by Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. David Dickson, and other ministers who had been banished thither by James VI., or by the high commission court, for their opposition to the introduction of prelacy, and the fruits of the instructions of these eminent men remained even to the persecuting times. The labors of several very worthy ministers, who were settled in these localities previous to the Restoration, but who, shortly after that era, were ejected from their charges, had also been accompanied, during their incumbency, with no small measure of success; and some of them, as Mr. Thomas Hog, Mr. John M'Gilligen, and Mr. Thomas Ross, continued to preach publicly after their ejection, with evident tokens of the Divine blessing. Many who had profited under their pastoral care, and who sympathized with them and the cause in which they suffered, no doubt went to the parish churches to hear the curates; but while they did so, they were secretly hostile to prelacy, and

* "The testament dative and inventory of the debts and sums of money pertaining and addebted to umquhill Helen Johnston, relict of the deceased Mr. George Home of Graden, the time of her decease, who deceased within the city of Edinburgh," is registered 11th September, 1707.—Commissary Records of Edinburgh.

a considerable number desisted altogether from waiting on the ministry of the conforming clergy. Nor was it the poor, and more illiterate, but the more wealthy and the best educated of the population, several of them proprietors of the soil, who favored the presbyterian cause. So strong a conviction had the government been led to form of the presbyterian leanings of the people in Morayshire, as to suspect that a considerable portion of them had actually joined with the covenanters at Bothwell bridge, or supported them with money, horses, arms, or provisions, although, after the strictest inquiry made by the commissioners of the privy council, who met at Elgin in the beginning of the year 1685, no evidence of this was brought out. The government had also been led to believe that some of the leading men among them had, from favor to the covenanters, employed a stratagem to prevent the heritors and militia from going out to assist the king's forces in putting down the insurrection at Bothwell bridge, at the very time when they were convening for that purpose. A fiery cross had been carried through the shire of Moray, avowedly to raise the inhabitants to defend themselves against the M'Donalds, who, it was given out, were about to invade them; but the friends of the government alleged that this was a mere pretext, maintaining that the M'Donalds were at a distance, and had no such hostile intention, and that the real object of the mission of the fiery cross was to keep the heritors and militia from going out to join the king's host, by creating an apprehension that their presence was necessary at home for the protection of their own bounds.* So favorably inclined were some of the most respectable and wealthy in that part of the country to the presbyterian interest, and so desirous were they of enjoying the pastoral instruction and superintendence of ministers of that persuasion, that they came to the resolution of using means for obtaining from the government the extension of the indulgence which had been granted in the south, to Morayshire, and appointed two of their number, Sir Hugh Campbell, of Calder, and Thomas Dunbar, of Grange, to go to Edinburgh upon this matter, authorizing them to act therein according to their own discretion. Finding, on their arrival at Edinburgh, that there was no prospect of their proposal being favorably listened to by the government, there being then every appearance that the indulgence granted in the south would be withdrawn, these two commissioners did not move in the business at all.†

Among the secret or avowed friends of the persecuted cause

* See Appendix, No. VIII. † See Appendix, No IX.

of nonconformity in Morayshire and the neighboring shires, were several ladies of respectable rank and of distinguished piety*; among whom may be enumerated the lady of Sir Hugh Campbell, of Calder, Lady Duffus, Lady Kilravock, Lady Muirtown, Lady Innes, and others. The lady of whom we now propose to give some account, though respectably connected, was of humbler rank than the ladies now mentioned. But she was in some respects superior to any of them, not, it may be, on the score of piety, yet in regard to her enlightened and resolute adherence to presbyterian principles. She has left behind her a diary,* which, though consisting chiefly of a record of her religious exercise and experience, is very interesting and instructive. It breathes throughout a spirit of ardent piety. It displays an extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, and is remarkable for the judiciousness of the sentiment, untinctured by extravagance or enthusiasm, as well as for the elegant simplicity of the style, the age in which it was written being considered; from which it is evident that she was a woman of superior mind, and that her piety was as enlightened as it was ardent.

Lilias Dunbar was the only daughter of Mr. —— Dunbar, of Boggs, by his wife, Christian Campbell, daughter to Sir John Campbell, fifth knight of Calder. She was born about the year 1657. When very young, she had the misfortune to be deprived of both her parents by death; after which she was for some time brought up by her cousin, Sir Hugh Campbell, who succeeded

* This diary was printed for the first time in "The Religious Monitor and Evangelical Repository" for 1832, an American periodical publication. It is preceded by a short biographical notice of the authoress, written by the Rev. James Calder, minister of Croy, her grandson. Of this diary, ample use is made in the present memoir; and my best acknowledgments are due to the Rev. Thomas Goodwillie, Barnet, State of Vermont, United States of America, who kindly transmitted to me a copy of the several numbers of the periodical in which it is contained. I am also under obligations to the Rev. John Russell, Stamford, Canada West, to whom the MS. from which the diary was printed, belongs, for some interesting notices of the descendants of one of Mrs. Campbell's daughters, which the reader will find in the Close of this sketch. Mr Russell inherited this MS. from his mother in law, the wife of the Rev. Henry Clark, of Rochdale, and great-granddaughter of Mrs Campbell, and though not the original, it is a transcript either from it or from a correct copy. "The Rev. James Calder," says he, "informs us in his preface that he had the diary transcribed, under his own eye, from the original. My mother in law, Mrs. Clark, of Rochdale, borrowed either the original, or, more probably that copy, from her uncle, and transcribed the whole of it in a very plain, good hand. This copy is now in our possession. Some years ago, through urgent importunity, we permitted it to be taken to the Rev. Alexander Gordon, late of —— New York, that it might be published in 'The Religious Monitor,' and, when in type, a few extra copies were struck off for gratuitous distribution among acquaintances in America friendly to the reformation in Scotland."

ner grandfather, as the nearest male heir of the family of Calder. She was next taken into the family of her cousin-german, the pious Lady Duffus, who acted toward her the part not merely of a kind friend, but of an indulgent mother, for twelve years; and for whom she felt all the tenderness of an affectionate daughter.

Though favored with a religious education, she did not feel even common serious impressions till she had nearly reached the seventeenth year of her age, when she became dangerously ill of the small-pox,* in the family of Lord Duffus, at Elgin. She acknowledges that before this she had no religion, though education and good company had sufficient influence on her conscience to keep her from hating and reproaching the godly, and though she was kept from gross outward sins. Under this sickness, her conscience being awakened, she vowed that should God in his providence recover her, she would strive to be his servant; and having, notwithstanding her previous thoughtlessness about religion, been convinced that the nonconforming ministers far surpassed the conforming in spirituality of character, as well as in their success in turning sinners to God, and in building up saints, she also resolved to embrace such opportunities as offered, of hearing them preach. This, and not that intelligent acquaintance with the important principles for which they were suffering, which she afterward attained, was the reason why she purposed to attend their ministry. "At that time," says she, "I did not truly perceive how much it was my duty to take heed whom I heard, and to consider them who were my ministers, and to follow their faith, looking to the end of their conversation, and to mark them that make divisions, and turn aside for reward. Neither did I understand that there was so much of popery and will-worship in episcopacy as truly there is. Neither did I know that the presbyterians' laying down of life and liberty was for such a weighty matter as owning Jesus Christ in his kingly office. The end for which I intended to hear presbyterian ministers preach was, because I heard and saw that the Lord had blessed their labors to many, and souls were getting good by them."

On her recovery from this sickness, she went again to Calder, whence she had come to Elgin; and there being at that time in Calder several godly ministers, Mr. Thomas Ross, Mr. Thomas Hog, and Mr. James Urquhart, she had an opportunity of attending their ministry, which she highly prized. Still she confesses that "the getting of Christ and a new heart was not her first de-

* This was in the year 1674.

sire, but to get something in herself to answer God's goodness with, and to get and embrace the means of salvation;" that she "wanted Christ and a new heart days and years after this, even until she saw herself miserable without Christ, and glad to sell all in her and without her to get that enriching pearl;" and that though she aimed at serving the Lord and seeking a righteousness, she sought it long in herself before she attained to that which cometh by faith in Jesus Christ.

The first two sabbaths after her coming to Calder, she went to the Old Town of Kilraick, where Mr. Thomas Ross then dwelt, and heard him preach. Under the sermons of this holy man, she felt her affections grow warm with zeal for God, and love to Mr. Ross's hearers, and her heart inspired with a greater fear of committing sin than she had formerly experienced. But though more delighted with sitting under his ministry than ever she had been with hearing any of the prelatic persuasion, yet from the fear of giving offence to several persons whom she loved, she went next sabbath to hear Mr. Donald M'Pherson, the incumbent of the parish of Calder. "I got no good," says she, "there, but rather evil. What I heard had no impression on my affections or memory. It was a dead sound to me. Neither did I discern so much as reverence to God among the people I saw there. I was even ensnared by the carnal carriage and discourse of that congregation." From this she found that the word of God proved profitable to the hearers only when preached by those who walk uprightly; and that when it is otherwise, God's holy name is profaned by the speaker, and the Word preached tends to harden the hearts of the hearers. Having derived no benefit from hearing Mr. M'Pherson preach on the sabbath referred to, nor during the three years in which, previous to this, she had attended his ministry, while the hearing of Mr. Thomas Ross begat in her a desire after God, she resolved to wait on the pure preaching of the Word, so long as such an opportunity was within her reach: and from that time she continued to hear Mr. Ross, under whose pulpit instructions she profited "in head-knowledge, in formality of duties, and in outward zeal." Half a year after this she went to Elgin, to visit Lady Duffus, and, contrary to her intention, was kept there over sabbath. On Saturday, it was distressing to her to think of going on the morrow to hear the bishop,* for having been his hearer half a year before, she knew the unedifying and fruitless character of his sermons. But there being no motive inducing her to go, except the fear of

* Mr. Murdoch M'Kenzie.

man, and persuaded that it is better to offend man than God, she stayed at home on the sabbath, for which she met with censure and reproach. "From this," says she, "I observed, 1st, that a natural conscience will move men to their duty, although they should suffer for doing the same, and yet be void of true love to God; and, 2d, that it is good to walk according to one's light, both in his judgment and outward performance, although he have not yet attained to be right in the more weighty matter in the heart. It was love I had to my own soul that made me stay from that polluted ordinance, rather than to witness for God, in my station, against the evil of the times."

After staying one sabbath at Elgin, she returned to Calder, intending next spring to remove to Elgin and stay with Lady Duffus. There being at that time no presbyterian ministers at Elgin, she was not a little perplexed as to whether she should attend the ministry of the bishop. The temptation suggested itself to her mind, that many better than herself went to hear the prelatic ministers, and that her noncompliance might be adverse to her worldly interest, by giving offence to Lady Duffus, and the other members of the family. Influenced by such motives, she resolved, though without expressing her intention to any one, to go with the crowd to hear the prelates and their curates on the sabbath, when deprived of an opportunity of hearing the presbyterian ministers. Becoming, however, soon after, convinced that it was sinful for her, from the fear of reproach, or of injuring her temporal interests, to take the example of a few persons for her rule, and acting upon this conviction, she entirely left off hearing the prelatic incumbents.

In 1677, she suffered a heavy affliction in the loss of Lady Duffus, who died on the 16th of April that year. About a fortnight after the death of this kind benefactor, she gave up the charge she had in the family, and came out in the evening without a creature to comfort her, and without knowing where her next residence would be. Under this bereavement, she sought consolation in religion, and it was her own belief that the date of her first becoming a genuine believer in Christ was about a fortnight after that event. This appears from the following entry in her diary:—

"Elgin, *May* 1, 1677.

"The Lord, who is the Almighty, by his power, made my soul to close with the Lord Jesus, wholly on the terms that the gospel holdeth forth; and the Lord himself gave me faith to believe in Jesus Christ, that he was my Savior, which I could never attain

before that time on good grounds. On that blessed morning to me, I got the Rock of ages to be my support, and I got Christ Jesus to be to me the end of the law for righteousness, to comfort me inwardly, under my disconsolate condition outwardly; for it was but fifteen days after the death of my Lady Duffus, who was in place of my parents and all my relations to me. Now I can not pass by without observing the wisdom and goodness of God to me, in choosing that day and time for my deliverance out of the hands of all mine enemies, that I might serve him without fear. It was the time wherein I was most desolate. I was deprived of my parents by death, and had not the expectation of other means to supply my wants. It was then I was deprived of the only person in the world who took care of me, when it pleased the wise Lord by death to put a separation betwixt my Lady Duffus and me, who died April 16, 1677. Then it was that the gracious God, who delights in showing mercy, did enlarge my heart, and made me to take hold of him who is the pearl of great price, in whom all fullness dwells."

In another place, after speaking of her great affection to Lady Duffus, and the loss she sustained by her death, she says: "Truly I think nothing less than deliverance out of soul-troubles, and the love of Christ, could make me overcome the loss of her who was my all in the world; my pleasure, honor, and riches, were all in her: but how soon was all this laid in the dust to me! Yet praises for ever be to Him who did it, so that we both were gainers. She hath passed from the valley of misery, and, as she herself said at her death, hath gotten the palm-tree in her hand, and now she walks with the Lamb in white. As for my part, for brass I have gotten gold, for a fading flower I have gotten the Noble Plant of Renown, who is the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person; him who was dead and is alive, and lives for evermore; him from whom death shall not be able to separate me, for he shall be with me when I go through the dark valley, so that I shall fear no evil. He shall present me spotless to the Father, in that place where there is no sin, no sorrow, no sickness, no death; where I shall behold his face with joy, and where there are durable riches and everlasting pleasures."

In those days of primitive simplicity and great religious fervor, it was more customary than in our day for Christians, in order to have their religious experiences tested, to communicate them to godly ministers, who were supposed to be skilled in distinguishing the genuine work of God's Spirit from counterfeit or spurious

marks of grace. Of this, besides other instances which occur in the diary of the subject of this sketch, we meet with an example in the account which she gives of a visit she made, in 1677, to Mr. Thomas Ross, who was then a prisoner in Tain. "One part of my errand," says she, "was to inform him of my condition, and to be tried by him, that, if I was right, I might be the more confirmed, and that my good Lord might get praise for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to me."

She was accompanied by an intimate friend, a young woman named Jean Taylor, who also had a desire to see Mr. Ross, who had previously been the instrument of good to her soul. On coming to Tain, they found the good man sickly, yet he spent the time with them in very edifying discourse, and in explaining to them several passages of scripture, about which they desired to be informed. "We found much of the presence of God in his company," says she, "and our hearts opened to one another to tell of the goodness of God to our souls. Being with him alone next morning, I told him all the particular steps I could remember of my soul-exercises, since I was taken from being his hearer in the Old Town of Kilraick, which was two years before that time. When I told him of my soul-trouble, and began to tell him of my deliverance, and the loving-kindness of the Lord to me—how my will was broken, and faith wrought, and Christ Jesus manifested to me—our souls were filled with the joy of the Lord. Mr. Ross wept for joy, and I was so filled with a sense and feeling of the wonderful power of God, and his love to my soul in Jesus Christ, that I was put to silence for a while, and could not get expressions to vent the ocean of his love."

She returned from Tain to Moiness, where she stayed some weeks with Mrs. Donald Campbell, whose kindness to her she gratefully records, and to whom she had freedom in communicating her Christian experience, that lady "being one," as she observes, "that had tasted that the Lord was gracious." Shortly after, she went to service to Lady Innes Younger, who was residing at Dipple. All these changes strongly affected her mind. Writing in July, 1677, she says: "Lady Innes Younger sent for me to Moiness, to go home to her service to Dipple; upon which I had deep impressions on my spirit of being desolate—an orphan, having neither father nor mother, and those who supplied their room to me were taken from me. First, my aunt, lady to the master of Forbes, and soon after, my Lady Duffus, her daughter, who was indeed a mother to me for twelve years. My love to her did exceed its due bounds; my expectations from her, and

my fears of being deprived of her, were both great." In the family of Lady Innes she was, however, very comfortable. Of that lady she speaks in the highest terms. "She whom I was serving was a real seeker of God, and zealous for the truth; a wise, reserved woman, easy to be served; of a pleasant, natural temper. I never got an angry word from her. Her regret would be that I was not so well with her as she would desire; and my complaint was, that my service done her was so small."

During the time of her residence in that family, she enjoyed much spiritual comfort. "I stayed a year with her, which was a blessed time to my soul, such as I have not had the like."—"That was the year wherein I was taken up to Mount Pisgah, and made to view the promised land, and did eat of the grapes of Eshcol, even the first-fruits of that land that is the glory of all lands."—"The first month I was at Dipple . . . . I was made to read my own name in the book of Election, by finding the Spirit of God in his Word bearing witness with my spirit that I was his. I was made to consider what my case was the year before; how the threatenings of the Word of God were a terror to me, because I found myself guilty; the avenger of blood pursuing, and I without the city of refuge. I found my conscience condemning me, so that I bore the sentence of death in my breast. I was encompassed about with fears in my greatest prosperity. Then I was made to wonder and rejoice at the blessed change I felt wrought in my soul—faith where there was unbelief, light where there was darkness, hope where there was fear: I was made to find the enmity that was in me taken away, and God in Christ become my friend."

In the summer of the year 1679, in the twenty-second year of her age, she was married to Mr. Alexander Campbell of Torrich, a young gentleman descended, like herself, from the family of Calder, and a cousin of her own. In the prospect of entering into this new relation, her unwillingness to have the service performed by any of the prelatic clergy occasioned her no small perplexity, it being a crime, as the law then stood, to employ for that purpose the nonconforming ministers. "This matter," says she, "which gave me much trouble before, and was likely to give more, was then so presented to my view that it was a sharp trial to my faith." The union was, however, formed by Mr. John Stewart, who, at the restoration, was minister of a parish in the presbytery of Deer, in the synod of Aberdeen, but who was ejected for nonconformity. This we learn from the examination of Mr. Stewart before the committee of the privy council, which met

at Elgin on the 2d of February, 1685; when he "deponed that he married Alexander Campbell, in Calder's-land, with Lilias Dunbar, who had been the Lady Innes's servant long before the indemnity." This new relation proved to her the source of much domestic happiness. In Mr. Campbell, who was a man of genuine piety, as well as an intelligent and warm friend of the presbyterian interest, she found a husband whose character, tastes, and habits, were congenial to her own; and she records, twelve years after this, that his "tender affection and care of her, in all her bodily distresses, was one of the greatest mercies bestowed on her."

The persecution which raged in the south of Scotland, also embraced Morayshire. The nonconforming ministers there, like those in the south, were ejected from their charges; and some of them, as Mr. Thomas Hog, Mr. John M'Gilligen, and Mr. Thomas Ross, were imprisoned both in the North and in the Bass. Several of the laity, too, were fined and imprisoned by the sheriff of the shire. It was not, however, till the year 1685, that Mrs. Campbell was subjected to trouble on account of her presbyterian principles. To put the laws against nonconformity into execution, the government had adopted the method of sending commissioners invested with ample powers to different parts of the country, to hold courts for trying such as were guilty of church disorders; and about the close of the year 1684, it was resolved to adopt vigorous measures against the presbyterians in the north. On the 30th of December that year, the privy council in obedience to a letter received from his majesty, appointed and commissioned the earl of Errol, the earl of Kintore, and Sir George Munro, to proceed to Morayshire, "to meet and hold courts, and in these courts to call and convene all parties guilty of conventicles, withdrawing from the public ordinances, disorderly baptisms or marriages, and such like disorders and irregularities; and to take their oath or examine witnesses against them, as they shall see cause, pronounce sentences and cause the same to put to due execution, by imprisonment or other legal diligence, either as to witnesses not compearing, or compearing refusing to depone, or as to parties also refusing to depone when the verity of the libel is remitted to their oath, conform to the laws of this realm.' The bounds included in their commission were "betwixt Spey and Ness, including Strathspey and Abernethy," and their first meeting was to be at Elgin, January 22, 1685.*

* Warrants of Privy Council. On the 9th of January, 1685, their commission was extended to the shires of Inverness, Ross, Cromarty, and Sutherland, the council having heard that there were several persons guilty of the like delinquencies in these shires.

To facilitate the proceedings of these commissioners, the council, on the 8th of January, 1685, wrote a letter to the bishop of Moray, "recommending" him to advertise all his ministers within the bounds specified, to attend the commissioners on the above day, bringing with them their elders, and lists of persons guilty of church disorders, or suspected of disaffection to the present established government in church or state. And to afford all encouragement and protection to the commissioners, the council, at the same meeting, wrote a letter to Lord Down, sheriff of Moray, requiring and commanding him to convene all the heritors and freeholders in his shire and bounds foresaid, and his militia regiment, to attend the commissioners until the end of their commission, and to receive and obey such orders as should be given them by the commissioners from time to time.

As a further means of facilitating the proceedings of the commissioners, the council obtained a list of between two and three hundred nonconformists in Morayshire and the adjacent districts, made up, it is probable, by the assistance of the established clergy, who throughout the whole of Scotland were particularly zealous in furnishing the government with lists of persons who did not attend the parish churches. And on the 10th of January, 1685, the council ordered letters to be addressed to his majesty's messengers-at-arms, and also to the sheriff in that part of the country, commanding them to summon, according to the legal forms, the persons named and criminated in the letters, to appear personally before the lords-commissioners of the privy council and justiciary, to meet at Elgin, "to answer to the foresaid complaint, and to give their oaths of verity thereupon, or such articles thereof as shall be by the said lords referred thereto, with certification to them, if they refuse to depone as aforesaid, the said lords are to hold them as confessed, and proceed to pronounce sentence against them for an arbitrary punishment as offers under the pain of rebellion and putting of them thereto simpliciter."* In the list of those against whom these letters were raised, were Mrs. Campbell, Mr. Campbell, and his mother; and they were duly summoned.

On the 30th of January, two messengers-at-arms proceeded to the market-cross of Nairn, the head of the shire in which Mrs. Campbell, and many of the others whose names appear in the letters, resided, and thereat, "after three several oyess," open proclamation, and public reading of the letters in time of public market, commanded and charged them in the name and by the

* Warrants of Privy Council.

authority of his majesty, to compear before the lords-commissioners of his majesty's council and justiciary at Elgin, upon the 4th day of February next, to answer to the said complaint.

The charges brought against Mrs. Campbell and the other individuals against whom these letters were directed, will be best learned from the letters themselves.* They begin with affirming, that "by the laws and customs of all well-governed nations, laws and practices of this kingdom, and many clear and express acts of parliament, the crimes of sedition, the enticing, persuading, instigating, or encouraging, any persons to rebellion: the supplying and furnishing them with money or provisions for carrying on thereof; the giving them any help or counsel thereanent; the keeping of intelligence or correspondence with them; the concealing, resetting, harboring, supplying, conversing, intercommuning, or corresponding with, or doing favors to any traitors, rebels, fugitives, vagrant preachers, or intercommuned persons; the giving meat, drink, house, harbor, or relief, comfort, or counsel to them; the maintaining of the treasonable positions and principles of resisting, suspending, depriving, or deposing us from the exercise of our royal government, putting limitations on their due allegiance and obedience to us; the malicious speaking, advising, and writing, preaching or expressing such treasonable intentions; the attempting or endeavoring any manner of way the diversion or suspension of the right of succession to the imperial crown of this realm, or debarring the next lawful successor from the immediate actual and free administration of the government; the plotting and contriving against us and our government; the uttering of any slanderous or seditious speeches against us, our council, or proceedings; the stirring up of our people to sedition, rebellion, or a dislike of our government; the leasing-making to, of, or betwixt us and our people; the concealing and not revealing of treason, and the hearing of seditious and treasonable speeches and proposals of contributing and collecting money for forfaulted traitors, rebels, or fugitives, and not discovering and giving notice of the same, are in themselves crimes of a very high and dangerous nature and consequence, punishable with the pains of death, forfeiture of life, lands, and goods; and by three several warrants, under our royal hand, our advocate is allowed and authorized to pursue the foresaid treasonable crimes, or any one or other of them, in order to an arbitrary punishment, before the lords of our privy council; and to pursue the same to

* Mr. Roderick M'Kenzie of Dalvenan, advocate-substitute for his majesty's advocate, is the prosecutor.

the defenders' oaths of verity: and the refusing allegiance to us, the native sovereign; the owning, or refusing to disown, disclaim, and renounce, the treasonable combination against us and our authority, called the solemn league and covenant, so oft condemned by our laws and proclamations of our council, by which they put most undutiful and treasonable limitations upon the due allegiance which they owe to us, are crimes of a high nature, and severely punishable; and by the laws and acts of parliament of this kingdom, the withdrawing from their own parish kirks, being present at house or field conventicles, the baptizing and marrying irregularly, are declared to be seditious, and of dangerous consequence; and the not communicating once in the year, and not taking the oath of allegiance, the suffering of conventicles in their house or lands, are, by several acts of parliament and proclamations, severely punishable, with the pains and penalties therein expressed; and the refusing to depone anent conventicles, persons present there, and circumstances done therein, or resetting or intercommuning with rebels or fugitives, are punishable with fining, close imprisonment, or banishment to the plantations."

The letters next proceed to bring home the charges. "Nevertheless, it is of verity that Mr. James Park, Mr. John Stewart, Mr. George Meldrum of Crombie, Mr. Alexander Dunbar, Mr. James Urquhart, vagrant preachers; Janet Watson, spouse to John Barber; Elizabeth Weemes, Lady Brea; Jean Campbell, goodwife of Torrich; Ewin Campbell, lately in Calder parish; Jean Thomson, his spouse; Alexander Campbell, lately there; Lilias Dunbar, his spouse; Jean Taylor, sometime servant to the goodwife of Torrich;* . . . being persons of seditious and pernicious principles, highly disaffected to us and our government, have most treasonably incited, persuaded, instigated, and encouraged several persons to go out to the late rebellion at Bothwell-bridge, in June, 1679 years; did supply or promised to supply and furnish them with money, horse, arms, provisions, for carrying on thereof; kept intelligence and correspondence with them; gave them help or counsel thereanent; did most treasonably conceal, harbor, supply, converse, intercommune, and correspond with, give meat, drink, house, harbor, relief, comfort, and counsel, and do favors to notor, open, and manifest traitors, rebels, fugitives, forfaulted and intercommuned persons, seditious and vagrant preachers, or such who were actually in the late rebellion, and had been indicted, challenged, or pursued therefor, or holden re-

* There are between two and three hundred other names.

pute, and known to them to have been therein; particularly to Archibald, late earl of Argyll, James Nimmo, Mr. Robert Martin, sometime clerk to the justice-court, John Hay of Park, Mr. Alexander Fraser, Mr. Thomas Hog, Mr. John M'Gilligen, [Mr. James] Fraser of Brea, Mr. John Hepburn, Mr. William M'Kay, Mr. Alexander Dunbar, Mr. James Urquhart, Mr. James Park, Mr Thomas Ross, Mr. John Stewart, Mr. Duncan Forbes, Mr. William Ramsay, William Cranston, servant in Gutters, or one or other of the forfaulted or printed rebels and fugitives; treated and consulted by word, writ, or message with them, and the persons above named, and others, in both England, Holland, and this kingdom, for carrying on the late horrid and execrable plot against our sacred person, the person of our royal brother, and our government and authority; contributed, or promised to contribute, money and provisions for carrying on thereof; did hear, conceal, and not reveal treasonable proposals, discourses, contributions offered and sought thereanent, or for them, and against us and our government; have and do maintain these treasonable positions, that it is lawful for subjects to enter into leagues and covenants, and to take up arms against us and our authority, to suspend, deprive, and depose us from the style, honor, and kingly name, of the imperial crown of this realm, and from the exercise of our royal government; have and do put limitations upon their due obedience and allegiance to us; have maliciously spoken, written, or otherwise expressed these their treasonable intentions; have attempted and endeavored the suspension and the diversion of the right of succession, and debarring our lawful successor; have plotted and contrived against us and our government; have uttered slanderous and seditious speeches against us, our council, and proceedings; have and do decline the judgment of us and our council; have endeavored the innovation of our government; have impugned or sought the diminution thereof; have made and told leasings to, of, and betwixt us and our people; have concealed and not revealed treason, seditious and treasonable speeches and proposals; have withdrawn from, and not kept and joined in, the public ordinances and ordinary meetings of divine worship in these our parish churches; have been present at house or field conventicles, where several seditious preachers did take upon them to preach, pray, and expone scripture; have married and baptized disorderly; have not communicated once a year; have or do refuse and delay to depone anent conventicles, persons present thereat, things done therein, and anent receipting and intercommuning with fugitives and rebels;

have and do refuse to take the oath of allegiance required, and offered to swear and renew the covenant, or refuse to disclaim, disown, or renounce the same; have expressed words and sentences to stir up the people to a dislike of us, our prerogative and supremacy, and the government of church and state; and the said ministers did pray, preach, and the persons above named did hear treasonable and seditious doctrine, and have suffered and heard conventicles in their houses and on their lands, whereby the said and the other persons above complained upon have directly contravened the foresaid laws and acts of parliament; have committed and are guilty of one or other of the crimes particularly above mentioned, and are art and part thereof, or accessory thereto."

These are heavy accusations, but the most of them are wholly unfounded. The only points in which Mrs. Campbell, or indeed any of the nonconformists in the north, had violated the laws then existing, were their not attending the parish kirk, their being present at house conventicles, and their hospitably entertaining the nonconforming ministers. But, like the persecutors of the primitive church, who covered the Christians with the skins of wild beasts, and then exposed them to be torn in pieces by the fury of dogs, the persecuting government of the Stuarts was in the practice of charging the presbyterians with crimes of which they were altogether innocent, with the view of making them odious, and of giving the color of justice to the cruelty with which they were treated. Such has been the policy of the persecutor in every age. He has never avowedly persecuted the disciples of Jesus on the simple ground of their being the disciples of Jesus. He has first calumniously accused them of sedition, rebellion, or other flagitious acts, which the magistrate is bound to punish, and then, under this pretext, has proceeded to wreak his vengeance upon them.

After charging Mrs. Campbell and her associates with the crimes just now specified, the letters proceed as follows: "Which being verified and proven by their own oath, or otherwise, they ought to be punished with the pains above mentioned, and with such arbitrary punishments as the lords of our privy council shall think fit to decern and determine; and if they shall refuse to depone upon the haill or any part of this libel, they ought to be holden as confessed thereupon, conform to the letters and warrants direct under our royal hand for that effect; and punished therefor with such arbitrary pains as the privy council, or their committee or commissioners, shall think fit, and the crimes deserve, to the terror of others to commit the like hereafter."

On hearing of the intended meeting of the commissioners of the privy council, a considerable number of the persons summoned to appear before them fled, among whom was Mrs. Campbell's husband. Having been intercommuned for hearing and countenancing the persecuted presbyterian ministers, he deemed it prudent to flee for his safety. He fled, first to Strathnaver, and afterward to Ireland. Mrs. Campbell remaining at home to wait upon her mother-in-law, Mrs. Jean Campbell, who was dangerously ill, was apprehended, and carried prisoner to Elgin. At the meeting of the commissioners of the privy council on the 3d of February, the roll of delinquents was called and their libel read, the tenor of which has already been laid before our readers. On the 5th, Mrs. Campbell was brought before them. The only part of the libel proved against her was, that she "had withdrawn from, and not kept and joined in, the public ordinances and ordinary meetings of divine worship in her own parish church." Mr. Donald M'Pherson, minister of the parish of Calder, in which she resided, gave in a list of disorderly persons in his parish, which consisted of only seven individuals, among whom are "Alexander Campbell, who," says he, "has removed, and Lilias Dunbar his wife, who for the most part remains in the said parish, but always stays from ordinances; Jean Campbell, goodwife of Torrich, who has been this long time bygone valetudinary; and Jean Taylor, servant to the foresaid Jean Campbell, who has now removed from the foresaid parish, but during her abode always abstracted from ordinances." Mr. M'Pherson being solemnly sworn, deponed that the above was a correct list of all who were disorderly in his parish; and that all of them, "except Jean Campbell, goodwife of Torrich, who is at the point of death," and Lilias Dunbar, who waited upon her, had fled, he knew not whither, on hearing that the committee of the privy council was to sit at Elgin. The elders of the parish of Calder, being solemnly sworn and interrogated, also "deponed that Jean Campbell, the goodwife of Torrich, and Lilias Dunbar, her good-daughter, spouse to Alexander Campbell of Torrich, who has fled, did and does withdraw."*

Being brought before the commissioners, Mrs. Campbell was examined upon oath. To the question whether she attended her parish church, she answered in the negative; and being further interrogated how long she had withdrawn from it, she replied, "For the last six years." To the question whether she had been present at conventicles, she answered in the affirmative. It be-

* Warrants of Privy Council.

ing then demanded whether she would engage to attend the parish church in future, she replied that she could not come under such an obligation. "Are you then willing," said the commissioners, "to find security to leave the kingdom, or engage to keep the church?" To this she answered by expressing her readiness to leave her native land, rather than come under an engagement which appeared to her to be inconsistent with her duty to God, and to find such security as might be required. Her depositions, subscribed by her own hand, which are preserved in the minutes of the proceedings of the commissioners, are as follows:—

"*February* 5, 1685.

"Lilias Dunbar, spouse to Alexander Campbell, sometime at Calder, [being] solemnly sworn, depones she has not kept the kirk these six years past, and has been at conventicles, and is not free to engage to keep the kirk in time coming; and therefore is content to find caution to depart this kingdom betwixt and the first of August next, she being now with child, or otherwise to keep the kirk, and not to return to the kingdom, unless she live regularly therein. "Lilias Dunbar."

Under this examination, Mrs. Campbell displayed a dignity of bearing, and a superior intelligence, which struck the adversaries with conviction, and the judges with admiration, one of whom spoke in her favor in the face of the court. Her uncompromising fortitude also stands favorably contrasted with the timidity of the most of those brought before the commissioners on that day, and on the other days, who, with a few honorable exceptions, solemnly swore that they would keep the kirk in time coming. She was formally banished from the kingdom of Scotland by the following act of the commissioners of council: "Elgin, 11th February, 1685. The lords having considered the depositions of Lilias Dunbar, spouse to Alexander Campbell, sometime in Calder, with the libel against her, they, in respect she has been irregular and disorderly, and will not engage to keep the kirk, banish her forth of this kingdom, and ordain her to enact herself to go out thereof, under the pain of one thousand merks."* She immediately found the security required. Mr.

* Warrants of Privy Council. Mrs. Campbell's friend, Jean Taylor, who was servant to Lady Muirtown at that time, was similarly treated. On being examined by the commissioners, she declared that she had not kept the parish kirk, refused to engage to keep it in future, confessed that she had been at several conventicles, and had heard Mr Alexander Dunbar preach at Lethin, and Mr. James Urquhart at his own house, but refused to depone upon oath. Accordingly, on the same 11th of

John Campbell, of Langnidderry, her brother-in-law, who attended her during the proceedings against her at Elgin, readily became surety that she should depart out of Scotland within the time specified.

It may be observed that the commissioners of council excused the absence of her mother-in-law, Mrs. Jean Campbell, upon a testimonial signed by Mr. M'Pherson, minister of Calder, and three of the elders of that parish, bearing that she was then confined to her bed, and in so low and weak a condition of body as to be unable to travel any distance from her own house without imminent hazard of her life. They also excused the absence of Mr. Campbell, who is said, in the minute of the court, to be "now in Ireland;" but the ground upon which he was excused is not stated.

Similar sentences were passed upon several others who refused to engage to attend their parish churches in future; and on the same 11th of February, the lords publicly required and commanded the sheriffs, bailies of regalities, and their deputies, magistrates of burghs, and other inferior judges, to put the laws vigorously in execution against church dissenters, and all irregular and disorderly persons, from time to time; and to imprison their persons till they sign and take the bond of peace and regularity, and oblige themselves to keep the kirk in time coming, or till the privy council give order concerning them, and especially against the delinquents now cited before them, in case they keep not the kirk hereafter, agreeably to their own engagements.

The vigor with which the lord commissioners proceeded against the nonconformists in the north, gave great satisfaction to the established clergy in that quarter. On the same day on which sentence of banishment was pronounced upon Mrs. Campbell and several others, "the bishop and clergy of the diocese of Moray attended the lords in a body, and gave them their hearty thanks for the great pains and diligence they had used for the good and encouragement of the church and clergy in this place, and for reducing the people to order and regularity; and begged the lords would allow them to represent their sense and gratitude thereof, to the lords of his majesty's most honorable privy council."*

It is to be regretted that that part of Mrs. Campbell's diary

February, sentence of banishment from the kingdom was pronounced upon her, and it was also ordained that she should be detained prisoner till she should be transported. But on petitioning the commissioners she was set at liberty, upon her finding caution to depart the kingdom betwixt that time and the first of May following, under the pain of 500 merks. * Warrants of Privy Council.

which relates to the story of her persecution, is lost.* We, however, meet with subsequent occasional allusions to it. She felt it to be a matter of thankfulness to God, in afterward looking back upon that period of her life, that she had been enabled to witness a good confession, at a time when many had yielded through fear; and acknowledged that the afflictions which had befallen the church had, by the Divine blessing, been the means of promoting her spiritual improvement. On this subject she thus writes: "May 24, 1691, being the Lord's day. I cried unto the Lord that, if he would lengthen my days, he would make me [live] more for himself; that he would smell a savor of rest in my dwelling, and that there might be a savor of God where I should be. I mourned when I remembered how little of this had been. Then the Lord gave me ease, in making me look back upon what special care he had of me (although some things had been denied me), in giving food and raiment to me and mine; in helping me to keep the word of his patience; and in keeping me in the hour of temptation. In the evening I was made to remember the Lord's great condescension to me, in gaining my froward will to submit to his holy will, as to my greatest troubles, and the sad dispensation which the church of God in this land had been trysted, in my time; in letting me see a spiritual good and advantage in them, so that I have been ashamed of my own miscarriages. I was made to see that there was no God like to him who does all things well, and works out of contraries, giving meat out of the eater, and sweet out of the strong."

Contrary to their expectations, Mrs. Campbell and her fellow-confessors, who had received sentence of banishment, were relieved from the necessity of leaving Scotland. Charles II. dying during the sitting of the commissioners, and his brother, James, duke of York, succeeding to the throne, the court quickly rose; and though James was a bloody persecutor, exceeding in cruelty his deceased brother, yet he and his government were so actively employed in imprisoning, banishing, and executing the nonconformists in the south, and in crushing the insurrection of the earl of Argyll, which took place soon after, that Mrs. Campbell and the presbyterians in the north were overlooked. Afterward, when James, with the view of paving the way for establishing in Britain

* The Rev. John Russell, Stamford, Canada West, in the letter to the author, frequently referred to, says, "Mrs. Campbell's diary, before a transcript of it was taken, fell into the hands of persons not friendly to the cause for which she suffered, who mutilated it by cutting out some leaves."

the popish religion, of which he was a bigoted adherent, began to court the favor of dissenters, and to emit proclamations indemnifying them for all pains and penalties incurred for nonconformity, this, which afforded relief to many who were suffering in Scotland for conscience' sake, furnished another cause of her remaining unmolested. And lastly, the revolution of 1688, which, by the expulsion of James from the throne, and the accession of the illustrious William, prince of Orange, put an end to the persecution, and established the liberties of the subjects upon a permanent basis, brought her troubles, and the troubles of Scotland, in this respect, to a termination.

Mrs. Campbell's own experience of the tyranny of the Stuarts, and especially her sympathy with others who suffered more severely than herself for their constancy in the cause of Christ, made her hail the revolution as a wonderful deliverance vouchsafed by God to the church. On this subject, she has the following entry in her diary: "June 14, 1691.—I set myself to be comforted in the favorable and wonderful steps of providence, which had come to pass in this land in behalf of the church of God within these three years past. . . . . The providence of God has been wonderful in these lands, since that time [King James VII.'s toleration], in the Lord's bringing a ravenous bird from the East;* such he was to the enemies of his church, but a glorious deliverer to her friends; a man to execute his council, from a foreign country, by breaking the sceptre of the ruler and the staff of the oppressor." But still she rejoiced in that event with trembling. The prevalence of sin around her, the small success of the gospel, and the little disposition which existed to make a suitable improvement of this great deliverance, excited apprehensions in her mind that Providence might again frown upon Scotland. In the same part of her diary, she observes that, when thinking of that great deliverance, she "could not get comfort, but was in fear of a common calamity in the land, and a strait which Zion had to pass through. This," she adds, "was an old fear with me, and often renewed, that proceeded not from the dictates of my own mind, which is but weak, erring, and sinful, but from a deep impression which some places of scripture made on my spirit, when I was exercised in prayer—from abounding of sin, and the many evidences of God's displeasure; so that I had much ground to fear, though not to prophesy. And never more ground to fear than since the yoke of persecution began to break four years ago, by King James's liberty of con-

* William, prince of Orange.

science, which was like an untimely birth, which tended to death rather than to life. Zion has been languishing in this land, and her king in a great measure absent as to his spiritual and powerful presence in his public ordinances, since that time."

While highly esteeming all the nonconforming ministers in the north—of the most of whom she makes honorable mention in her diary, Mrs. Campbell regarded with peculiar veneration one of them—the celebrated Mr. Thomas Hog, of Kiltearn, both on account of his eminence as a minister of the gospel, and because he, of all other ministers, had been most instrumental in promoting both her own and her husband's spiritual interests. His being forced by persecution to leave Morayshire occasioned her deep sorrow, and it was her earnest prayer that he might be restored to that part of the church. Her prayer was answered, and his restoration to his old parish afforded her unfeigned joy. Writing, July 3, 1691, she says, "In the afternoon a friend came to me, who told me that Mr. Thomas Hog was come to Moray, and was at present at Muirtown. This was desirable news to me, which I had longed and prayed for; he being one in whom there was much of the Lord to be seen, and who of all others, had done most good (by the blessing of God) to my husband's soul and to mine, and was, I may say, an interpreter one of a thousand. When I got an opportunity to retire, I looked up to the Lord to bless this man's coming, and entreated of the Lord to put a song of praise in my mouth. These words were brought to me, 'He strengthens the spoiled against the strong; He turneth the shadow of death into the morning.' Then I saw the first part of this scripture largely made out in him; so that it might afford matter of great praise and thankfulness, that the God of power had strengthened him even when spoiled of his lovely flock, and had now given him victory over the strong—even king and council—who imprisoned him thrice, and then banished him from his native kingdom for the gospel's sake; and that now he was returned with honor (having kept the faith and a good conscience) to exercise his ministry in that parish where the Lord at first placed him, and where he blessed his labors. The dangers and troubles under which the Lord supported and relieved him, enlarged my heart in love and praise to God, who exercises wonderful, infinite wisdom, love, and power, toward his servants and people."

On the 7th of July, Mrs. Campbell and her husband went to Muirtown to visit Mr. Hog, where she met with several pious intimate friends, whose society was very refreshing to her. The

next day she had an opportunity of conversing with Mr. Hog, to whom she had not spoken for eight years before. As he was very infirm, and as several other persons were waiting to speak with him, there were only two particulars about which she was desirous of unburdening her mind to him at that time. In the first place, she wished to know his thoughts concerning her state; and in the second place, she wished to tell him some of her secret spiritual troubles, with respect to which she could not attain to submission. As to the first, he seemed to be displeased with her for putting to him such a question, and refused to let her know what were his thoughts respecting her state. As to the other points, the little he said in answer was by way of reproof, telling her that the want of submission proceeded from the pride and stubbornness of her spirit. Mr. Campbell having returned home in the afternoon, she stayed a few days in the family of Muirtown, in which there was much of the savor of God; and during that time she obtained relief from the spiritual troubles which pressed upon her spirit. On the morning of the day on which she left Muirtown for Torrich, which was the 11th of July, having had a private interview with Mr. Hog, she told him of the submissive state of mind to which, through the goodness of God toward her the two preceding days, she had attained in reference to what troubled her, and expressed her fears that some sharp trial was awaiting her, for which this submissive temper was preparing her, and which would test its reality. But he disapproved of her giving place to such thoughts, charging her with authority, as well as in much love, to beware of anxious thoughts about to-morrow, and earnestly urged her to a confident and consistent trusting in God, quoting the words of Job, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." "Thus," says she, "did the blessed man press me to live the life of faith, and," she adds, "took leave of me, embracing me as a father does his child."

Over the death of this eminently holy man she was soon called to mourn. In her diary, that event is recorded, and the character of Hog drawn with much feeling. The passage is deserving of being quoted, both from the pleasing simplicity with which it is written, and because it contains the estimate, formed by an intelligent contemporary, of a minister highly venerated in his day, and whom Wodrow calls "that great, and, I had almost said, apostolical servant of Christ, Mr. Thomas Hog."* "I heard," says she, "of Mr. Thomas Hog's being removed from time to

* Wodrow's Correspondence, vol. i, p. 166.

eternity.* It was [not] a surprise to me, though great matter of lamentation. My husband and I had been seeing him in August. We then saw that he was near the end of his journey, by his spirit being transported with the hopes of glory, and his bodily health and strength failed. He endured much trouble in his body two months before his death, which was dark and afflicting to me. As I was enabled, my prayer was to God for him, in the day of his calamity, whose reproof had been a kindness to me, and his smiting an excellent oil that did not break my head. The tongue of the learned was given him, indeed, to speak a word in season to the weary. He had the heart of the wise, which taught his mouth, and added learning to his lips. He gave reproofs of instruction, which, by his Master's blessing, were the way of life. He walked so with God that his conversation shone to the glory of his heavenly Father. He had a large measure of the spirit of God, by which he knew the deep things of God. And it was given him to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God. He had a divine experimental understanding of the Scriptures, of the work of conversion, and cases of conscience; so that they whose ears heard him blessed him. He was a Caleb indeed, who followed the Lord fully in his ministry in prison, in banishment, in strange lands, and unto death. Even the haters of godliness were forced to own that God was in him of a truth, and that he kept his integrity. It is not my design to praise men, and, therefore, I will drop this subject, though it be a large field; [and shall] only further observe, that I never knew one that came his length, and I wish I had ground to believe that I shall yet know them. I can not forget him who was the bridegroom's friend; who, when I was lying in my blood, told me of my hazard, and where there was help for me; and, with the authority of his Master, charged me not to delay, showing me that delays, in a matter of so great importance, came from the devil. He preached Christ and conversion to me in private conference, which had blessed effects on me. When under the greatest trouble I ever felt with respect to the case of my soul, in March, 1677, he being then a prisoner at Forres, I went to speak to him. I was like one dumb, and could not utter one word of my case to him; yet he spake to me as if I had told him of it, and said, when I parted with him, 'Fear not, ye seek Jesus.' Which word begot some hopes in me, which did not altogether leave me, until I got the manifestation of Christ to my soul, which was within six weeks afterward. Yea, I do not remember any time I saw

* Mr. Hog died on the 4th of January, 1692.

him but I got good by him, and in the end more than in the beginning. I can not show at large what was the exercise of my spirit upon hearing of his death. When it was told me, I spoke not a word, till I went to the Lord in secret and mourned before him. I was four days much troubled, but strove against excessive grief; and I have reason to bless my Rock, who gave me a composal frame of spirit, and made my soul to profit by the death of this blessed man. His removal made the earth desolate in my esteem, and raised my affections from things below to things above, where Christ and the spirits of just men made perfect are. In my mourning I was made to bless the Lord, who had put an end to the sufferings of his faithful servant, and to submit to his will who had said, 'He that will be my servant, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall my servant be.' I remembered, to my comfort, how this blessed man, the last day I saw him, kindly embraced me, and rejoicing in spirit, said to me, 'You and I shall be together with the Lord for ever.' That night, being the last night I was in his house, my sleep departed from me; upon which I rose at three o'clock in the morning, and had two hours of sweet communion with God in prayer. . . . . After that time I did not see this blessed man's face any more. He being very sick that morning, and not fit for speaking, my husband and I left him. I then looked on what was given me that morning as given to prepare me for his death. The day before he died, my thoughts were taken up with him; and these words in Job were brought to my mind in relation to him, 'that he should go to his grave in a full age, as a shock of corn cometh in, in his season;' which was quickly fulfilled. Having served God in his generation, he went to his grave in peace, and pleasantly gave up the ghost. Though he endured much pain in his body before, yet at the hour of his death he had ease, and went out of the world praising and rejoicing."

From the whole of Mrs. Campbell's diary, it is evident that she greatly delighted in secret prayer; and to find time for that duty, she was in the habit of rising very early, that the exercises of devotion might be no obstruction to her performing such household duties as devolved upon her. "Some of her acquaintance expressed surprise that she who had time at her command, and was not obliged to labor, should so abridge her hours of sleep; to which she replied, that she did not wish to give the enemies of religion occasion to say that she neglected her worldly matters through attention to religious duties."*

* Traditional information communicated by the Rev. John Russell, Stamford, Canada West.

The concluding part of her diary contains few facts respecting her subsequent history. It is chiefly occupied in describing her religious experience. Writing toward the latter part of her life, she complains that she had been "for several years seeking the Lord, and still tossed with fears that the foundation was not right;" and that "after several years, when the church was filled with presbyterian ministers, her darkness and deadness became more dreadful to her, so that ordinances were to her, for the most part, no small burden. When I spoke to ministers," she adds, "they all said my help was not to be found in them. Yet this was observable, that such as were most zealous for the purity and the interests of Christ, were most comforting to my soul in public and private duties, but they could not cure my wound. Therefore I continued solitary for many days." During this period she was in a very weak state of health, and her bodily indisposition, combined with a melancholy temperament—for she informs us that "her natural temper inclined to melancholy"—no doubt contributed greatly to produce those unhappy apprehensions with respect to her interest in Christ, which so greatly afflicted her. At last, however, she was relieved, by being enabled to take a more just and encouraging view of the gospel. "After continuing," says she, "a considerable time in this way, thus tossed with tempests, and not comforted, some words of scripture were brought to my mind, which were made use of for keeping me from utterly despairing and giving over, viz.: 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.'—'Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be ye saved.'—'The whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.' Thus, in my extremity, my spirit was in some measure supported. But afterward, when new darkness and fears filled my soul, I was no ways able to draw comfort from these words, unless they were conveyed with new power. On a certain night, after sad and affecting fears, which men or angels could not allay, these words came with power to my soul, 'Be careful for nothing; but in everything by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, make your requests known unto God; and the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds by Jesus Christ.' O! how was my weary soul made to behold, in prayer, a wonderful beauty and glory in the deep contrivance of infinite free love, displayed to guilty sinners in a Mediator, whose voice my soul was made to hear in these words." In this way she was at length delivered from these distressing fears. "I was particularly informed," says her grandson, Mr. James Calder, of Croy, "by the

abovenamed Mrs. Jean Taylor, who resided with her from the end of the persecution till her decease, that she attained to very great stability with respect to the state of her soul, and a glorious sunshine of spiritual comfort and joy in the Lord for some years before her death." And when the last enemy approached, she was not only calm and resigned, but expressed a holy exultation and triumph of soul. The dark valley of the shadow of death had lost all its terrors to her, and she descried beyond it the land of everlasting light, purity, and happiness. A little before she expired, being in the full possession of her reason, and enjoying a celestial tranquillity of mind, "she called on her pious attending friends," to use again the words of Mr. Calder, "to sing with her once more on earth the praises of her best beloved; in which exercise she joined with particular ardor, insomuch that the sweetness, the melody, and elevation of her voice were distinguished by all who were present. Then having spoken a sentence or two, in the language of a triumphant faith, with eyes lifted up to heaven, and arms stretched out, this heaven-born soul quitted its cottage of clay with a smile, and sprang forward to meet her celestial Bridegroom, who was now come to receive her into the beatific embracements of his everlasting love."*

Mrs. Campbell had twelve children. In her diary, she makes an allusion to her son John, who was born about September, 1692.† Another of her sons, Hugh, became a minister of the gospel.‡ As to her other children, we are ignorant even of their names, except of one of her daughters, Jean, respecting whose descendants, as has been said before, we have been favored with some interesting facts, communicated by Mr. Russell, of Stamford, Canada West; who, after stating that Mrs. Campbell had twelve children, and that he can furnish no information respecting any of her other children, or their descendants, save her daughter Jean, named after her intimate and godly companion, Jean Taylor, adds, "Jean was married to a Mr. Calder, a minister somewhere in the north. She and her husband died, leaving five young children. One of them, named James, was for many years minister of Croy, Nairnshire. Another of them, named Grisell, was married to Robert Falconer, merchant, Nairn; and a third, named Lilias, and placed under the care of Jean Taylor after the death of her parents, died in her fifth year, old and mature in Christian attainments. The other two, whose names I can not give, died unmarried; but though they have left no name

* The Religious Monitor, vol. ix., p. 131.
† Ibid., vol. ix., pp. 342, 343. ‡ Ibid., vol. ix., p. 131.

on earth, they are said to have been such as to leave no doubt that their names are written in heaven. The Rev. James Calder, of Croy, Mrs. Campbell's grandson, was so esteemed in his day, that he was called the Hervey of the north. He had three sons, ministers of the church of Scotland. Hugh was his successor in Croy; Charles* was minister in Urquhart, the immediate predecessor of Dr. M'Donald; and John was settled in a parish in the south. The Rev. Hugh Calder had a son, named Alexander, ordained his colleague and successor before he had completed the age of twenty-one. This youth was a burning and shining light, but died when men were only beginning to rejoice in his light, and to magnify the grace of God that was in him. The Rev. Charles Calder had a daughter married to the late Rev. Dr. Stewart, formerly of Dingwall, and afterward of the Canongate church, Edinburgh. Grisell Calder, grand-daughter of Mrs. Campbell, left a son of the same name with his father, Robert Falconer, and a daughter, named Mary. Robert was for many years sheriff of the county of Nairn, and died nearly thirty years ago, leaving two sons and two daughters. His sister, Mary Falconer, was married to the Rev. Henry Clark, minister of the Anti-burgher seceder congregation of Boghole, in the county of Nairn. She died about the same time with her brother; and her only surviving descendant is she who, for twenty-three years, has been the companion of my cares and labors in Canada. Imperfect as this account is, you will not fail to observe, how God has been graciously pleased to render the descendants of that eminently pious woman, and their immediate relatives, eminently instrumental in publishing that gospel for which she suffered, when it was rare, and therefore precious, in that part of our native country."

* For some interesting notices of Mr. Charles Calder, see Memoirs of the Rev. Alexander Stewart, D.D., one of the ministers of Canongate, Edinburgh, pp. 207–211, 290–295.

MARGARET M'LAUCHLAN AND MARGARET WILSON.

The years 1684 and 1685 were years of terrible suffering to the covenanters. The history of these years is written in letters of blood, and they were emphatically called, by the sufferers, *The killing time*. The savage ruffians, who were scouring the country like incarnate demons, hunted the poor helpless victims of their cruelty like wild beasts, over moors and mountains. If they met with a person who refused to answer their questions, or who did not satisfy them in their answers; or if they found another reading the Bible; or observed a third apparently alarmed or attempting to escape, they reckoned all such persons fanatics, and in many instances shot them dead on the spot. The devil had gone forth, having great wrath, as if knowing that his time was short. Patrick Walker remarks, that during these two years, eighty persons were shot in the fields, in cold blood; and he further says, "Since that time, some that write of court affairs of Britain for twenty of these years, assert that the very design of that killing time was to provoke the Lord's people in the west of Scotland to rise in arms in their own defence, as at Pentland, Bothwell, and Ayr's Moss, that they might get the sham occasion to raise fire and sword in the west, to make it a hunting field, as the duke of York had openly threatened, saying, 'There is no other way of rooting fanaticism out of it.'"* But whatever may be as to this, the ferocity of the persecutors had risen to an unprecedented height, creating general alarm, and threatening to wear out the saints of the Most High.

We are now to narrate the history of one of the bloody scenes enacted during the last of these years—the year 1685—the scene of the judicial murder of two blameless, inoffensive, and pious females, Margaret M'Lauchlan,† an aged widow, and Margaret Wilson, a young girl, who were drowned in the tide at the mouth of the river Blednoch, which runs into the sea about a hundred yards to the south of the town of Wigton, in Lower Galloway. The tragical fate of Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey has already been brought under the notice of the reader;‡ and the case before us is no less touching, whether we consider the advanced age of the one sufferer, and the youth of the other, or the kind of death

* Biograph. Presby., vol. i., p. 302.

† Or Lauchlison, which is the name given her in her petition to the privy council.

‡ See pp 272–300.

to which they were subjected, or the shocking barbarity of their ruthless murderers, or the undaunted courage with which they suffered and yielded up their spirits to God.

Margaret Wilson, the younger of the two martyrs, who was only about eighteen years of age at the time of her death, was daughter of Gilbert Wilson, farmer, of Glenvernock, the property of the laird of Castlestewart, in the parish of Penningham, in Wigtonshire. He was in good outward circumstances; and his farm, which was excellent soil, and in the best condition, was well stocked with sheep and cattle. Both he and his wife were conformists to prelacy, and regularly attended the ministry of the curate of Penningham; nor could the government lay anything to their charge. Their children, however, which is rather remarkable, were, at an early age, not only well acquainted with the principles of religion, but, contrary to the example of their parents, ardently attached to the persecuted faith, and would on no consideration attend the ministry of the prelatic incumbent of that parish. On this account, though scarcely of such an age as rendered them obnoxious to the law, they were searched for; and, to secure their safety, were compelled to betake themselves, like many others, to the desert solitudes of the upper part of Galloway. They were, in fact treated in every respect as outlaws. Their parents were forbidden, at their highest peril, to harbor them, to supply their wants, or to have any intercourse with them; and were even commanded so far to disregard natural affection, as to lodge information against them that they might be apprehended. But the barbarous and unprincipled men who were ravaging Wigtonshire did not stop at this. Mr. Wilson being a man of substance, they looked with a greedy eye upon his wealth; and, notwithstanding his own compliance with prelacy, fined him for the nonconformity of his children. In addition to this, he was grievously harassed by parties of soldiers, who, sometimes to the number of a hundred, would come to his house, and not only live at free quarters, but commit that wanton destruction upon his property to which, by the fierceness of their dispositions they were prompted. To hardships of this nature he was subjected for several years; and these hardships, together with his frequent attendance upon courts at Wigton, which was thirteen miles distant from his own house, and at Edinburgh reduced him from comparative affluence to poverty. So heavy, indeed, were his pecuniary losses—amounting, at a moderate calculation, to upward of 5,000 merks—that, though before being

thus pillaged, he was one of the most substantial men in that part of the country, he died about the year 1704 or 1705 in destitution, and his widow, who was alive in 1711, then very aged, subsisted upon the charity of her friends. This is one instance, among many others which might be adduced, in which persons of property, against whose loyalty and religion the government had nothing to object, were exposed to the spoliation of their goods, and were even sometimes reduced to absolute penury, for the recusance of those connected with them, and over whom they had often no control. Loyal and conforming parents were fined, and otherwise punished, for the nonconformity of their children; loyal and conforming husbands for the nonconformity of their wives; loyal and conforming masters for the nonconformity of their servants; loyal and conforming proprietors for the nonconformity of their tenants. The troopers, too, who like licensed robbers, traversed the country, in many cases pillaged, with indiscriminate wantonness, such as were friendly to the government and conformists to prelacy, and such as were not.

Margaret Wilson, and her sister, Agnes, who was then only about thirteen years of age, at length fell into the hands of the persecutors. In the beginning of the year 1685, these two girls, to secure their safety, were obliged to leave for some time their father's house, and, in company with their brother, a youth of not more than sixteen years of age, and other persecuted wanderers, to seek shelter, in the mosses, mountains, and caves of Carrick, Nithsdale, and Galloway. On the death of Charles II., when the persecution was for a brief period relaxed, the two sisters, leaving their hiding-places, ventured to come secretly to Wigton, to visit some of their fellow-sufferers in the same cause, and particularly the aged Margaret M'Lauchlan, whom they greatly loved, and who was well qualified to minister comfort and counsel to them under their troubles. Here both of them were discovered and made prisoners through the treachery of a man named Patrick Stuart, with whom they were personally acquainted, and who professed to take a deep and friendly interest in their welfare. This base fellow, from what motive it is not said, but doubtless either from pure malignity of disposition, or from the love of the paltry wages given to informers, purposed to betray these friendless and unsuspecting girls. To find some plausible ground of complaint against them, he, with much apparent kindness, invited them to go with him and partake of some refreshment, which being brought, he proposed that they should drink the king's health. This, as he probably anticipated, from

what he knew of their character, they modestly declined to do; upon which he left them, and immediately proceeded to the authorities of Wigton, to lodge information against them. A party of soldiers was forthwith despatched to apprehend them. The two girls were cast into that abominable place called "the thieves' hole," and after lying there for some time, were removed to the prison in which their beloved friend, Margaret M'Lauchlan, who had been apprehended about the same time, or very shortly after, was confined, and of whom we now proceed to give some account.

MARGARET M'LAUCHLAN was the widow of John Mulligen, or Millikin, carpenter, a tenant in the parish of Kirkinner, in the shire of Galloway, in the farm of Drumjargan, belonging to Colonel Vans of Barnbarroch; and she had now nearly reached the venerable age of seventy.* She was a plain countrywoman, but superior to most women of her station in religious knowledge; blameless in her deportment, and a pattern of virtue and piety. Being strictly presbyterian in her principles, she had regularly absented herself from hearing the curate of the parish of Kirkinner; she had also attended the sermons of the proscribed ministers, and had afforded shelter and relief to her persecuted nonconforming relations and acquaintances in their wanderings and distresses. Honorable as was all this to her character, it was, in those days of oppression, regarded as highly criminal; and, on this account, she suffered much in her property, and at last was apprehended on the sabbath-day, when engaged in the exercise of family worship in her own dwelling, the day of rest being now the season when the persecutors were most active in searching for "the fanatics," and often most successful in discovering them. She was immediately carried to prison, in which she lay for a long time, and was treated with great harshness, not being allowed a fire to warm her, nor a bed upon which to lie, nor even an adequate supply of food to satisfy the cravings of nature.

When Margaret M'Lauchlan, Margaret Wilson, and her sister, were apprehended, it was demanded of them, as a test of their loyalty, that they should swear the abjuration oath. This was an oath abjuring a manifesto published by the "Society People," or the Cameronians, on the 8th of November, 1684,† entitled

* The inscription on her gravestone in the churchyard of Wigton makes her age sixty-three, but, in her petition to the privy council, she says that she is "about the age of threescore [and] ten years."

† It was fixed upon the market crosses of several burghs, and upon a great many church-doors.

"The Apologetic Declaration and Admonitory Vindication of the True Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, especially anent Intelligencers and Informers." In this manifesto, after expressing their adherence to their former declarations, in which they disowned the authority of Charles Stuart, and declared war against him and his accomplices; and after testifying that they "utterly detest and abhor that hellish principle of killing all who differ in judgment or persuasion from them;" they declare it to be their purpose to punish, according to their power, and according to the degree of the offence, such as should stretch forth their hands against them by shedding their blood on account of their principles, or willingly give such information as should lead thereto. This step we do not undertake to vindicate, it being "calculated, notwithstanding all their qualifications, and in spite of all the precautions they might use, to open a door to lawless bloodshed, and to give encouragement to assassination. At the same time, it is impossible to condemn them with great severity, when we reflect that they were cast out of the protection of law, driven out of the pale of society, and hunted like wild beasts in the woods and on the mountains, to which they had fled for shelter."* It is also to be noticed that what they chiefly aimed at was to inspire their persecutors with a wholesome terror;† and this object was to a considerable degree gained in regard to the more active and malignant informers, who dared not now, as they had done before, to dog the footsteps and discover to the soldiers the hiding-places of men whom intolerable oppression had driven to desperation. The more virulent and persecuting of the curates in Nithsdale and Galloway were also so panic-struck on the publication of the paper, as to leave their parishes and seek safety elsewhere for a time.

On the government the effect was different: it roused their fury to the utmost height. On the 22d of November, they passed an act, which Wodrow justly calls a "bloody act," ordaining "every person, who owns or will not disown the late treasonable declaration upon oath, whether they have arms or not, to be immediately put to death; there being present two witnesses, and the person or persons having commission for that effect"‡—an act on which is to be charged the blood of not a few who were

* M'Crie's Review of Tales of My Landlord in his Miscellaneous Writings, p. 443.

† "The only instances in which it is alleged, so far as we recollect, that it led to murder, were those of two soldiers at Swine-Abbay, and of the curate of Carsphairn. The last of these was publicly disowned and condemned by the Society People."—Ibid., p. 444.

‡ Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 155.

shot in the fields by officers, and even by private sentinels, who pretended to be invested with such powers. On the following day, they gave commission, with a justiciary power, to certain noblemen, gentlemen, and military officers, to convocate all the inhabitants, men and women above fourteen years of age (in certain parishes named), to execute, by military commission upon the place, such of them as owned the "late traitorous declaration;" and also to execute the sentence of death on such as refused to disown it, after trying them by a jury. An oath was also framed abjuring the "Apologetic Declaration," and hence called "the abjuration oath," which all, both men and women, above the age of sixteen years, were required to swear, under the pains of high-treason.

Margaret M'Lauchlan, and the two youthful sisters, Margaret and Agnes Wilson, refused to swear the abjuration oath. They were accordingly brought to a formal trial before Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg,* Colonel David Graham (brother to the bloody

* Of these commissioners, Grierson of Lagg has obtained the most infamous celebrity in the annals of the persecution. So cruel and brutal was his temper, that he seems to have felt an infernal delight in murdering, in cold blood, the unarmed and unresisting peasantry of his country. In 1685, he shot five covenanters dead on the spot, without giving them leave to pray; and when one of them, Mr. Bell of Whiteside, who was acquainted with him, begged for a quarter of an hour to prepare for death, he remorselessly answered, "What the devil! have you not got time enough to prepare since Bothwell?" Among the Wodrow MSS. we have met with some specimens of his profanity, but they are too shocking to be here repeated.—(Vol. xxxvii. 8o. No. 1.) He outlived the persecution nearly half a century, having died on the 23d of December 1733. Many of the cruelties which he perpetrated have been recorded in his "Elegy, or, a Mock Lamentation of the Prince of Darkness upon his Death"—which is supposed to have been written long before the time of his demise. Of this production, the following lines, taken from the twenty first edition, are a specimen:—

"What fatal news is this I hear!
On earth who shall my standard bear?
For Lagg, who was my champion brave,
Is dead, and now laid in his grave.
The want of him is a great grief;
He was my manager and chief;
He bore my image on his brow—
My service he did still avow.
He had no other Deitie
But this world, the flesh, and me!
Unto us he did homage pay,
And did us worship every day.
In Galloway he was well known—
His great exploits in it were shown;
He was my general in that place;
He did the presbyterians chase:
Through moss, and moor, and many a bag,
They were pursued by my friend Lagg.
He many a saint pursued to death;
He feared neither hell nor wrath!

Claverhouse), Major Windram, Captain Strachan, and Provost Cultrain at Wigton, on the 13th of April, 1685. In their indictment, they were charged with being at the battle of Bothwell-bridge, at the skirmish of Ayr's Moss, at twenty field conventicles, and at an equal number of house conventicles. The first two charges were notoriously false. None of the panels had ever been within many miles of either of these places. It is, besides, to be noticed that at the time of the battle of Bothwell-bridge, the two girls were mere children (the one only about seven years of age, and the other only about eleven or twelve), while sixty-five years had passed over the head of the aged widow; and it can not for a moment be supposed that two girls of so tender an age, or that an humble, inoffensive female, who had nearly reached the utmost limits of human earthly existence, could be concerned in that insurrection. The same remark applies to the skirmish at Ayr's Moss, which took place only a little more than a year after the rising at Bothwell-bridge. The other charges brought against these sufferers may have been true in part or in whole; but nothing was proved against them. Being again required to swear the abjuration oath, all of them refused to swear it; and this refusal seems to have been the main ground upon which they were condemned. After the mockery of a trial, a jury was found so unprincipled as to bring in a verdict of guilty against the whole three; and the sentence pronounced upon them was, that, upon the 11th of May, they should be tied to stakes fixed within the flood-mark in the water of Blednoch, near Wigton, where the sea flows at high water, there to be drowned! They were commanded to receive their sentence on their bended knees; and refusing to kneel, they were pressed down by force till it was pronounced.* But they were by no means daunted; they heard the cruel sentence with much composure, and even with cheerful countenances, accounting it their honor that they were called to suffer in the cause of Christ.

This extraordinary sentence could not but produce great excitement in Wigton, and the friends of the three females were

His conscience was so cauterized,
He refused nothing that I pleased:
For which he's had my kindness still,
Since he his labors did fulfil.
Any who read the Scriptures through,
I'm sure they'll find but very few
Of my best friends that's mentioned there,
That could with Grier of Lagg compare!"

The History of Galloway, vol. ii, pp. 281, 282.

* Cloud of Witnesses, p. 301.

plunged into the deepest distress. The afflicted father of the two girls, on going to Edinburgh, was allowed to purchase, at the price of one hundred pounds sterling, the life of his younger daughter, in consequence of her tender age. When in Edinburgh, he would also, no doubt, use every means in his power to save the life of his other daughter; and his intercessions, as we shall afterward see, had a mollifying effect upon the members of the privy council. At the same time, Margaret Wilson's friends did all they could to prevail with her to swear the abjuration oath, and to promise to attend the ministry of the curate of the parish in which she lived, but without effect; for by no solicitations would she surrender her convictions of truth and duty, whatever it might cost her. During her imprisonment, she wrote a long letter to her relations, highly honorable to her character. It was full of the deep and affecting sense which she had of God's love to her soul, and expressed an entire resignation to his sovereign disposal. It also contained a vindication of her refusal to save her life by swearing the abjuration oath, and by engaging to conform to prelacy—written with a cogency of argument and a solidity of judgment far above her years and education.* The aged Margaret M'Lauchlan, it would appear, exhibited in prison less heroic resolution than her youthful companion. She was induced to send a petition to the privy council, praying them to recall the sentence of death pronounced upon her, acknowledging the justice of the sentence, and expressing her willingness to take the abjuration oath, and regularly to attend her parish church. The petition is as follows:—

"Unto his Grace, my Lord High Commissioner, and remanent Lords of his Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council—The humble Supplication of Margaret Lauchlison, now prisoner in the Tolbooth of Wigton: SHOWETH,

"That whereas, I being justly condemned to die by the lords commissioners of his majesty's most honorable privy council and justiciary, in a court holden at Wigton, the 13th day of April instant, for my not disowning that traitorous 'Apologetical Declaration' lately affixed at several parish churches within this kingdom, and my refusing the oath of abjuration of the same, which was occasioned by my not perusing the same, and now I having considered the said Declaration, do acknowledge the same to be traitorous, and tends to nothing but rebellion and sedition, and to be quite contrary unto the written Word of God, and am content to abjure the same with my whole heart.

* Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 248.

"May it therefore please your grace and remanent lords, as said is, to take my case to your serious consideration, being about the age of threescore [and] ten years, and to take pity and compassion on me, and recall the foresaid sentence so justly pronounced against me, and to grant warrant to any your grace thinks fit to administrat the oath of abjuration to me, and, upon my taking of it, to order my liberation; and your supplicant shall live hereafter a good and faithful subject in time coming, and shall frequent the ordinances and live regularly, and give what other obedience your grace and remanent lords shall prescribe thereanent, and your petitioner shall ever pray.

"Written by WILLIAM MOIR.

"W. DUNBAR, witness.

"WILL. GORDOUN, witness."*

Yielding to the prayer of this petition, and to the representations of Margaret Wilson's father, the privy council granted a reprieve to these two females, and recommended them to the secretaries of state for his majesty's pardon. The act of council is as follows:—

"EDINBURGH, *April* 30, 1685.

"The lords of his majesty's privy council do hereby reprieve the execution of the sentence of death pronounced by the justices against Margaret Wilson and Margaret Lauchlison, until the —— day of ———, and discharge the magistrates of Wigton from putting of the said sentence to execution against them until the foresaid day; and recommend the said Margaret Wilson and Margaret Lauchlison to the lords secretaries of state, to interpose with his most sacred majesty for the royal remission to them."†

But, notwithstanding this reprieve, these two women were, on the day appointed (the 11th of May), conducted from the tolbooth of Wigton to the place of execution, amid a numerous crowd of spectators, who had assembled to witness so unusual a sight. They were guarded by Major Windram‡ with a company of soldiers, and, on arriving at the place, were fastened to stakes fixed

* Warrants of Privy Council. † Register of Acts of Privy Council.

‡ It is not unworthy of notice, as affording a singular instance of the sovereignty of Divine grace, that several of this persecutor's children gave pleasing evidence of early piety. Mr. James Renwick, in a letter "to the Honorable Mr. Robert Hamilton," dated July 9, 1684, says: "A grand persecutor, called Major Windram, had three children, who within a little while of [each] other died—one of them a very young boy, and two daughters come to the years of discretion, who died very sweetly and pleasingly—declaring that the Lord's hand was stretched forth against them because of the hand their father hath in shedding the blood of the saints; and obtested him, before God, that he would quit the course he followed; which things had some though no lasting effect upon him."—Renwick's Letters, p. 81.

in the sand, between high and low water mark. Margaret M'Lauchlan, who is said to have now manifested great fortitude, though, when in prison, she had offered to make concessions, was tied to the stake placed nearest the advancing tide, that she might perish first, for the obvious purpose of terrifying into submission the younger sufferer, who was bound to a stake nearer the shore. The multitude looked on, thrilled with horror. The flood gradually made its way to the aged matron, rising higher and higher at each successive wave, "mounting up from knee, waist, breast, neck, chin, lip," until it choked and overwhelmed her. Margaret Wilson witnessed the whole scene, and knew that she would soon share the same fate; but her steadfastness remained unshaken; and so far from exhibiting any symptoms of terror, she displayed a calm courage, rivalling that of the most intrepid martyrs. When her fellow-sufferer was struggling in the waters with the agonies of death, a heartless bystander, perhaps one of the soldiers, asked the youthful Margaret, to whom the tide had not yet advanced so far, what she thought of the spectacle before her. "What do I see," she answered, "but Christ, in one of his members, wrestling there? Think you that *we* are the sufferers? No, it is Christ in us; for he sends none a warfare upon their own charges."

When bound to the stake, Margaret Wilson sang several verses of the twenty-fifth psalm, beginning at the seventh verse:—

> "Let not the errors of my youth,
> Nor sins remembered be:
> In mercy for thy goodness' sake,
> O Lord, remember me.
> The Lord is good and gracious,
> He upright is also:
> He therefore sinners will instruct,
> In ways that they should go," &c.

She then repeated, with a calm and even cheerful voice, a portion of the eighth chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans; and, through a steadfast faith in the great and consoling truths exhibited in that sublime chapter, and in the interesting verses of the psalm she had sung, she was enabled to meet death with unshrinking courage, looking forward with humble hope to that exceeding great and eternal weight of glory, which would do more than counterbalance all her sufferings in the cause of Christ. She next engaged in prayer; and, while so employed, the waters had risen upon her so high as to reach her lips, and she began to struggle with the agonies of death. At this moment, by the command of her murderers, who *pretended* to be willing to preserve

her life, provided she should swear the abjuration oath,* the cords which bound her to the stake were unloosened, and she was pulled out of the waters. As soon as she recovered and was able to speak, it was asked her, by Major Windram's orders, if she would pray for the king. With the Christian meekness which formed so engaging a feature in her character, she answered, "I wish the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none." "Dear Margaret," exclaimed a friend, deeply moved with pity, and anxious to save her life, "say, God save the king! say, God save the king!" With the greatest composure, she replied, "God save him, if he will; for it is his salvation I desire."† Immediately her friends called out to Windram, "Sir, she hath said it! she hath said it!" But with this her murderers were not satisfied. Lagg, we are told, bellowed out, "Damned bitch! we do not want such prayers; tender the oath to her;"‡ and Windram, coming near her, demanded that she should swear the abjuration oath, else she should be again instantly cast into the sea. She needed not long to deliberate; in an instant her resolve was taken; preferring to die rather than to do what she believed would be a denial of Christ and his truth, she firmly replied, "I will not; I am one of Christ's children; let me go." And so, after her sufferings were thus inhumanly protracted, and after being thus cruelly tantalized with the hope of life, she was, by Windram's orders, thrust into the waters, which speedily closed over her for the last time.

These females, it would appear, as has been said before, were executed in disregard of the reprieve granted them by the privy council, who recommended them to the royal clemency. The day to which they were reprieved is left a blank in the records of the council; but there is every reason to believe that it would be to a later day than the 11th of May, as at that period, the facilities of communication being greatly less than at present, there would hardly be time, between the 30th of April and the 11th

* We say, *pretended*; because it may fairly be questioned, from what we know of the character of her persecuters, whether her life would have been spared, even though she had sworn the abjuration oath. The other questions which it was common to put to the covenanters might also have been put to her, as, "Will you renounce the covenant?"—"Was the rising of Bothwell bridge rebellion?"—and failing to answer any of these questions in the affirmative, she might, after all, have been drowned by these blood-thirsty men.

† It is therefore a mistake to say, as Chambers has done in his picture of Scotland (vol. i., pp. 273, 274), that one of the martyrs "were offered their lives when at the stake, on condition of saying, 'God save the king,' and on refusing were left to be overwhelmed by the rising waves."—See Appendix, No. X.

‡ Aikman's Annals of the Persecution, p. 518.

of May, to get a return from London. It seems, therefore, highly probable that our two martyrs were, by the brutality of their judges and the magistrates of Wigton, executed without orders from the government. But of the blood of these women the government were not altogether guiltless. They had ordained the abjuration oath to be put to all persons above sixteen years of age, whether male or female; and such as refused to swear it, were liable to be tried and punished capitally. They had invested inferior officers with the power of trying and condemning such as refused it. They had even given instructions to their commissioners, to condemn such women as had been signally active in supporting the Apologetic Declaration, to be drowned;* and though, in the present instance, they granted a reprieve to these condemned women, and recommended them to the mercy of the king, yet, when their unprincipled and hardened officers executed the sentence contrary to orders, they did not even censure them for such a deed of revolting atrocity.

The bodies of the two martyrs on being taken from the waters, were buried in the churchyard of Wigton. A stone was afterward erected to their memory. The particular date of its erection can not now be ascertained, but, from the freedom of its language, it is evident that it was after the revolution. It is placed in the wall of the church, and the inscription upon it, copied *verbatim et literatim*, is as follows :—

HERE LIES MARGARAT LACHLANE
WHO WAS BY UNJUST LAW SENTENCED
TO DYE BY LAGG STRACHANE WINRAME
AND GRAME AND TYED TO A STAKE WITH
IN THE FLOOD FOR HER*
ME MENTO MORI

SURNAMED GRIER

* ADHERENCE TO SCOTLAND'S REFORMATION
COVENANTS NATIONAL AND SOLEMN LEAGUE
AGED 63. 1685.

HERE LYES MARGARET WILSON
DOUGHTER TO GILBERT WILSON
IN GLENVERNOCH WHO WAS
DROUND ANO 1685
AGED 18

LET EARTH AND STONE STILL WITNESS BEARE
THERE LYES A VIRGINE MARTYR HERE.
MURTHERD FOR OWNING CHRIST SUPREME,
HEAD OF HIS CHURCH AND NO MORE CRIME
BUT NOT ABJURING PRESBYTERY,
AND HER NOT OWING PRELACY,
THEY HER CONDEMND, BY UNJUST LAW:
OF HEAVEN NOR HELL THEY STOOD NO AW.
WITHIN THE SEA TYD TO A STAKE;
SHE SUFFERED FOR CHRIST JESUS SAKE
THE ACTORS OF THIS CRUEL CRIME
WAS LAGG, STRACHAN, WINRAM, AND GRAHAME
NEITHER YOUNG YEARS, NOR YET OLD AGE
COULD STOP THE FURY OF THERE RAGE.

* Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 165.

It may here be stated that a monument in honor of these and other martyrs whose ashes repose in the churchyard of Wigton, is about to be erected. A sermon was preached, by the Rev. Dr. William Symington, of Glasgow, in the parish church of Wigton, on Sabbath, the 24th of September, 1848, in aid of a fund for carrying that object into effect. The subject chosen by the preacher was the opening of the fifth seal, Rev. vi. 9–11; and, in an address at the close of public worship, he thus vindicates the erection of such memorials to the memory of our martyrs: "Let not our object be mistaken. It is not, by any means, to canonize the sufferers; or to imitate the conduct of the church of Rome, by cherishing a superstitious and undue veneration for departed saints. Our object is to draw attention to the principles, rather than to the persons of the martyrs. And this we propose to do by commemorating their noble deeds, and their sufferings. We affect to tell the simple tale of their martyrdom, and to renew those touching memorials which are falling into a state of decay and obliteration by the lapse of time. The principle upon which we act, we regard as distinctly recognised in the approved example of saints, the statements of Holy Writ, and the procedure of God himself. We have read of 'the pillar of Rachel's grave,' reared by patriarchal hands, 'in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem.' We can not forget the declarations 'that the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance,' and that 'the memory of the just is blessed;' nor that one of the marks of the Divine displeasure against the wicked consists in 'cutting off their memory from the earth,' and making 'all their memory to perish.' Nor can we suffer ourselves to overlook the circumstance, that the 11th chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews is just a noble monumental pile, raised by the Spirit, in commemoration of elders who had received a good report, and whose names, lest they should pass away into oblivion, are legibly inscribed on its surface."

Chambers, in his picture of Scotland, relates what he calls "a strange and ridiculous story," which is told at Wigton, connected with the drowning of these women. "One of the most active persons at the execution," says he, "was, it seems, the town officer of Wigton, who, when the girls were raised out of the water, and refused to save their lives by the simple expression abovementioned (God save the king), took his halbert, and, pressing them down again into the water, exclaimed, with savage glee, 'Then take another drink, my hearties.' Heaven for this is said to have afflicted him with an intolerable and unquenchable thirst,

insomuch that he never after durst venture abroad without carrying along with him an enormous jar full of water, wherewithal to gratify his unnatural appetite. As he crawled about with this singular load, people used to pass him by with silent horror; for, though his misfortune might have been the result of disease, it was, in that superstitious age, universally believed to be the manifestation of Divine vengeance."† This traditionary anecdote we have given as we find it, without vouching for its truth. But the assertion of this popular writer, that it was superstitious to regard the calamity which befell this man, on the supposition that the story is true, as the manifestation of Divine vengeance, since it might have been the result of disease, is most certainly unsound in theology. Even granting it to have been the result of disease, this would not prove that it was not a judgment of God; for disease, like everything else, is under his direction and control, and he can make it the minister of his justice as well as any other agent, even when it is brought on, not by any supernatural infliction, but in the ordinary course of nature. No doubt, in cases of this sort, a mistaken, an uncharitable, and even an impious interpretation, may be put upon Providence, in reference to the calamities which befall our fellow-creatures.* But still it

* As an example of this, we may quote the following passage from one of Mr. Robert Baillie's letters. Writing to Mr. Spang, apparently in June, 1658, he says: "Mr. Gillespie remains there (in London), sorely sick, some think in displeasure that his desires were not granted. However, at his last going to Hampton court, he got no speech of the Protector; if this grieved him I know not; but he went immediately from Hamptoun court to Wombledoun, Lambert's house, being Saturday, at night; and having engaged to preach on Sunday morning, before sermon, he had five stools, and after his painful preaching, fourscore, before he rested; thereafter, for many days, a great flux and fever, together with the breach of a bulcer in the guts, put him to the very brink of death. *Many thought it the evident hand of God upon him, and would not have sorrowed for his death.* For myself, I was grieved, foreseeing the hurt of our college by his removal."—(Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii., p. 356.) Mr. Patrick Gillespie, who was then principal of the university of Glasgow, was a zealous protestor during the controversy between the resolutioners and the protestors; and the men who are here said to have viewed his illness as a judgment of God, were resolutioners. This accounts for their uncharitable and impious explanation of the conduct of Divine providence in bringing that severe illness upon Gillespie. It was the suggestion of the animosity of party spirit; and it was substantially saying, that God was such a one as themselves. It threw no light on God's providence toward Gillespie, but it threw light upon the temper of their own minds. It indicated plainly enough, that had they been intrusted with the government of the world, disease would soon have thinned the ranks of the protesters, or have even exterminated the whole race. Had this been done, we would have had few martyrs during the persecution of Charles II., for the ministers who refused to conform to prelacy, and who suffered for nonconformity, were nearly all protesters; the most of the resolutioners, though they had sworn against prelacy, having too little principle, and too little courage, to make sacrifices for conscience' sake. Happily for the protesters, the government of the world was in more merciful hands than in those of the resolutioners. It may be added, that Gillespie was again restored to health.

† Pp. 273, 274.

must be admitted by every observer of Providence, altogether apart from the authority of revelation, that though wickedness, and even atrocious wickedness, may often pass unpunished in the present life, yet there are instances in which it is punished in the course of events, in so striking a manner, as to extort, even from the most unthinking, and the least inclined to superstition, the acknowledgment that such visitations bear the impress of the hand of a righteous God. "In the Divine management of the fortuitous events of life," says Isaac Taylor, "there is, in the first place, visible some occasional flashings of that retributive justice which, in the future world, is to obtain its long postponed and perfected triumph. There are instances which, though not very common, are frequent enough to keep alive the salutary fears of mankind; wherein vindictive visitations speak articulately in attestation of the righteous judgment of God upon them that do evil. Outrageous villanies, or appalling profaneness, sometimes draw upon the criminal the instant bolt of Divine wrath; and in so remarkable a manner, that the most irreligious minds are quelled with a sudden awe, and confess the fearful hand of God."*

Another singular anecdote, connected with the drowning of these women, has been preserved by the industrious Wodrow. Between nineteen and twenty years after the Revolution, a daughter of Margaret M'Lauchlan, dreamed, it would seem, that her mother appeared to her and bade her go and tell Provost Cultrain, of Wigton, who was a very active instrument in her death, and who was then alive, that he must soon stand before the bar of the great God, to give in his account. Within a few months, or a few weeks after this dream, the provost died. Having gone, in the beginning of November, 1708, to hold a justice-court at Stranraer, he no sooner stood up to make a speech when the court assembled, than his tongue faltered, and he fell back. He was immediately carried to his lodgings, at which he died within a few days. Wodrow had received some hints of this matter from Mr. Henry Davidson, minister of Galashiels;† but from his extreme care in authenticating, as far as possible, the information communicated to him, he wrote a letter to Mr. William Campbell, minister of Kirkinner, requesting him to examine Margaret M'Lauchlan's daughter, who was then alive, in refer-

* Natural History of Enthusiasm, pp. 135, 136.

† In a letter from him, dated August 29, 1717; Letters to Wodrow, vol. x., 4to, No. 47, Mr. Davidson says, "He (Provost Cultrain) was acquainted with the dream some months before his death, but he jested at it."

ence to her dream. The answer Mr. Campbell returned is as follows:* "REV. DEAR BROTHER:— . . . In compliance with your desire anent Elizabeth Millikin's dream, know that I went and discoursed her this day, in order to give you the genuine account of it. The said Elizabeth dreamed, some weeks or months before the quarter sessions that met in November, 1708, that her mother, Margaret Lauchlisson, came to her, at the cross of Wigton, with garb, gesture and countenance that she had five minutes before she was drowned in Blednoch, and said to her, 'Elizabeth, go and warn Provost Cultrain that he must shortly compear before the tribunal of the great God, to answer for his ways;' and immediately her sleep was broken, and it made such an impression upon her, that she resolved, for her own exoneration, and the provost's edification, prudently and meekly to communicate the said dream to the said William Cultrain, of Drummoral, with the first convenience; but not finding or expecting that, she told the dream to Bailie Lafries, Drummoral's friend, being married to Lady Drummoral's sister, a man of age, gravity, and experience, and an elder in Wigton; and solemnly desired and engaged him to signify the said dream to the said Drummoral; and she doubted not but the said Bailie Lafries did tell the said Drummoral. And, accordingly, in the beginning of November, 1708, he rode from Wigton to the quarter session of the justices of the shire, that met that time at Stranraer, and there, on Wednesday, at the court table, was suddenly struck with a lethargy, and was carried to his quarters, and continued speechless till Saturday, the 8th of November, and then died."† Mr. Campbell adds: "The said Elizabeth is poor but pious; a widow indeed, the worthy daughter of such an honored, martyred mother. It hath pleased God lately to afflict her by a sore fall in her walking home from this church; and having a large Bible under her arm, and falling with a great deal of violence upon that side where her Bible was, it has broken some of her ribs, and disables her for business. I have been her acquaintance these sixteen years. I know she is poor and straitened; but I never heard her say she wanted anything. If ye please, procure and send Mr. Martin, bookseller at Edinburgh some supply."

* The letter is dated April 11, 1718.

† Letters to Wodrow, vol. x., 4to, No. 57. In a subsequent letter to Wodrow, dated Kirkinner, May 14, 1718, Mr. Campbell says, "Next morning, after I was favored with yours, I discoursed Elizabeth Millikin, but she can not give you further satisfaction as to the circumstances of that dream; only she dreamed it in her own bed in the town of Barnbarroch; and all the relations of Provost Cultrain and Bailie Lafries deny they know anything of the bailie's informing the provost, or the provost's answer."—Ibid., vol. x., 4to, No. 59.

LADY ANNE MACKENZIE,

COUNTESS OF BALCARRES, AFTERWARD COUNTESS OF ARGYLL.

Lady Anne Mackenzie was the eldest daughter and coheiress of Colin, first earl of Seaforth, by his wife, Lady Margaret Seton, third daughter of Alexander, first earl of Dunfermline. In an old MS., her father, who was the most powerful of the Highland chiefs next to Argyll, is described as "a most religious and virtuous lord. He caused build the castle of Brahan, and [in] every barony of his Highlands caused build a church, and left a donation to the town of Channorie, called Fortrose, to hold up a grammar-school. He was much liked by his king, and by all that ever was with him."* Lady Anne, in early life, lost her father, who died on the 15th of April, 1633, leaving behind him another daughter, Lady Jean. Lady Jean was married, first, to John, master of Berriedale; and, secondly, to Alexander, first Lord Duffus; having, to her first husband, three sons, among whom was George, sixth earl of Caithness; and to her second, four sons. She died in childbed, on the 31st of March, 1618. Lady Anne and her sister Lady Jean were served heirs-portioners of their father, on the 29th of November, 1636, and on the 28th of February, 1637. As in these retours Lady Anne is placed first, it may be concluded that she was the eldest daughter. The titles devolved on her father's brother, George, who thus became second earl of Seaforth.†

Lady Anne received, in her tender years, a scriptural education, and her heart appears even then to have been touched by Divine grace with love to God, and engaged to attend in good earnest to the things which belonged to her everlasting peace. Besides the religious instruction received under the domestic roof, she enjoyed the advantages of an evangelical and faithful gospel ministry. She had also opportunities of frequently mingling in the society of such as feared God. Subjected to these and other religious influences, she increased in piety as she advanced in days and years; growing in love to God, in love to his service, and in love to those who gave evidence of being his children. This we learn from the reference which Richard Baxter, the celebrated nonconformist divine, makes to her early life, in a dedicatory epistle addressed to her, prefixed

* Quoted in Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., p. 33.
† Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii., p. 482.

to his treatise, entitled, "The Mischiefs of Self-Ignorance, and the Benefits of Self-Acquaintance." Speaking of her soul as "replenished with the precious fruits of the Spirit, and beautified with the image of her Lord," he says, "There you can peruse the records of his mercy, and think with gratitude and delight how he did first illuminate you, and draw and engage your heart unto himself; what advantages he got upon you, and what iniquity he prevented by the mercies of your education, and how he secretly took acquaintance with you in your youth; how he delivered you from worldly snares; how he caused you to savor the things of the Spirit; how he planted you in a sound, well-ordered church, where he quickened and conducted you by a lively, faithful ministry, and watered his gifts by the constant powerful preaching of his Word; where discipline was for a defence; and where your heart was warmed with the communion of the saints; and where you learned to worship God in spirit and in truth; and where you were taught so effectually by God to discern between the precious and the vile, and to love those that are born of God, whom the world knoweth not, that no subtleties or calumnies of the serpent can unteach it you, or ever be able to separate you from that love."*

In addition to early piety, Lady Anne, as she advanced to the age of womanhood, possessed great personal attractions, and a combination of the best qualities which can adorn the female mind. David, Lord Balcarres, who was married to her aunt (her mother's sister, Lady Sophia Seton, fourth daughter of Alexander, first earl of Dunfermline, and in whose family, on paying them a visit, she occasionally stayed for some time), describes her as of "a mild nature and sweet disposition," "and wise withal." To this nobleman she afterward became more nearly related, by her marriage with his son Alexander, her full cousin, who was "so hopeful a youth, that he had the respect and love of all that knew him," and who, in 1650, became earl of Balcarres.† She had early made a deep impression on the heart of Alexander, and his affection for her he had long cherished, without making it known either to herself or to any one else. But, at length, about the close of the year 1639, at which time she had been staying for some time with his parents, the strength of his passion overcoming, to a certain extent, the bashful timidity of early and honorable love, he told both his father and mother, three days before she left

* Baxter's Works, folio, London, 1707, vol. ii., p. 762.

† He was served heir to his father on the 24th of October, 1643; and on repairing to Charles II., upon the arrival of his majesty in Scotland in 1650, was created by him earl of Balcarres.

them, which was in November, of his strong attachment to her—that it had "been rooted in his heart this long time, and [that he] could conceal it no longer." He also told his mother that he "had never shown any such thing to her by word," and earnestly desired her to speak to the young lady in his behalf; which, however, she did not do, though she afterward wrote to her on the subject. His addresses were cordially received by Lady Anne, who indeed appears very soon to have been as deeply smitten with the tender passion as himself. But, as the proverb says, the course of true love seldom runs smooth. Her uncle, the new earl of Seaforth, from motives of self-interest, was opposed to the union, though it was highly agreeable to all the other friends of both parties. The hearts of the two lovers were, indeed, too fully engaged for his opposition being deemed a sufficient obstacle to the completion of their wishes; but they were very desirous, if possible, to secure his consent; and this occasioned an interesting correspondence between the families—from which our space, however, will permit us to give only one or two extracts. The first letter in the series is from the father of young Balcarres to the earl of Lauderdale, dated November, 1639, in which he informs him of his son's attachment to Lady Anne M'Kenzie, and of the earl of Seaforth's opposition to their marriage, "because he thought he had no new alliance by it." Lauderdale, in his reply, which is dated the 28th of December, after expressing it as his opinion that the earl of Seaforth, though she married without his consent, would be bound to pay her the portion left her by her father's will, notwithstanding the obligation it imposed upon her to marry with the consent of her uncle, adds: "If the case were my own, I would gladly go about to obtain his consent; but if he should prove too difficile, I would, as the proverb is, 'Thank God, and be doing without his approbation.'" By this opposition on the part of the lady's uncle, the pride of young Balcarres was somewhat wounded, and his temper in some degree ruffled; but, secure in her affection, it was his resolute purpose, should Seaforth prove unyielding, to act upon the only alternative then left him (according to the earl of Lauderdale's advice), to marry her without his consent. The spirited youth, mustering up his self-respect, thus writes to John, Lord Lindsay, of Byres: "Indeed, my lord, I shall be very glad to have his consent to it, and shall use all means for it, since he is her uncle; but if he will not, I believe your lordship shall as publicly see how little power he has of either her or her means, and that I am as little curious for alliance with him as he is with me if I

had no other end before me; for, in truth, it is neither his alliance nor her means has made me intend it." Appeals were made to the earl of Seaforth, in favor of the match, in letters written to him by Lord Lindsay of Byres, and by the earls of Winton and Dunfermline; and young Balcarres also wrote him on the subject in a firm but respectful tone. At last, Seaforth, finding that his opposition would prove unavailing, gave a tardy and reluctant consent; and the happy pair, after this vexatious delay, which young Balcarres, it would appear, bore with no small degree of impatience, were united in wedlock in April, 1640.*

Among the friends of Lady Anne, who warmly advocated the union, was the earl of Rothes. After her marriage, this nobleman wrote her a "homely but a warm-hearted letter," particularly enjoining upon her the duty of economy in the new situation into which she was now brought. The letter, which is dated "Leslie, 15th May, 1640," begins thus: "My Heart—I have sent Mr. David Ayton with your counts, since my intromission;† they are very clear and well instructed; but truly your expense hath been over-large this last year; it will be about three thousand six hundred merks, which indeed did discontent me when I looked on it. I hope you will mend it in time coming. Your husband," his lordship adds, "hath a very noble heart, and much larger than his fortune, and except you be both an example and exhorter of him to be sparing, he will go over-far; both he, my lord, and lady, love you so well, that if ye incline to have those things which will beget expense, they will not be wanting, although it should do them harm . . . . therefore go very plain in your clothes, and play very little, and seek God heartily, who can alone make your life contented here, and give you that chief content, the hope of happiness hereafter. The Lord bless you!"‡

"This good advice," says Lord Lindsay, "was not thrown away. Never did any marriage turn out happier. Lady Anne proved a most affectionate wife, a most kind and judicious mother; and though of the 'mild nature' and 'sweet disposition' praised by Lord Balcarres, was truly, as he adds, 'wise withal,' and capable, as events afterward proved, of heroic firmness, and the most undaunted resolution."

In the stirring times in which they lived, young Balcarres joined the covenanters, whom he greatly aided both by his counsels in the cabinet and by his valor in the field. He commanded a troop

* Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol ii., pp. 34–44.
† That is, "Since I acted in your affairs."
‡ Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., p. 44.

of horse in the covenanters' army, at the battle of Alford, 2d of July, 1645, when General Baillie was defeated by the marquis of Montrose. He was one of the commissioners despatched by the parliament of Scotland, 19th of December, 1646, to King Charles I., with their last proposals, which his majesty rejected; upon which the Scottish army surrendered him to the English parliament, and retired from England. He was, however, of undaunted loyalty to his sovereign, which indeed he carried too far, supporting the duke of Hamilton's engagement—an undertaking justly considered inconsistent with the obligation of the Solemn League and Covenant. When Charles II. marched into England, in 1651, he was left to command the troops on the north of the Forth, and in the Highlands, where, through his marriage with the daughter of the earl of Seaforth, and his friendship with the marquis of Huntly, and the clans, he had great power. But the affairs of Charles becoming, on the defeat of his army at Worcester, to all appearance hopeless, the earl, in December that year, capitulated with the English on favorable conditions, and disbanded his regiments. In 1652, he settled with his family at St. Andrews, keeping up a correspondence with his exiled sovereign; and, in 1653, he again took up arms, and joined in a last ineffectual attempt to uphold the royal cause against Cromwell. In January, 1654, his estates were sequestrated by Cromwell;* and he withdrew to the continent, joining Charles II. at Paris.†

Lady Balcarres, from the strength of her affection for the earl, shared in the hardships and dangers to which he was exposed, in those troublous times, accompanying him in all his military wanderings. "The earl of Balcarres," says Baxter, "was a covenanter, but an enemy to Cromwell's perfidiousness, and true to the person and authority of the king; with the earl of Glencairn he kept up the last war for the king against Cromwell; and his lady, through dearness of affection, marched with him, and lay out of doors with him on the mountains."‡ And when the earl was driven out of Scotland by Cromwell, she accompanied him to the continent, where, for several years, they followed the court. During her abode in France, "being zealous for the king's restoration (for whose cause her husband had pawned and ruined his estate), by the earl of Lauderdale's direction, she, with Sir Rob-

* Lamont's Diary, p. 66. "One George Fleming had a charter of Balcarres, 8th December, 1653, and sasine of Balcarres was passed in favor of Hew Hamilton, bailie of Edinburgh, by Oliver Cromwell, 7th March, 1655. Haigh Muniment-room." —Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. iii., pp. 104, 105.

† Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., pp. 167, 168.

‡ Sylvester's Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part i., p. 121.

ert Murray, got diverse letters from the pastors and others there, to bear witness of the king's sincerity in the protestant religion."*

Amid all these vicissitudes in her lot, Lady Balcarres experienced much domestic happiness. Her esteem, tenderness, and affection, toward the earl, were reciprocated by a corresponding esteem, tenderness, and affection on his part toward her. He knew her worth; he reposed with much confidence in her judgment; and the lapse of time produced not the slightest abatement of the ardor of early affection. They were favored with fine children, who promised to be lovely and good like themselves, and the blessing of Heaven seemed to rest upon them. Baxter, in writing to her, speaking of God's goodness to her, in both a temporal and spiritual respect, says: "You may read in these sacred records of your heart, how the Angel of the covenant hath hitherto conducted you through this wilderness, toward the land of promise; how he hath been a cloud to you in the day, and a pillar of fire by night; how the Lord did number you with the people that are his flock, his portion, and the lot of his inheritance; and led you about in a desert land, instructed you, and kept you as the apple of his eye (Deut. xxxii. 9, 10). His manna hath compassed your tent; his doctrine hath dropped as the rain, and his words distilled as the dew; as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass (ver. 2). As his beloved, you have dwelt in safety by him, and the Lord hath covered you all the day long (chap. xxxiii. 12). When storms have risen, he hath been your refuge; and when dangers compassed you on every side, he hath hid you as in his pavilion, and his angels have pitched their tents about you, and borne you up. You have been fortified in troubles, and enabled comfortably to undergo them. In war and in peace; in your native country and in foreign lands; among your friends and among your enemies: in court and country; in prosperity and adversity, you have found that 'there is none like the God of Israel, who rideth upon the heaven in your help, and his excellency on the sky: the eternal God hath been your refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms' (Deut. xxxiv. 26, 27."†

Baxter, who thus addresses her, personally knew both her and her husband. The earl of Balcarres had, upon the recommendation of lord, afterward duke, Lauderdale,‡ read some of the

* Sylvester's Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part i., p. 121.

† Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to the treatise on the Mischiefs of Self-Ignorance, Baxter's Works, vol. ii., pp. 762–764.

‡ Lauderdale, at first, seemed eminently religious; was a warm presbyterian, and zealous for the covenant. He was detained prisoner, after the battle of Wor-

works of Baxter, which, after a careful perusal, he reckoned among the best of uninspired theological writings. Nor did Lady Balcarres, who had also been induced to read them, fall short of her lord in the judgment she formed of their great merits; and, from reading them, she had acquired a veneration for the character of "the Hercules of nonconformity," as Baxter is styled by Foster, even before she had seen him. On their becoming personally acquainted, he was often a visitant at her residence, being at all times welcome; and when resident in London, she regularly attended his ministry. Baxter, on the other hand, was much attracted by the Christian excellence of her character, and regarded her as one of the most eminently pious ladies of her day. Some of his practicable works were published at her request; and it is to the dedications of some of his works to her, and to his "History of his Life and Times," written by himself, that we are chiefly indebted for what we know respecting her during the first half of her life. In the following passage from the work last referred to, he informs us of the origin of his friendship with her, and pronounces a high encomium upon her Christian excellence: "When the earl of Lauderdale, his [Lord Balcarres's] near kinsman and great friend, was prisoner in Portsmouth and Windsor castle, he fell into acquaintance with my books; and so valued them that he read them all, and took notes of them, and earnestly commended them to the earl of Balcarres, with the king. The earl of Balcarres met, at the first sight, with some passages where he thought I spoke too favorably of the papists, and differed from many other protestants, and so cast them by, and sent the reason of his distaste to the earl of Lauderdale, who pressed him but to read one of the books over;* which he did, and so read them all (as I have seen many of them marked with his hand); and was drawn to over-value them more than the earl of Lauderdale. Hereupon his lady, reading them also, and being a woman of very strong love and friendship, with extraordinary entireness swallowed up in her husband's love, for the books' sake, and her husband's sake, she became a most affectionate friend to me, before she ever saw me. . . . Her great wisdom, modesty, piety, and sincerity, made her accounted

cester, in 1651, in different places, and was released from Windsor castle just before the restoration. In a letter to Baxter, dated "Windsor castle, December 14, 1658," there is the following passage: "I wish I knew any were fit to translate your books; I am sure they would take hugely abroad; and I think it were not amiss to begin with the 'Call to the Unconverted.'"—Quoted in Dr. Calamy's Life by Himself, in a foot note by the Editor, vol i, p. 102. This sounds strangely when compared with Lauderdale's future character.

* Over, that is, through.

the saint at the court. When she came over with the king, her extraordinary respects obliged me to be so often with her, as gave me acquaintance with her eminency in all the aforesaid virtues. She is of solid understanding in religion for her sex, and of prudence much more than ordinary; and of great integrity and constancy in her religion, and a great hater of hypocrisy, and faithful to Christ in an unfaithful world; and she is somewhat over-much affectionate to her friends, which hath cost her a great deal of sorrow in the loss of her husband, and since, of other special friends, and may cost her more when the rest forsake her—as many in prosperity use to do those that will not forsake fidelity to Christ. . . . . Being my constant auditor, and over-respectful friend, I had occasion for the just praises and acknowledgments which I have given her."*

Lady Balcarres had not been many years on the continent, when she was visited with a severe domestic affliction, in the death of the earl. His political opponents having, by their slanders, prejudiced the mind of Charles against him, he was, for a time forbidden the court; "the grief whereof," says Baxter, "added to the distempers he had contracted by his warfare on the cold and hungry mountains, cast him into a consumption, of which he died."† But death did not find him unprepared. His life had been that of the righteous. According to a sketch of his character, in a MS. of the period, he made "conscience of all his actions, as if every day he was to render an account to Him that made him. . . He had his times of devotion three times a day, except some extraordinary business hindered him; in the morning, from the time he was dressed until eleven o'clock, he read upon the Bible and divinity books, and prayed and meditated; then at half an hour past . . till near seven; then at ten o'clock to eleven."‡

During the whole of his last illness, the countess watched by his bedside with the most affectionate tenderness; and, painful as it was to her to look upon his sufferings, she had the consolation—the highest she could have enjoyed in the circumstances—of witnessing the heavenly peace and joy which filled his soul in the prospect of eternity. On one occasion he comforted her in these words, "You ought to rejoice, because I may say, as my blessed Savior did, when he was to depart from his disciples, Let not your hearts be troubled, for I go to my heavenly Father; I go from persecution and calumny to the company of angels, and

* Sylvester's Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part i., p. 121. † Ibid.
‡ Quoted in Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., p. 107.

spirits of just men made perfect." He added, "How sweet is rest to a wearied soul, and such a rest as this is that I am going to! Oh blessed rest! where we shall never cease, day nor night, from saying, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty!' where we shall rest from sinning, but not from praising." At another time, Mr. Patrick Forbes* having asked him, "My lord, do you forgive all your enemies, that have so maliciously persecuted you?" he replied, "Ay, ay, Mr. Forbes, long ago. I bless God that is not to do." On the last day of his life, the countess asked him, "My love, how is it with you now, have you gotten that measure of assurance you desired?" He said, "All I can answer to you is, that I bless my Redeemer for it! I am as full of joy with the assurance I have that my Redeemer is mine, and I am his, as my heart can hold." After some little struggling with death, he said to her, "My dear, I follow a good Guide, who will never quit me, and I will never quit him." "Hold you there, my dear," she replied, "for there you are safe; he is a shield and buckler to them that trust in him; he is the munition of rocks." He often observed that afternoon that the Lord called him, using these words, "Come, Lord Jesus, thou tarriest long." Finding that his death was fast approaching, the countess said to him, "Have courage, my love! your redemption draws near; your blessed Lord is making fast ready, accompanied by his angels, to attend you to that mansion he prepared for you before the world was; he will go through the valley of the shadow of death with you." Upon which he laid both his feeble hands about her neck, and, with the small strength he had, drew her into him, and said, "I must take my last farewell of thee, my dearest!" and, after expressing the ardor of his affection for her, desired her to pray that the passage might be easy. It was remarkably so, indeed; for, soon after having looked up to heaven and prayed, he gently breathed out his soul into the hands of the Savior who redeemed it. He died at Breda, on the 30th of August, 1659, at the early age of forty-one;† and his body was brought over to Scotland, and buried in the church at Balcarres.‡ This nobleman, as he well deserved, obtained a high place, in

* Mr. Patrick Forbes was the son of Mr. John Forbes, minister of Alford, who was banished his majesty's dominion for life, in the reign of James VI., for defending the liberty of the presbyterian church of Scotland. Deserting his father's principles, he conformed to prelacy, after the Restoration, and was made bishop of Orkney. † Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. iii., pp. 101–140.

‡ Lamont's Diary, p. 123. "The remains of Lord Balcarres," says this writer, "landed at Elie, 2d December, 1659, and some days after were carried to Balcarres, and this 12th Jan. [1660], were interred at Balcarres, in the ordinary burial-place, with suiting solemnity."

the estimation of his country, for ability, wisdom, virtue, and piety. Robert Baillie describes him, as "without doubt one of the most brave and able gentlemen of our nation, if not the most able;"* and Baxter, as "a lord of excellent learning, judgment, and honesty; none being praised equally with him, for learning and understanding, in all Scotland."† His zeal in the cause of the covenant, with the exception of his concern in "the engagement," is attested by Mr. Samuel Rutherford, who, as those who have read his letters will readily admit, was not disposed to speak with flattering lips to the greatest. In a letter to him, dated "St. Andrews, December 24, 1649," he says, "Lord Balcarres, whose public deservings have been such that I esteem him to have been most instrumental in this work of God. I hope, my lord, you will pardon me to make a little exception in the matter of the late sinful engagement."‡ Crowley wrote an elegiac poem upon his death; in which he celebrates his talents, virtues, and piety, and deplores his premature removal; nor does he forget to commemorate the worth of the noble lady of the departed. The following extracts are from the concluding verses:—

"Noble and great endeavors did he bring
To save his country, and restore his king
And whilst the manly half of him, which those
Who know not love, to be the whole suppose,
Performed all parts of virtue's life;
The beauteous half, his lovely wife,
Did all his labors and his cares divide;
Nor was a lame nor paralytic side,
In all the turns of human state;
In all th' unjust attacks of fate
She bore her share and portion still,
And would not suffer any to be ill."

* * * * * *

"His wisdom, justice, and his piety,
His courage both to suffer and to die,
His virtues, and his lady, too,
Were things celestial."

By this nobleman, the countess had issue, two sons, and three daughters: 1. Charles, second earl of Balcarres, who died in 1662; 2. Colin, who, on the death of his brother Charles, became third earl of Balcarres; 3. Lady Anne; 4. Lady Sophia; and 5. Lady Henrietta.

The death of the earl, whom she loved so tenderly, inflicted a deep wound on the heart of Lady Balcarres, though she sorrowed not concerning him as those who had no hope; and sought

* Letters, vol. iii., p. 437. † Sylvester's Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part i., p. 121.

‡ Rutherford's Letters, Whyte and Kennedy's edition, p. 716. This letter is published in that edition for the first time.

consolation by unburdening her grief to her heavenly Father, trusting that, true to his promise, he would never leave nor forsake her. Having resolved on bringing home his body for interment at Balcarres, she left Breda for Scotland, accompanying, or following his mortal remains to their final resting-place. After the last sad offices of respect were performed to his mortal part, she started from Balcarres for London, on the 12th of July, 1660, taking her children along with her.* In London, where she stayed a considerable time, she had many opportunities of meeting with her friend, Richard Baxter, a man well qualified to administer religious consolation to her, under the loss of the husband of her youth. But while resident in the English capital, a new, and an unexpected trial befell her in the conversion of her daughter, Lady Anne, to Roman catholicism. Lady Anne appears to have been a young person of high promise; but, led away by the artful and insinuating persuasions of the Jesuits about the court (and the queen-dowager seems to have been privy to the business), she became enchanted with popery, and openly embraced it. On receiving the news of this conversion, Lady Balcarres was so deeply grieved as, it would appear, to suffer considerably in her health;† and, anxious for the recovery of her daughter to the truth, she requested Dr. Gunning, afterward bishop of Chichester, to endeavor to get a meeting with the corrupters of the young lady's faith, in order to his arguing with them, in her presence, against the popish doctrines. But she was unfortunate in the choice of her man; Dr. Gunning, from his bigoted high church principles, being more fitted to confirm her daughter in Romanism than to convert her from it. "The countess of Balcarres," says Baxter, "told me, that when she first heard of it, she desired Dr. Gunning to meet with the priest, to dispute with him, and try if her daughter might be recovered, who pretended then to be in doubt; and that Dr. Gunning first began to persuade her daughter against the church of Scotland, which she had been bred in, as no true church, and after disputed about the pope's infallibility, and left her daughter worse than before; and that she took it to be a strange way to deliver her daughter from popery, to begin with a condemnation of the reformed churches as no true churches, and confess that the church and ministry of Rome was true."‡ She next applied to Baxter,

* Lamont's Diary, p. 123. ‡ Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part i., pp. 219-229.

† "Hearing that the countess of Balcarres was not well, I went to visit her, and found her grievously afflicted for her eldest daughter, the Lady Anne Lindsay, about sixteen or seventeen years of age, who was suddenly turned papist, by she knew not whom."—Sylvester's Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part ii., p. 219.

a more suitable man, who, to promote her object, was willing to discuss the question of the Romish faith with any champion of the Romish church, in the presence of Lady Anne. But all the efforts of Baxter to obtain such a discussion* were without success; for the perverters of the young lady's faith kept themselves behind the curtain, and they were, besides, sufficiently conscious of their inability to grapple with a man of Baxter's calibre, as well as too cunning to expose themselves to the risk of losing a convert, of whom they seem to have prided themselves not a little. At last they stole her away secretly from her mother, in a coach. A servant went after her, and overtook her in Lincoln's-Inn Fields. She positively promised to the servant to come back, saying she went only to see a friend. But she never came back.† She was conveyed to France, and there placed in a nunnery, where, to put the most charitable construction upon her conduct, she possibly might expect to escape the temptations she would encounter in the world, and live without distraction, in constant meditation upon God and divine things—for that is the reason assigned by the Roman catholics for the unnatural seclusion of the cloister—but where she would be deprived of the opportunities of benevolent activity, which are only to be found by mixing with the world, and where she would meet with the temptations peculiar to the recluse, and peculiar to popish nunneries. Baxter, writing to the countess, August 25, 1661, when enumerating the mercies of her lot, says, "You may remember . . . . your comfort in your hopeful issue, though abated by the injury of Romish theft, which stole one of the roses of your garden, that they might boast of the sweetness when they called it their own: I may well say *stole it*, when all the cheat was performed by unknown persons in the dark; and no importunity by you or me, could procure me one dispute or conference in her hearing, with any of the seducers, before her person was stolen away."‡ Not long after her departure, Lady Anne sent a

* These efforts are stated at length in Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part ii., pp. 219, 220, to which the reader is referred.

† How speedily does popery pervert the mind! "Her mother told me," says Baxter, "that before she turned papist she scarce ever heard a lie from her, and since then, she could believe nothing that she said." Among other instances of her disregard to truth, he mentions, that "she complained to the queen-mother of her mother, as if she used her hardly for religion, which was false;" and yet, such are the delusions of popery, that, writing to her mother from Calice, in France, she says, "I felt no true love to God in my soul before; but as soon as I turned papist I did, and have now the Spirit of God, and his image, which before I never had."

‡ Baxter's Works, vol. ii., p. 762. Dedication of his "Mischiefs of Self Ignorance," dated August 25, 1661. Baxter sent a letter to her, the day before she was stolen away, dated December 1, 1660, which is inserted in Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part ii., pp. 219–221.

letter to her mother, from her nunnery, dated Calice, and subscribed "Sister Anna Maria," giving the reasons why she had changed her religion. Her mother showed the letter to Baxter, and desired him to write an answer to it; which he did, though he knew those in whose power she now was, "were not likely to suffer her to read it;" and it was sent to her by her mother. It is dated January 29, 1661; and among other things he says, "We shall have leave to pray for you, though we can not have leave to instruct you, and God may hear us when you will not: which I have the more hopes of, because of the piety of your parents, and the prayers and tears of a tender-hearted mother, poured out for you, and your own well-meaning, pious disposition." But all the means employed to recover her to the protestant faith were in vain. She continued to the day of her death in the nunnery to which she had been carried away, but the particular year in which she died is unknown. What made the fate of Lady Anne the more trying to her mother was, that she was her favorite daughter. "This," says Baxter, "was the darling of that excellent, wise, religious lady, the widow of an excellent lord, which made the affliction great, and taught her to moderate her affections to all creatures."* He adds, "This perversion had been a long time secretly working before she knew of it; all which time the young lady would join in prayer with her mother, and jeer at popery, till she was detected, and then she said, she might join with them no more."

Lady Balcarres continued in London for some months after the flight of her daughter to France. At length, when about to depart for Scotland, feeling the death of her husband still pressing heavy upon her, aggravated by the fate of her eldest daughter, and "being deeply sensible of the loss of the company of those friends which she left behind her," she desired Baxter to preach the last sermon she was to hear from him, on these words of the Savior, in John xvi. 32: "Behold, the hour cometh, yea, is come, that ye shall be scattered every man to his own, and shall leave me alone; and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me." This passage of scripture had often recurred to her thoughts; and it seemed so extremely appropriate to her condition, and had proved so powerful a means of soothing her grief, that she was very desirous of listening to such reflections upon it as might suggest themselves to a man of so enlarged an understanding and so matured experience as was Richard Baxter. With her request Baxter readily complied; nor was she content

* Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part II., pp. 219–229.

with hearing it preached, but requested him to give her a copy of it in writing; and judging it was fitted to be useful to such as might be placed in circumstances similar to her own, she was urgent with him to publish it.*

The exact time when Lady Balcarres left London for Scotland is uncertain. From some statements made in Baxter's dedication to her of his treatise, to which reference has already been made ("The Mischiefs of Self-Ignorance, and the Benefits of Self-Acquaintance, opened in diverse Sermons, at Dunstan's-West; and published in answer to the Accusations of some, and the Desires of others"), it would appear that she had left London previous to the 25th of August, 1661, the date of the dedication. "If one kingdom," says he, "do not hold us, and I should see your face no more on earth, yet, till we meet in the glorious, everlasting kingdom, we shall have frequent converse by such means as these, notwithstanding our corporal distance. And as I am assured of a room in your frequent prayers, so I hope I shall remain, madam, your faithful servant, and remembrancer at the throne of grace."†

Lady Balcarres had heard the sermons which compose that volume delivered from the pulpit; and so eminently calculated, in her judgment, were they—from the importance of the subject, and from the judicious manner in which it was treated—to be of general utility, that she earnestly solicited Baxter to publish them to the world. His dedication commences thus: "Madam, though it be usual in dedications to proclaim the honor of inscribed names, and though the proclaiming of yours be a work that none are like to be offended at that know you, they esteeming you the honor of your sex and nation; yet, that you may see I intend not to displease you by any unsafe or unsavory applause, I shall presume to lay a double dishonor upon you: the one, by prefixing your name to these lean and hasty sermons; the other, by laying part of the blame upon yourself, and telling the world that the fault is partly yours that they are published. Not only yours, I confess; for had it not been for some such auditors as Christ had (Luke xx. 20, and Mark xiii. 13), and for the frequent reports of such as are mentioned, Ps. xxxv. 11, I had not written

* Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part i., p. 120. He published the sermon in the close of the year 1662 in his work entitled "The Divine Life," which besides that sermon, enlarged under the title "Converse with God in Solitude," contains two other treatises: the first, "Of the knowledge of God," from the text John xvii. 3; and the second "Of Walking with God," from the text Gen. v. 24. To this work is prefixed a dedicatory epistle, addressed to the countess

† Baxter's Works, vol. ii., p. 761.

down all that I delivered, and so had been incapable of so easily answering your desires. But it was you that was not content to hear them, but have invited them to recite their message more publicly; as if that were like to be valued and effectual upon common hearts, which, through your strength of charity and holy appetite, is so with yours."*

About this time, the countess was visited with severe bodily affliction; on learning which, Baxter, subsequently to his writing the above dedication, added a "postscript," dated November 1, 1661, giving expression to his sympathy; reminding her that she had not to do with an enemy, but a Father; and subscribing himself her "brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ."

She recovered from this illness; but, in the following year, she lost her eldest son, Charles, second earl of Balcarres, a very promising boy of about ten or twelve years of age, who died at Balcarres on the 15th of October, 1662,† of a singular disease—a stone being found in his heart, of great magnitude![‡] He was buried in the church of Balcarres on the 21st of that month, "in the night-season."‖ The countess sent the stone taken from his heart to Lord Lauderdale, with a view to medical inspection, accompanied with a letter. "I have sent your lordship," she says, "with my Lord St. Andrews,§ a poor pledge for so rich a jewel; this is all I have now for my dear child, my little saint, I may rather say, who is now, I hope, a star of the first magnitude. O my sweet child! how distressed, how sorrowful has he left me, with an afflicted family! . . . . Were it not too tedious, I think I could have written, though not so learnedly, yet more fully, and that which your lordship and physicians (that, I think, will be astonished with the bigness of the stone, how his little heart could contain it) would have made use of. My lord, pray let me

* Baxter's Works, vol. ii., p. 761.

† The countess had returned to Balcarres in May preceding. "In May, 1662, viz., the sixth day, the said lady returned to Balcarres, her two sons having come some months before."—Lamont's Diary, p. 123.

‡ Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part i., p. 121. "When he was opened," says Wodrow, "there was a stone or stony substance found in his heart, and that about two inches long, which Sir Robert Murray presented to either Gresham college or some other public collection of curiosities. He was an excellent youth, of great parts and piety."—Analecta, vol. i., p. 356.) Wodrow, in the same place, says that he "died at London," which is a mistake. He also asserts that "Baxter, in one of his books, which he dedicates to his [the child's] mother, says, 'Though he died of a stone in his heart, *yet he had not a heart of stone!*'" He evidently quotes from memory—the words printed in italics not being used by Baxter, though he plainly refers to the piety of the boy.

‖ Lamont's Diary, p. 156. § Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews.

know what physicians say of it, and if there could have been help for it; and whether they think he has had it from his conception, or but lately grown."*

Shortly after the death of this child, Baxter, on hearing of the countess's bereavement, addressed to her a consolatory letter, dated December 24, 1662. This forms the dedicatory epistle prefixed to his treatise entitled "The Divine Life," to which reference has already been made. It is chiefly employed in suggesting such consolatory considerations as might tend to mitigate her grief under this affliction; and a portion of it may be quoted, both because it illustrates the train of reflection suggested to her mind on this occasion, and because it is well adapted to be useful to Christian parents, when tried, in the course of Divine providence, with the death of their children. "Madam," says he, "in hope of the fuller pardon of my delay, I now present you with two other treatises, besides the sermon (enlarged) which, at your desire, I preached at your departure hence. I knew of many and great afflictions which you had undergone, in the removal of your dearest friends, which made this subject seem so suitable and seasonable to you at that time; but I knew not that God was about to make so great an addition to your trials in the same kind, by taking to himself the principal branch of your noble family (by a rare disease, the emblem of the mortal malady now reigning). I hope this loss also shall promote your gain, by keeping you nearer to your heavenly Lord, who is so jealous of your affections, and resolved to have them entirely to himself. And then you will still find that you *are not* alone, nor deprived of your dearest or most necessary friend, while the Father, the Son, the sanctifying and comforting Spirit, is with you. And it should not be hard to reconcile us to the disposals of so sure a friend. Nothing but good can come from God; however the blind may miscall it, who know no good or evil but what is measured by the private standard of their selfish interests, and that as judged of by sense. Eternal love, engaged by covenant to make us happy, will do nothing but what we shall find at last will terminate in that blessed end. He envied you not your son, as too good for you, or too great a mercy, who hath given you his own Son, and with him the mercy of eternal life. Corporal sufferings, with spiritual blessings, are the ordinary lot of believers here on earth; as corporal prosperity, with spiritual calamity, is the lot of the ungodly. And, I beseech you, consider that God knoweth better than you or I, what an ocean your son was ready

* Letters of Lady Margaret Burnet to the Duke of Lauderdale, p. 92.

to launch out into, and how tempestuous and terrible it might have proved; and whether the world, that he is saved from, would have afforded him more of safety or seduction, of comfort or calamity—whether the protraction of the life of your noble husband, to have seen our sins, and their effects and consequents, would have afforded him greater joy or sorrow. Undoubtedly, as God had a better title to your husband, and children, and friends, than you had, so it is much better to be with him than to be with you, or with the best or greatest upon earth. The heavenly inhabitants fear not our fears, and feel not our afflictions. They are past our dangers, and out of the reach of all our enemies, and delivered from our pains and cares, and have the full possession of all those mercies which we pray and labor for. Can you think your children and friends, that are with Christ, are not safer and better than those that yet remain with you? Do you think that earth is better than heaven for yourself? I take it for granted you can not think so, and will not say so. And if it be worse for you, it is worse for them. The providence which, by hastening their glorification, doth promote your sanctification, which helpeth them to the end, and helpeth you in the way, must needs be good to them and you, however it appear to flesh and unbelief. O madam, when our Lord hath showed us (as he will shortly do) what a state it is to which he bringeth the spirits of the just, and how he doth there entertain and use them, we shall then be more competent judges of all those acts of providence to which we are now so hardly reconciled! Then we shall censure our censurings of these works of God, and be offended with our offences at them; and call ourselves blind, unthankful sinners, for calling them so bad as we did in our misjudging unbelief and passion. We shall not wish ourselves or friends again on earth among temptations and pains, and among uncharitable men, malicious enemies, deceitful flatterers, and untrusty friends! When we see that face which we long to see, and know the things which we long to feel, and are full of the joys which now we can scarce attain a taste of, and have reached the end which now we seek, and for which we suffer, we shall no more take it for a judgment to be taken from ungodly men, and from a world of sin, and fear, and sorrow; nor shall we envy the wicked, nor even desire to be partakers of their pleasures. Till then, let us congratulate our departed friends on the felicity which they have attained, and which we desire; and let us rejoice with them that rejoice with Christ; and let us prefer the least believing thought of the everlasting joys, before all the defiled, transitory pleasures

of the deluded, dreaming, miserable world. And let us prefer such converse as we can here attain with God in Christ, and with the heavenly society, before all the pomp and friendship of the world."

The countess continued to reside for several years at Balcarres, watching with maternal care over the education of her only remaining son, Colin, who succeeded his brother as third earl of Balcarres, and of her two daughters, Lady Sophia and Lady Henrietta. After remaining in a state of widowhood for upward of ten years, she was secondly married, on the 28th of January, 1670, to Archibald, ninth earl of Argyll,* who suffered martyrdom in 1685, and whom she survived for above twenty years. This marriage had the effect of lessening, in some measure, Argyll's political power, by alienating from him the duke of Lauderdale, whose lady's niece was his first wife. Lauderdale, Tweeddale, and Argyll, had formerly been united in politics; but previous to this marriage, a difference had arisen between Tweeddale and Argyll. Lauderdale, however, continued to retain his former kindness for Argyll, till rumors were afloat that Argyll intended to marry the countess of Balcarres, when Tweeddale succeeded in engaging Lauderdale in his quarrel, by persuading him that the young earl of Balcarres, their cousin and pupil, would be ruined by the match. Tweeddale prevailed upon Lauderdale to desire Argyll to leave off the contemplated marriage; but Argyll, scorning to do so to please Tweeddale, the refusal inflamed Lauderdale, whose friendship for Argyll, after that, soon declined.†

For nearly eleven years after the second marriage of the subject of our notice, whom we must now call the countess of Argyll, her domestic happiness was undisturbed by any great domestic trial; and she resided sometimes at Inverary, sometimes at Edinburgh, and sometimes at Stirling, where the earl had a house. When at Inverary, the principal place of her residence, she sat under the ministry of Mr. Patrick Campbell, who, for nonconformity, had been ejected, after the restoration, from that parish, of the highland congregation of which he was minister, but who resumed his labors there in 1669, under the first indulgence, which was granted that year.‡ When at Edinburgh and at Stirling, and when occasionally sojourning in other places, she

* Argyll was a widower. His first wife was Lady Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of James, fifth earl of Murray. She died in May, 1668.

† Sir George Mackenzie's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, pp. 179–181.

‡ Wodrow's History, vol. i., p. 328; vol. ii., p. 133.

attended the sermons of the ejected ministers, both in private houses and more publicly.*

Her two daughters, Lady Sophia and Lady Henrietta, in whom she found more comfort than in her daughter Lady Anne, "though widely different in character, the one being as gentle and retiring as the other was energetic and enterprising, were united in one faith, one love to their Savior, their mother, and each other." Like-minded with their mother in regard to the persecuted presbyterian church, they preferred the sermons of the proscribed ministers to those of the hireling curates. Of the gentle and retiring Lady Henrietta, it is unnecessary here particularly to speak, as she will form the subject of the subsequent sketch. "Solitude and retirement, in which she could commune with her own heart and be still, had ever a peculiar charm for her. Lady Sophia, on the contrary, was a woman remarkable for the brightest faculties, cheerful, and witty, and endowed with that presence of mind, in the hour of need, which is justly denominated heroism."† By her sprightliness and humor, she diffused an agreeable hilarity over the society in which she mingled; and her jesting powers she sometimes exercised at the expense of the unprincipled persecutors of her day, for whom she entertained a just contempt. The following anecdote—relating to a visit she paid to Adam Blackadder (son of the famous John Blackadder), then only an apprentice boy to a merchant in Stirling, when, about the close of the year 1674, he was imprisoned in the tolbooth of that town for refusing to sign the bond in reference to conventicles, called "the black bond," and for being at conventicles—well illustrates her principles and character, though an instance only of sportive pleasantry, in which she indulged in the free and unrestrained exuberance of her youthful spirits—for she was, probably, at that time, not more than eighteen years of age. "While I was in prison," says Adam, "the earl of Argyll's two daughters-in-law, Lady Sophia and Lady Henrietta, and Lady Jean, his own daughter, did me the honor, and came to see me, where, I remember, Lady Sophia stood up upon a bench, and arraigned before her the provost of Stirling; then sentenced and condemned him to be hanged, for keeping me in prison: which highly enraged the poor fool provost,‡ though it was but a harm-

* Diary of her Daughter, Lady Henrietta, Wodrow MSS., in Advocates' Library, vol xxxi., 8vo, No. 8.

† Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., p. 144.

‡ The provost, according to Adam's account, was "a violent persecutor and ignorant wretch." When, on being apprehended early in the morning by two messengers, Adam was brought to the provost, the first words the provost (putting on

less frolic. It seems he complained to the council of it, and the good earl was like to be brought to much trouble about it."*

When resident in Fife, Lady Sophia went to hear the sermons of Mr. John Blackadder and others, who preached very frequently there, both in the fields and in private houses. In Blackadder's Memoirs, we are informed that, on sabbath, the 11th of January, 1671, when only about seventeen years of age, she came to hear that venerable minister preach at the house of Alexander Hamilton, laird of Kinkell, a man of eminent piety, liberality, and courage, whose house was a shelter to many of the persecuted ministers in their wanderings, and in which, though it was within a mile of St. Andrews, the seat of Archbishop Sharp, they often preached to great numbers, none being excluded who came to hear. She was, however, prevented from hearing sermon on that day, by one of those interruptions which conventicles at that time so frequently met with. The militia of St. Andrews, hurried out by the wife of Archbishop Sharp, a woman of a similar spirit with himself, came to Kinkell, with muskets, lighted matches, and pikes, under the command of one lieutenant Doig, with above a hundred of the rabble, and many of the disaffected students, gentlemen, and some noblemen's sons, and drew up before Kinkell-house gate, at some distance. They did not, however, interrupt Blackadder, who was delivering a lecture from Psalm ii., to a numerous auditory; the long gallery and two chambers being full, and also a multitude in the close. But some of the ill-disposed, having, after the singing of the psalm at the close of the lecture, got into Mr. Hamilton's stable, and having taken away his horse, and the horses of some others, Mr. Hamilton, who had been standing without the gate, and looking on, observing this, struck with a cane at the fellow who had taken his horse; upon which, some of the disaffected students from behind his back took hold of the cane, pulling it out of his hand, which occasioned his falling to the ground. This was followed by an altercation between the friends of Mr. Hamilton and the militia; but no serious harm was sustained by any of the parties. At this time, many who were proceeding to the meeting turned back, on hearing the alarm, among whom were Lady Sophia Lindsay and some company with her, who were coming down the brae above the house of Kinkell. An old man, flying from the meeting, called out to them to stay; and, on their inquiring what was the matter, he

his breethren spoke to him were, "Is not this bra' wark, sirr, that wi maun be troubled with the like o' you?" Adam answered, "You have got a bra' prize, my lord, that has clacht a poor prentice."—Blackadder's Memoirs, pp. 301, 302 * Ibid.

cried, in great terror, "A massacre, a great massacre, yonder, for I saw some of the best"—(meaning Mr. Hamilton)—"fall ere I came away, and they were stripping the women." This so affected them, that they went back to a landwart man's house. Meanwhile, the lieutenant, with the militia and the rabble, marched back to St. Andrews; after which the people again convened; and the gates being shut, and a watch set on the battlement to observe the motions of the militia, they heard, without interruption, Blackadder preach a very moving sermon on these pathetic words in Jeremiah, xxxi. 18, "I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself thus; Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised, as a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke: turn thou me, and I shall be turned; for thou art the Lord my God." But Lady Sophia, and those with her, were not present at the sermon. Not knowing that the militia had left Kinkell, they sent a boy to ascertain the state of matters. The boy, on coming to Kinkell-house, was admitted within the gate, and allowed to hear with others in the close, but not suffered to go away till the sermon was ended. This made Lady Sophia and her company conclude that all was not well, and they remained where they were, expecting to hear distressing news. After sermon, the boy returned; and, on being asked what detained him, he said he had been hearing a preaching, where all the folk were weeping; which yet alarmed them more, till he told them that no injury had been done to any one. Upon this, "Lady Sophia, with several in her company, came and stayed in Kinkell-house that night with the laird and the minister, with whom she then made good jest of the pitiful alarm she had got."*

That the countess of Argyll exerted a beneficial influence in promoting, in the earl, both a sense of piety and the love of liberty, is undoubted. During the first eleven years of their union, already referred to, as well as during several previous years, he was connected, it is true, with the persecuting government of Charles II., and complied with it, to an extent which was unworthy the son of the proto-martyr of the Solemn League and Covenant, and of so eminent a saint as was his mother. But, while this admitted—and it occasioned him afterward deep remorse, drawing from him free acknowledgments and deep contrition on the scaffold—it is, at the same time, only justice to state, that he rather passively yielded to the persecuting measures pursued by the majority of the government than gave them his cordial approbation, or actively carried them into effect. He sometimes

* Blackadder's Memoirs, MS. copy; see also printed edition, pp. 160–163.

shielded the presbyterian ministers from persecution. Owing to his protection, Argyllshire suffered less for nonconformity than many other counties of Scotland.* Toward the close of his career, the principles of religion and civil freedom, which had been instilled into him in early life, asserted their claims, elevating his patriotism above personal considerations. And these redeeming traits of his character were owing, in no small degree, to the influence exerted on his mind, by the benevolent sympathy and favor for the persecuted presbyterians which distinguished his lady,† and her pious public-spirited daughters, by her first husband, Lady Sophia and Lady Henrietta, for both of whom he entertained a high esteem, as well as a strong and tender affection.

During the persecution, many excellent women, as we have already seen in the Introduction, even when they did not suffer by any proceedings of the government instituted directly against themselves, yet suffered greatly through the unjust and illegal proceedings of the government against their husbands. About the close of the year 1681, the countess began to experience this kind of trial. After the parliament had enacted that all officers in church and state should take the test—an oath which, as Wodrow well observes, "is a medley of popery, prelacy, Erastianism, and self-contradiction,"‡—Argyll, on being called to take it, November 3, 1681, as a privy councillor and one of the commissioners of the treasury, though he had in his place in parliament opposed its imposition, swore it with this explanation, which he subscribed: "I take it in as far as it is consistent with itself, and with the protestant religion; and I declare, that I mean not to bind up myself, in my station, and in a lawful way, not to wish or endeavor any alteration which I think to the advantage of church or state, not repugnant to the protestant religion and my loyalty, and this I understand as a part of my oath." For taking it with this explanation, he was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 9th of November, prosecuted before the justiciary court, and, by the unanimous verdict of a jury of his peers, was found guilty

* Letter of Mr. James Boece, minister of Campbelltown, after the revolution, to Wodrow, among Letters to Wodrow, vol. xi, 4to., No. 190, MSS. in Advocates' Library.

† See Appendix, No. XI.

‡ The parliament passed their act concerning the test, on the 31st of August, 1681. In taking it, the swearer, among other things, owned the ecclesiastical supremacy of the monarch in its fullest extent; condemned as unlawful, all resistance to the king, under any pretext, or in any circumstances whatsoever; and renounced the obligation of the National Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant; while, at the same time, with flagrant inconsistency, he professed his adherence to the Scotch Confession of Faith, of 1567, which asserts that Christ is the only head of the church.—Wodrow's History, vol. iii., pp. 295, 297.

of high treason, leasing-making,* and leasing-telling, but was acquitted of perjury by a plurality of votes.† The privy council, upon this verdict being given in, sent a letter to the king, informing him of what had been done, and desiring permission to give orders to the justiciary court to pronounce sentence upon Argyll, in conformity with the verdict; it being the design of the duke of York, the prime agent in all this, to bring him to the scaffold, that the protestant party might be deprived of a head, and to annex his jurisdiction to the crown, and to parcel out his lands.‡ The countess was now greatly alarmed for his safety, as indeed there was too much cause of alarm; and she would, in all probability, have at this time been subjected to the trial which befell her in 1685, when he was beheaded at the market-cross of Edinburgh, had not her daughter by her first husband, Lady Sophia, been the means of enabling him to escape from the castle.

Influenced by sympathy with her mother, as well as by affection to the earl, and probably also impelled by the tender passion of love—for she was supposed to be, at this time, affianced to the third son‖ of the earl, by his first wife, to whom she was afterward married—Lady Sophia undertook to effect his escape; and effected it, with singular dexterity and success, about eight o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, the 20th of December, 1681.§

* *Leasing-making* was a crime—the creature of an act of parliament—which consisted in misrepresenting the actions of the king to any of his subjects; or, *vice versa*, those of the subjects to the king. It inferred capital punishment.

† Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., pp. 160, 161, 166. Drummond's Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill, pp. 206, 207.

‡ Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., p. 166. Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 337.

‖ This was the honorable Charles Campbell. The date of the marriage is uncertain; and none of their descendants in the male line exist.—Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 105.

§ On the 19th, the day preceding, believing that his life was in danger, the earl began to entertain thoughts of attempting his escape; and, on the morning of the 20th, he had some intention, though no fixed resolution, of attempting it that evening, but had not then disclosed his intention to any individual. Learning, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, that the duke of York had absolutely refused to suffer him to see him till his majesty's return; and learning further, about noon, that some troops and a regiment of foot were come to town, and that the next day he was to be brought down from the castle to the common jail, from which criminals were ordinarily carried to execution, he determined to attempt his escape that very night; and, about five o'clock in the evening, he gave directions in reference to it, not intending to make the attempt till near ten o'clock. About seven o'clock in the evening, a friend, who came up from the city, dissuaded him from his purpose, alleging the impossibility of its succeeding, new orders having been privately given for more effectually securing him, the castle guards being doubled, and none suffered to go out without showing their faces, which several ladies had already been required to do. But this information, by increasing his apprehension of his danger, only strengthened his determination; and, in less than an hour after, he was enabled, by the aid of his favorite step daughter, to carry it into effect. These particulars are taken from a scarce folio, entitled, 'The Case of the Earl of Argyll,' privately printed and circulated by his friends after his escape, p. 122.

Whether the plan was of her own contrivance, does not appear; but the manner in which she put it into execution, as related to Lady Anne Lindsay by her father, Earl James, Lady Sophia's nephew, is as follows: "Having obtained permission to pay him a visit of one half hour, she contrived to bring as her page, a tall, awkward, country clown, with a fair wig, procured for the occasion; who had apparently been engaged in a fray, having his head tied up. On entering, she made them immediately change clothes. They did so; and, on the expiration of the half hour, she, in a flood of tears, bade farewell to her supposed father, and walked out of the prison with the most perfect dignity, and with a slow pace,"* led by the gentleman who had accompanied her to the castle, Argyll following as her page, holding up her train. In passing the guards, Argyll was in no small danger of being discovered, the suspicions of some of them being awakened; but, with singular tact, she succeeded, by an ingenious device, suggested on the spur of the moment, in allaying their suspicions. "The sentinel at the drawbridge," continues the same writer, "a sly highlander, eyed her father hard, but her presence of mind did not desert her; she twitched her train of embroidery, carried in those days by the page, out of his hand, and dropping it in the mud, 'Varlet,' cried she, in a fury, dashing it across his face, 'take that—and that too,' adding a box on the ear, 'for knowing no better how to carry your lady's garment.' Her ill treatment of him, and the dirt with which she had besmeared his face, so confounded the sentinel, that he let them pass the drawbridge unquestioned."† Having passed all the guards, she entered her coach, which was waiting for her at the outer gate; while Argyll, agreeably to his assumed character, stepped on the hinder part of the coach; and, on its coming opposite the Weigh house, he slipped off, and shifted for himself.

The ability and success with which Lady Sophia effected the escape of Argyll, lifted off a load from the mind of her mother; who had now the comfort of reflecting that though he was still

* Memoirs of Lady Anne Barnard, quoted in Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, vol ii., p. 147.

† See also Fountainhall's decisions, vol. i., p. 167; Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 337; Law's Memorials, p. 210. In "The Case of the Earl of Argyll," it is said (p. 122) that "within half an hour after [that is, after a friend had visited him at seven o'clock in the evening], by God's blessing, he got safe out, questioned pretty warmly by the first sentry, but not at all by the main guard, and then after the great gate was opened, and the lower guard drawn out double, to make a lane for his company [that is, Lady Sophia, in whose train he followed], one of the guards, who opened the gate, took him by the arm, and viewed him. But, it pleased God, he was not discerned."

exposed to the risk of apprehension before he reached Holland, that sanctuary of safety, he was in the meantime out of the hands of his enemies; and while her daughter became, from this heroic action, more endeared to her than ever, she did not forget that her first and highest acknowledgments were due to God, who, in his merciful providence, had crowned this enterprise with success.* Very different were the feelings of the government, who, on being informed of Argyll's escape, and of the manner in which it was brought about, were so enraged, that it was even proposed, in the privy council, publicly to whip the young lady through the streets of Edinburgh. "So gallant," says Aikman, "were the Scottish cavaliers!"† No punishment was, however, inflicted upon her at present;‡ though she was afterward imprisoned several weeks for the noble deed.

After his escape from the castle, Argyll, according to a previous arrangement, met with Mr. Pringle of Torwoodlee, who conducted him in safety to Northumberland, to the house of Mr. William Veitch; who, again, conducted him safely to London, where, and in the neighborhood, he was concealed and hospitably entertained by Mrs. Smith, the wife of a wealthy confectioner, and a woman of eminent piety, wisdom, liberality, and patriotism, till he found the means of getting safely over to Holland. It was when at this time sheltered in London, that he wrote a poetical address to Lady Sophia, his fair deliverer. It is dated London, April 18, 1682; and though it has no peculiar merit as a poetical composition, a part of it may be given, as interesting from the circumstances in which it was written. It commences thus:—

"Daughter, as dear as dearest child can be,
Lady Sophia, ever dear to me;
Our guardian angels, doubtless, did conspire
To make you gain, and me to give this hire,
Not to requite—what I can never do—
But somewhat suitable from me to you.

"I am not rich—guineas tempt not your eyes—
Yet here are 'angels' you will not despise.
You came an angel in the case to me,
Expressly sent to guide and set me free.
The great gate opened of its own accord:‖
That word came in my mind—I praise the Lord.
He that restrained of old the Shechemites,§
I hope will now the cruel Benjamites;
Priests that do want the pity of laymen—
Judges and counsellors that cry, 'Amen!'

* Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.
† Aikman's History, vol. iv., p. 591.
‡ Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i, p. 167.
‖ On margin, Acts xii. 10.
§ Genesis xxxv. 5.

When I was out, I knew not where I went:
I cried to God, and he new angels sent.
If ye desire what passed since to me,
Read through the book of Psalms, and think on me."

What follows are some of the concluding lines :—

"There 's nothing meant but pride of tyranny—
A dainty way to uniformity!
The triple crown, and this new, glorious head,
May make brave work when you and I are dead.
All is but cheat till holiness get place,
Till gospel laws be rules, and God give grace.
God's secret laws are not still* understood—
The wrath of men may work the church's good;
What we may see is far from me to say,
But God doeth what he will in his own way.
Peace is not promised here, yet we may see
Religion flourish to a great degree,
And Zion freed from human tyranny.
This may be here, but certainly above
There shall be always peace and always love.
O happy place! where we shall always see
The blessed sight, perfect felicity!
A place beyond our Essachosant far,
Where there is always peace, and never war.
Let you and I meet at the throne of grace
By prayer now, till we see face to face;
Since as your page I could no longer stay,
Pray God reward you, and himself you guide,
And all good people wish, to you provide.

"The noble friends I found here, greet you well;
How much they honor you, it 's hard to tell;
Or how well I am used—to say it all,
Might make you think that I were in Whitehall!
I eat, I drink, I lie, I lodge, sae weel,
It were a folly to attempt to tell;
So kindly cared for, furnished, attended,
Were ye to chalk it down, you could not mend it."‡

Though the escape of the earl greatly relieved the mind of the countess, the unjust and illegal proceedings of the government against him in his absence proved to her a new cause of distress. The privy council having communicated the intelligence of his escape to the king, and at the same time desired to be informed

* *Still*, that is, "yet"

† At Inveraray "there are several avenues of great beauty, one of the principal of which is a long avenue which leads from the castle to Essachosan. . . . There are also many trees worthy of notice on account of their great size and beauty. There is a tree near Essachosan, called the marriage-tree, on account of the union of the branches, which is often visited by strangers. From a hole of considerable size, it throws out two principal branches, a little above the ground, which are firmly knit together at about twenty feet above the point of separation, by a bar or branch, formed of a process issuing from one, or probably from both." This extract, from the Statistical Account of Inveraray, Argyllshire, in the New Statistical Account of Scotland, will enable the reader to form an idea of the earl's allusion in the text.

‡ Wodrow MSS., vol. ix., 8vo, No. 23.

what measures they should take in consequence—the king, in reply, allows sentence of forfeiture of life and fortune to be pronounced upon him, as a traitor, but not to be executed till his pleasure should be further made known. On the receipt of the king's letter, which was on the 22d of December, the second day after Argyll's escape, the council gave orders to the justiciary court to pronounce upon him, in his absence, the above sentence. Learning the determination of the council, the countess presented a petition to the lords of justiciary, humbly supplicating that no sentence might be passed upon him in his absence, and supporting the prayer by many strong reasons, founded both on justice and on the law of Scotland; but the justiciary lords, being now mere tools in the hands of the privy council, disregarded her petition, not even deigning to answer it, and pronounced sentence upon him in terms of the act of the privy council.*

During the time that the earl was in Holland, the countess, it would appear, remained in Scotland, residing chiefly at Stirling. She, however, continued to correspond with him by letter; and Major Holmes, whom Bishop Sprat describes as Argyll's "long dependant and friend, a man active in the times of Cromwell, and always disaffected to his majesty's government," was employed by Argyll in conveying his letters to her, as well as to others of his correspondents, and in conveying her letters to him.†

At length, about the close of the year 1683, she was put to trouble, in consequence of some of the earl's letters, and of a letter which she had written to him, falling into the hands of the government. The Rye-House Plot had been discovered in June that year; and the government having received intelligence that Argyll, who was still in Holland, had corresponded with the conspirators, Major Holmes, to whom all Argyll's letters were addressed, was taken into custody; and his house being searched, there were found in it several of Argyll's letters, written in ciphers, and a letter of the countess to Argyll, also written in ciphers, together with the key of the correspondence.‡ All these documents were immediately sent down to Edinburgh, to the privy council; who, upon receiving them, summoned the countess to appear at their bar. This subject, having come under their consideration at their meeting of the 18th of December, 1683, the council "remitted to the lords chancellor, treasurer, and duke of Hamilton, to speak with the Lady Argyll anent the deciphering

* Wodrow's History, vol. iii, p. 340.
† Bishop Sprat's "True Account of the Horrid Conspiracy," &c., p. 82.
‡ Ibid.; compared with Acts of Privy Council afterward quoted.

of her letter to the late earl of Argyll, her husband, and to report to the council. These members, having gone aside and spoken with her, reported that she was unwilling to satisfy them in that matter upon oath. The council then remitted to the earl of Perth, the lords register and advocate, to tell her of her danger if she refused to do so; and these lords having also spoken with her, and reported that she was willing to depone, the council remitted to the earl of Perth to examine her upon oath, and communicate the result of her examination to the lords chancellor and treasurer in the afternoon."*

She was summoned again to appear before the council, at their meeting on the forenoon of the 20th of December; and, having made her appearance, she was solemnly sworn concerning the letter above-mentioned, and made her depositions thereupon. The earls of Perth and Tweeddale, the president of the court of session, and the lord-advocate, were appointed to examine her more particularly. Her depositions have not been registered in the records of the proceedings of the privy council, but the substance of them has been preserved by Fountainhall, an industrious chronicler of the events of those times. She acknowledged that she had corresponded with Argyll, which, in strict law, was criminal for her to do, though his wife, he being a condemned traitor. She also owned, that the letter above referred to was written by herself to him, but that she could not now decipher it, having, about four months ago, burnt the key, judging, upon the discovery of the English plot, such a mode of correspondence dangerous, and liable to suspicion. She further deponed, that ever since his affair with the M'Leans, about the Isle of Mull (the M'Leans having laid wait for his letters, to know his design), it was the earl's practice to write to her and his friends, even of his private affairs, in ciphers, but that, as has been said before, she had burnt the key, and could not now read or explain the ciphers; but that all the letters she received from him contained nothing concerning the plot, and related only to his own private affairs, and to his friends; "and it would be a very cruel law indeed," she added, "were a wife compelled to detect, and reveal such matters." Unsatisfied with her answers, which, contrary to their wishes, discovered nothing to criminate the earl, the committee pronounced them disingenuous; and, accordingly, they sent in all haste for Mr. George Campbell, in the Canongate, and one Gray, of Crechie, in Angus, who were skilled in the art of reading letters written in ciphers. Such

* Register of Acts of Privy Council.

were the proceedings of the committee of council. The council itself, at the same diet (December the 20th), "continued the advising the oath until their next meeting, and the earl of Balcarres was desired that the lady [his mother] might be in readiness at any time when she should thereafter be called for."*

The countess was again brought before the committee of the privy council on the 1st of January, 1684. By this time, Mr. Gray, of Crechie, and Mr. George Campbell, had succeeded in deciphering her letter to the earl,† with the exception of some capital letters with figures placed above them on the right hand; as D^{48}, which stood for the relatives *he*, *his*, *him*, the import of which they did not discover, until explained by the countess herself. It does not appear, that at this meeting they read her own letter to her, or made her fully aware of the extent to which they had succeeded in deciphering it; but, ignorant that D^{48} was put for the relative pronoun, and ignorant of the use made of another hieroglyphic H^{75}, they supposed, and hinted to her, that, by these signs which occurred in her letter, her son, the earl of Balcarres, was intended. Finding that her son was thus in danger of being implicated, she said that she now remembered that D^{48}, was only a relative particle in the key between her husband and her, and so meant Lord Maitland,‡ who was immediately mentioned before. As this involved that nobleman in the charge of corresponding with, and receiving letters from Argyll, a traitor, the committee immediately sent for the earl of Lauderdale, Lord Maitland's father, and sent with him Captain Graham, and Sir William Paterson, their clerk, to seal up all the papers, trunks, and cabinets of Lord Maitland, who was then in London, till they should be examined.‖

At the meeting of the privy council on the following day (January 2), the committee gave a verbal report of what they had done. They state, "upon information given to them, that a gen-

* Register of Acts of Privy Council, compared with Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., p. 251.

† We have not met with the countess's letter, but the following is the alphabetical key which opened it:—

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	&
1st.	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
2d.	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64
3d	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	8 .	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94

Carstairs' State Papers, p. 106. As a specimen of this mode of correspondence between her and the earl, see a short letter which he wrote her in the middle alphabet, in Appendix, No. XII.

‡ Richard, Lord Maitland, eldest son of Charles, third earl of Lauderdale (formerly Lord Hatton, brother to the famous duke of Lauderdale), was married to Lady Anne Campbell, second daughter of the earl of Argyll.

‖ Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., p. 256; compared with Register of Acts of Privy Council.

tleman in Mearns, named —— Gray, of Crechie, by rules of art, [is] able to unfold ciphering; by their order, the letter in ciphers found at Major Holmes' house at London, and the key, sent down with some other papers—which letter is by the countess of Argyll acknowledged to be a letter from her to her husband—were delivered to him, who, having considered thereof [deciphered the letter], except some letters placed, as it seems, for monosyllables, or names of persons, whereby the import of the whole letter is fully discovered." They further state, that in consequence of the explanation which the countess had given of certain letters with figures placed above them, being put for monosyllables, or relative particles, whereby Lord Maitland seemed implicated in the crime of corresponding with Argyll, a condemned traitor, "they have yesternight given order to Sir William Paterson, clerk to the council, and Captain Patrick Graham, to go to the earl of Lauderdale's house, and to secure all the papers belonging to the Lord Maitland, and to examine all the servants upon oath, as to the Lord Maitland's cabinets, boxes, and coffers, where any of his writes were, and that none of them were abstracted; and to seal and secure the same, and the doors and windows, that none might enter the room where they were." They further inform the council, "that Sir William Paterson and Captain Graham had, conform to the said order, gone to the earl of Lauderdale's house, and called for the keys of the rooms where any of the Lord Maitland's papers were, or suspected to be, and examined the haill servants of the house, as to their knowledge of any other papers belonging to him, or if the same were abstracted; and that thereafter they had sealed the boxes and coffers wherein they were informed to be, and the doors and windows of the chamber where they left them, and produced the keys thereof before the committee; as, also, that, by their order, they had gone to the countess of Argyll, and given her an account of the deciphering of the said letter, and what they had observed therein, that she might not be surprised, but might recollect herself for clearing her oath." In fine, they state that they had "found it necessary to write a letter to the secretaries, with the said deciphered letter, for his majesty's information." "And the said deciphered letter, with the committee's order to Sir William Paterson and Captain Graham, and the account of the obedience given by them thereto, being read, and considered by the lords of council, they approved thereof, as necessary and good service done to his majesty."*

* Register of Acts of Privy Council.

Such was the stir created by a letter which the countess wrote to her husband. No criminating disclosures of any moment, it would appear, were made against Lord Maitland, if we may judge by the silence preserved on the subject in the records of the subsequent proceedings of the privy council. The countess, also, as it would seem, was no further annoyed in this matter, it being manifest, that whatever might be discovered of Argyll's intrigues with those concerned in the Rye-House Plot, it was to be discovered from his correspondence with others, and not with her; and, accordingly, the government specially addressed itself, and ultimately with success, to the task of unravelling the letters of Argyll to other parties, found in the possession of Major Holmes.

In the summer of 1685, being informed of the sickness of her daughter, Lady Henrietta (then the wife of Sir Duncan Campbell, of Auchinbreck), who was residing at the castle of Carnassary, in the parish of Kilmartin, Argyllshire, the countess went to visit her, and, upon her recovery, brought her along with her other daughter, Lady Sophia, who had been residing some weeks with her sister, at the castle of Carnassary, to Stirling, to live with her there for some time.* Lady Henrietta had a strong affection for her mother, and bears a high testimony to her Christian worth. "Her tender care and affection," says she, "have been greatly evidenced to all hers, and particularly to myself, which I desire to have a deeper sense of than can be expressed, as my bounden duty; and I can not but reckon it among the greatest earthly blessings to have been so trysted, having early lost my dear father, eminent in his day, when insensible of the stroke, and whose memory has much of a lasting savoriness among those of worth that knew him; and when so young not two years old, and deprived of his fatherly instruction it may justly be ground of acknowledgment that the blessed Father of the fatherless, on whose care I was left, did preserve so tender-hearted a mother, whose worth and exemplariness, in many respects may be witness against us, if undutiful or unthankful to the great Giver of our mercies."†

Hitherto, the countess had suffered by the forfeiture of the estates of the earl, and by his long banishment. Now, she was to suffer by being personally imprisoned, and still more severely by the tragical fate of her husband. The earl, who, for some years, had been living on the continent, and who had, on the death of Charles II., resolved upon his unfortunate expedition of rescuing

* Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell. † Ibid.

his country from popery and slavery, set sail for Scotland on the 1st of May, 1685, with three ships, and a considerable number of arms, but with few men, not exceeding three hundred in all. In three days he reached Orkney, and touched there—a great error; for thus his motions were made known to the bishop of Orkney, who immediately communicated the intelligence to the privy council. Two of Argyll's friends, Mr. William Spence, his secretary, and Dr. William Blackadder, son of Mr. John Blackadder, having gone ashore at Kirkwall, were also seized by order of the bishop, who refused to surrender them; upon which Argyll seized and carried off five or six of the Orkney people as prisoners. From Orkney he steered his course, by the inside of the Western Isles, for Islay; thence he sailed to Mull; thence to Kintyre; and, on arriving at Tarbet, published his declaration to his clan; but, being joined by fewer in the highlands than he had anticipated, and meeting with various disasters, he at last found it necessary, in order to secure his personal safety, to disguise himself under the dress of a countryman. Riding in disguise on horseback, he was attacked, on the 17th of June, by two of the militia, who were also on horseback, at the water of Inchinan. They laid hold on him, one on each side, all the three being on horseback; and the earl grappling with them both, one of them fell with him to the ground. His lordship got up, and kept both at bay by presenting his pocket-pistols; and he would have made his escape, had not some come to the aid of the two militia. A weaver there being awakened by the noise, came out with a rusty broad-sword, and struck Argyll on the head; which so stunned him that he fell into the water, and in the fall cried out, "Ah! unfortunate Argyll." On knowing who he was, they seemed not a little grieved; and would have let him go, had not the terror of being punished by the government prevented them. He was brought in prisoner to Glasgow, and thence to Edinburgh, on the 20th of June, 1685, under a strong guard. He lingered so long by the way that it was near ten o'clock at night before he arrived at the Watergate. On his arrival there, he was met by Captain Graham's guards, who were appointed to conduct him to the castle; and his hands being tied behind his back by the hangman, he walked on foot, bareheaded, to the castle, the hangman going before him. But, from the lateness of the evening, few were spectators of his ignominious treatment.

Though the countess of Argyll had no share whatever in this insurrection, yet the privy council, on receiving intelligence that

the earl had touched at Orkney, immediately issued orders that she should be apprehended, and imprisoned in the castle of Stirling—that town being, at that time, the place of her residence. After being confined there a short time, she was conducted, on a sabbath morning, May the 10th, to Edinburgh, and on Monday secured a prisoner in the castle, where she was confined for five or six weeks.* This step was altogether unexpected on her part; nor is it easy to see what important object the government could gain by making her a prisoner. She was in no danger of taking up arms and joining the standard of the earl, like his son James, and his brother, Lord Neil; who, with many of the most substantial of the name of Campbell, that they might be prevented from joining him, were seized and made close prisoners. But arbitrary and despotic governments have often wreaked their vengeance on the innocent and helpless relatives of such as have risen up against their tyranny and oppression; and, in the present instance, they had at least the plea that the countess, by corresponding with the earl after he had been denounced a traitor, had rendered herself obnoxious to punishment. They, besides, seem to have intended this as a retaliation upon the earl for his taking five or six of the Orkney people prisoners. "His lady," says Fountainhall, "and my Lord Neil, his brother, and his son James, were secured prisoners in Edinburgh; and they were threatened, that, as he used the Orkney prisoners, so should they be used."†

The countess's daughter, Lady Sophia, was, at the same time, imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, for an old offence (for her concern in Argyll's escape from the castle in 1681), for which, though threatened at the time, she had never before been punished. Lady Sophia continued prisoner during the same period as her mother.‡ It was fortunate for her, unprincipled and ty-

* Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell; Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., p. 362; and his Historical Observes, p. 189.

† Fountainhall's Historical Observes, p. 167.

‡ Meanwhile, her husband, the Honorable Charles Campbell, narrowly escaped an ignominious death. He had accompanied his father from Holland, on his expedition to Scotland; and being twice sent ashore on the coast of Argyllshire—at one time to bring intelligence of the disposition of the gentlemen and common people, and the second time to levy men—he fell sick of a fever when sent ashore this second time, and was taken by the marquis of Athol, who, by virtue of his justiciary power, resolved to hang him at his father's gate at Inverary. "But," says Fountainhall, "the privy council, by the intercession of sundry ladies (for it was said he was married to Lady Sophia Lindsay, Balcarres's sister, who conveyed his father, in December, 1681, out of Edinburgh castle), stopped it (July 16, 1685), and sent for him to be brought prisoner to Edinburgh." On the 21st of August, he was forfeited, and banished for life. In 1689, his forfeiture was rescinded.—Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., p. 367; Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 105.

rannical as were the men who then ruled in Scotland, that none of them equalled in brutal, or rather diabolical cruelty, Jeffreys, the chief-justice of England (a man after James VII.'s own heart), who presided at the western assizes after the suppression of Monmouth's insurrection; else she would assuredly have been condemned, without mercy, to atone for her heroic deed by being burnt alive; or, if any favor had been granted her, it would have been only the poor favor of being first strangled, and then thrown into the fire and consumed to ashes! Such was the fate to which, by the sentence of that infamous man, one Mrs. Gaunt was subjected, at Tyburn, for assisting one of Monmouth's insurgents in making his escape, and for giving him money; which was just a case similar to that of the share which Lady Sophia Lindsay had in the escape of Argyll from the castle of Edinburgh *

On learning, after she had been imprisoned ten days in the castle of Edinburgh, that the earl had been apprehended, and was also a prisoner in the castle, the countess was in great affliction. Her fears respecting his fate caused her more distress than her own personal sufferings; for she was fully persuaded, and upon too good grounds, that he would now fall a victim to the rage of his enemies. In these circumstances, she was extremely anxious to be admitted to an interview with him; but so cruel was the privy council, that this was not granted till a week after his imprisonment in the castle, and three days before his execution. The cruelty of this she deeply felt, but she sought and found support and comfort in God. Her daughter, Lady Henrietta, who, on being informed, though incorrectly, that her own husband, Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, was apprehended, had gone to Edinburgh to learn his fate, says, concerning her mother, after learning for certain that he had escaped: "I was then more enabled to make inquiry after my dear afflicted mother, who was harshly treated, and seeing her under so great affliction, by the approaching suffering of such an endeared husband, and [that she] had no access to him till eight days after this fatal stroke; this did again renew a very mournful prospect of matters, which at this time had a very strange aspect, so that if the Lord of life had not supported, we had sunk under the trouble."†

The countess was admitted to see the earl, for the first time, on the evening of Saturday, the 27th of June. He was now bound in irons—a precaution taken, from the moment he was im-

* Fountainhall's Historical Observes, p. 222.
† Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.

prisoned in the castle, to prevent his making a second escape; and just before she entered, he had received information that a letter had arrived that evening, from the king to the privy council, ordering them to bring him to condign punishment within three days after the letter came to their hands; but, amid all that was distressing in the interview, it was comforting to her to find that his mind was in a state of calm submission to the Divine will, and of humble trust in God for supporting grace under his sufferings.* Instead of being brought to a new trial, he was, on the 29th of June, condemned, by the lords justiciary, to be publicly beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh on the following day, in pursuance of the sentence formerly pronounced upon him, in his absence, for high-treason.†

On the forenoon of the day on which he was executed, the countess was again admitted to see him before he died; and who, but such as have been placed in similar circumstances, can conceive the agonizing feelings which agitated their bosoms, at this their last interview! Scenes like this are so deeply affecting, that even jailers, who have been accustomed to scenes of suffering, have been unable to witness them without being moved to tears. There was, however, in the present case, every alleviating circumstance which Christian character and Christian consolation could afford. Though he was soon to die, and the penalty could not be avoided, he had done nothing of which she had reason to be ashamed, or for which he deserved death at the hands of men. Though, when admitted by the jailer into his cell, she found him loaded with chains, she found him not abject and crushed in spirit by remorse, but enjoying the tranquillity of conscious innocence, and that peace of God which the world can neither give nor take away; and this greatly sustained and soothed her mind. "The day being appointed for his suffering," says her daughter Lady Henrietta, "she had access to him, and though under deep distress, was encouraged by seeing the bounty and graciousness of the Lord to him, in enabling him, with great courage and patience, to undergo what he was to meet with, the Lord helping him to much fervency in supplication, and nearness in pouring out his heart with enlargedness of affection, contrition, and resignation, which did strangely fortify and embolden him to maintain his integrity before his merciless enemies; and by this he was helped at times to great cheerfulness, and fortified under his trial, and the testimony he was to give of his zeal and

* Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 298.

† Drummond's Memoirs of Sir Ewen Campbell of Locheill, p. 216.

favor to that righteous cause he was honored to suffer for."* On the morning of the day on which he was executed, "he spoke freely of the joy with which the Lord had blessed him during the time he had been in Holland (that, as he observed, being the sweetest time of his life), and of the mercifulness of his escape to that end; but rejoiced more in that complete escape he was to have that day from sin and sorrow; and yet in a little he fell into some damp,"† and found the last interview, and especially the final parting with his countess, a severe trial to his fortitude; nor was it a less severe trial to hers. They indeed felt it to be the greatest trial they had to undergo. "In parting with my mother," says Lady Henrietta, "he was observed to have more concern than in any circumstance formerly; and it was to her a bitter parting, to be taken from him whom she loved so dearly."‡ After their final adieu, and when she was removed from his cell, "he recovered a little; and as the time of his death drew near, which was some hours after, the Lord was pleased wonderfully to shine on him, to the dispelling of clouds and fears, and to the admitting him to a more clear and evident persuasion of his blessed favor, and the certainty of his being so soon happy."‖

The last memorial of the earl's affectionate remembrance of her, which the countess received, was the following letter, which he wrote to her from the "Laigh Council-House," whither he was brought a short time before his execution. It is brief, for then his time was short and precious; and is as follows:—

"DEAR HEART: As God is of himself unchangeable, so he hath been always good and gracious to me, and no place alters it; only I acknowledge I am sometimes less capable of a due sense of it; but now, above all my life, I thank God I am sensi-

* Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell. † Ibid.

‡ Ibid. The final parting between that illustrious patriot, Lord William Russell, who was condemned to be executed for the Rye-House Plot, and his lady, who had an uncommon affection for him, was, in like manner, felt by them to be the most trying scene through which they had to pass. A few days before his execution, when Lady Russell left his apartment, he observed that "the parting with her was the greatest thing he had to do, for he feared she would hardly be able to bear it." But both of them were enabled on that occasion wonderfully to control their emotions and to display great magnanimity of spirit. "With a deep and noble silence—with a long and fixed look, in which respect and affection, unmingled with passion, were expressed"—they took their last farewell of each other; "he great in this last act of his life, she greater. His eyes followed her while she quitted the room, and when he lost sight of her, turning to Dr. Burnet, who attended him as his chaplain, he said, 'The bitterness of death is now past.'"—Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. i., pp. 31, 32.

‖ Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.

ble of his presence with me, with great assurance of his favor, through Jesus Christ, and I doubt not it will continue till I be in glory.

"Forgive me all my faults; and now comfort thyself in him, in whom only true comfort is to be found. The Lord be with thee, bless thee, and comfort thee, my dearest! Adieu, my dear! Thy faithful and loving husband, "ARGYLL."*

This letter had a very consoling effect upon the mind of the countess. It had been her earnest prayer, that God would impart to the earl supporting grace to the last, and prepare him for a happy eternity. Her prayers were heard; and great as was her mental anguish, her heart was filled with gratitude to God, who had enabled him to display the faith and the heroism of the martyr. "The certainty of his being so soon happy," says her daughter, Lady Henrietta, "of which he expressed his sense, in his last letter to my dear mother, could not but sweeten her lot in her greatest sorrow, and was ground of greatest thankfulness, that the Lord helped him to the last, to carry with such magnanimity, resolution, contentment of mind, and true valor, under this dark-like providence, to endless blessedness. And though the loss of so great a protestant was grief of mind to all that had any tender heart, and to friends, was a universal, inexpressible, breaking-like dispensation, yet in so far as he was enabled, under cruel suffering, to such tranquillity, peace, and comfort, this was to them ground of praise, and an answer to their prayers."†

The countess's two daughters by her first husband, Lady Sophia and Lady Henrietta, also received each of them a letter from the earl. Both these letters are without date, but they were probably written in the "Laigh Council-House," at the same time when he wrote his last letter to his countess. For his letter to Henrietta, the reader is referred to our sketch of the life of that lady. The letter which Lady Sophia received from him, bears testimony, like that which he wrote to her mother, to the heavenly joy which filled his soul in the near prospect of death. It is as follows:—

"MY DEAR LADY SOPHIA: What shall I say in this great day of the Lord, wherein, in the midst of a cloud, I find a fair sunshine. I can wish no more for you, but that the Lord may comfort you, and shine upon you, as he doth upon me, and give you that same sense of his love in staying in the world, as I have in going out of it. Adieu! "ARGYLL."

* Wodrow's History, vol. iv, p. 303. † Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.

"P. S. My blessing to dear Earl Balcarres. The Lord touch his heart, and incline him to his fear!"*

According to his sentence, Argyll was beheaded on the afternoon of the 30th of June. His behavior on the scaffold is particularly narrated by Wodrow. It has been said, that he was somewhat appalled at the sight of the maiden, and that he therefore caused bind the napkin upon his face, ere he approached it, and was then led to it.† It is, however, admitted by all, that he met death with much Christian fortitude. Among other things he said on the scaffold, "I die not only a protestant, but with a heart-hatred of popery, prelacy, and all superstition whatsoever." His last words, which he repeated three times as he lay with his head on the maiden, were, "Lord Jesus, receive me into thy glory." It is a remarkable fact, that, as is recorded by Fountainhall, after his head had been struck off, his body, by the great commotion and agitation of the animal and vital spirits, started upright to his feet, till it was held down, and the blood, from the jugular veins of the neck, sprung most briskly, like a cascade or jet of water.‡ "Thus fell," adds the same writer, "that tall and mighty cedar in our Lebanon, the last of an ancient and honorable family."‖

In the month of August, after the execution of the earl, the countess, accompanied by her daughter, Lady Henrietta, to London, with the design of assisting her in her intercessions with the government, in behalf of her husband, Sir Duncan Campbell, of Auchinbreck, who had been involved in Argyll's insurrection, and had taken refuge in Holland. She remained in London with her daughter, in prosecution of this object, for about seven or eight months; after which, all their efforts proving unsuccessful, she returned to Scotland; while her daughter, in March or April, 1686, embarked for Holland, to join her husband. On her return to Scotland, she resided during the summer of that year at Stirling.§

Of the subsequent history of the countess, little is known.

* Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 303.

† Fountainhall's Historical Observes, p. 194. ‡ Ibid.

‖ The following scene, which occurred at the execution of Argyll, as described by Fountainhall, may be quoted, as illustrating the manners of that period. "It was reported," says he, "when Argyll's corpse were carrying off the scaffold, a woman of the popish religion followed the bearers, with railing, and wished she could wash her hands in his heart-blood; some other women, hearing this, it did so far provoke their choler, that they seized on her, and dragged her to a close foot, near the North back side, and there beat her soundly, and tore her clothes, and robbed her of her crucifix and beads."—Historical Observes, p. 197.

§ Diary of Lady Henrietta Campbell.

We meet with an allusion to her in a letter addressed by Sir James Stewart, lord-advocate of Scotland, to Mr. William Carstairs, dated "Edinburgh, September 14, 1697." The passage relates to her anxiety about her son, Colin, third earl of Balcarres, who had become obnoxious to the government of King William, in consequence of his concern in the plot of Sir James Montgomery, of Skelmorly, to restore King James.* "I also acquainted you," says the lord-advocate, "how I was ordered to prosecute the process of treason, remitted by the parliament 1695, to the justice court, which was not my inclination at this time; but now that I move in it, it much alarms the lady Skelmorly for her husband's memory. . . . The countess of Argyll is also much troubled for her son, Balcarres; she says it will waken his creditors, and mar her daughters' marriages. I told her that her son, if he pleased, might now apply to the king, at the Hague."† Colin walked on foot to the Hague, and solicited the friendly offices of Carstairs; who told King William that a man he had once favored‡ was now in so low a condition, that he had footed it from Utrecht that morning, to desire him speak for him. "If that be the case," said the generous William, "let him go home; he has suffered enough." The earl "accordingly returned to Scotland," says Lord Lindsay, "toward the end of 1700, after ten years' exile; and his mother had thus the happiness of once more embracing him before her death."‖ "On his being permitted to return from exile," says the same writer, "she was still living at Stirling; she even survived in 1706, but of the precise period of her death I am ignorant. Few lots in life have been so chequered as hers; and few, doubtless, ever laid down their head on the pillow of death with more heartfelt satisfaction. During a long and active life, she had but few gleams of unalloyed earthly happiness; and it was well for her that her hopes were anchored on another and a better world, 'where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.'"§

* This plot was discovered in 1690; upon which, the earl of Balcarres left the country. He waited on the abdicated monarch at St. Germains, who received him with great affection. He published, in 1714, a small work, entitled, 'An Account of the Affairs of Scotland relating to the Revolution, 1688.' On the breaking out of the rebellion, in 1715, he joined the Pretender's standard; but, through the clemency of the government, he escaped unpunished. He died in 1722, aged about seventy.—Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., pp. 169–171.

† Carstairs' State Papers, p. 343.

‡ See Appendix, No. XIII.

‖ Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., p. 190.

§ Lives of the Lindsays, vol. ii., pp. 149–155. For extracts from a very interesting and able letter which the countess wrote to her son Colin, earl of Balcarres, see Appendix, No. XIII.

HENRIETTA LINDSAY,

LADY CAMPBELL OF AUCHINBRECK.*

Henrietta Lindsay was the third and youngest daughter of Alexander, first earl of Balcarres, by his wife, Lady Anne Mackenzie, the subject of the preceding sketch. She was born about the close of the year 1657, or early in the year 1658; as appears from a statement made in her diary, that at the time of her father's death, which took place in August, 1659, she was not two years old.† At so early an age, she could not remember her father, much less derive profit from his instructions and example. But in her eminently pious mother, she found an affectionate and well-qualified instructress in the things of God; as well as a constant pattern of the most attractive features of the Christian character. Nor was this great privilege lost upon her. From the exemplary piety of some female servants in the family, she also derived much religious advantage in her tender years. She mentions that this was the means of first stirring her up to aim, in some serious manner, at the duty of prayer, which, at times, was made sweet to her; and from the experience of her younger days, she makes the following very judicious and important observation: "It can not but be recommended, that care ought to be taken to have well-inclined and conscientious servants, of an agreeable temper about young ones."

When only a little past thirteen years of age, she made a public profession of Christ at the Lord's table, at Weems. In our

* The materials of this sketch, unless when otherwise indicated by the references at the foot of the page, are taken from Lady Campbell's diary, a copy of which is among the Wodrow MSS., in the Advocates' Library, vol. xxxi., 8vo., No. 8. This copy was written out by Wodrow himself, from the original, which he received from Mr John Anderson, minister of Kirkmaiden, who received it from Lady Campbell herself. Mr. Anderson, in a letter to Wodrow, dated Kirkmaiden, October 24, 1721, says: "I have Lady Henrietta Campbell's diary, written with her own hand, and carried down to her arrival at Edinburgh, anno 1689. She was pleased to compliment me with it the last time I parted with her, having a double of it for herself. The whole of it concerns her own exercises, from her early conversion and experience of the work of grace, to that time. I have seldom read anything more edifying; and, therefore, could wish to see what further accounts she has left of her last sickness, and could have hopes of getting the same from her son, Sir James, if I were at his house."—Letters to Wodrow, vol. xv., No. 78. And, in a letter to Wodrow, in January, 1722, he says, in a postscript, "Since I wrote the above I received yours, dated January 1st, and shall some time send you Lady Henrietta's diary, or, at least bring it with me, about the end of April, or beginning of May. I design to take two weeks about Glasgow before I go to the assembly."—Ibid., vol xv., No. 81.

† See p. 386.

day, a child of this age is seldom admitted to so solemn an ordinance; but such early admissions were by no means rare in the best days of the church of Scotland. Henrietta was, however, far from being satisfied with the manner in which she made this, her first approach, to the table of the Lord. She acknowledges that there yet "remained in her great ignorance, and estrangedness from the life and power of Christianity, save by faint wishes, which prompted her to some formal going about duties," and to this duty among others; that, as she afterward discovered, she had presumed upon it "from great rashness, and, no doubt, ignorance of the hazard of such an adventure;" and that, "therefore, no sensible benefit could be discovered; which, after some months, was made cause of dread and terror to her." These convictions of her having profaned the sacrament of the Lord's supper, were first produced on her mind at Inverary, under the ministry of Mr. Patrick Campbell, when in consequence of the marriage of her mother to the earl of Argyll, she was brought to reside at the castle of Inverary, the seat of that nobleman. The sermons she there heard Mr. Campbell preach, had an awakening effect upon her, "which," says she, writing after his death, which took place subsequently to the revolution, "will ever endear his memory to me." She also records that, at this time, a weekly catechetical exercise in the family of the earl of Argyll, conducted by Mr. Cumming, a man "of eminent piety and learning," was made greatly useful to her, issuing in her greater liking to spiritual concerns. Brought by these means, to a conviction of the danger of her natural state, she was led to renounce her own righteousness as insufficient to form the ground of her justification before God, and to seek salvation only in the finished work of the blessed Mediator. It, indeed, appears to have been her own impression, that it was only now that she became the subject of the regenerating and saving grace of the Spirit of God. Going with the earl of Argyll's family to Kintyre, where they stayed a month or five weeks, she had "access to her sweet and powerful truths at Campbeltown, under Mr. Cameron's and Mr. Keith's ministry,* who were two eminent lights there." During this time, her young heart was drawn forth in ardent love to her Sa-

* Mr. John Cameron was, at the restoration, minister of Kilfinnan, from which he was ejected for nonconformity, and, in 1672, he was appointed, in the indulgence of the privy council of September that year, indulged minister of that parish. From the statement in the text, it would appear that he had been subsequently appointed indulged minister of Campbeltown. Mr. Edward Keith was, at the restoration, minister of Lochead, from which he was also ejected for nonconformity. He was appointed, in 1672, indulged minister of Campbeltown.—Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 328; and vol. ii., p. 204.

vior, and she was much engaged in the secret exercises of religion, in which she found great delight.

After this she was brought, with Argyll's family, to Edinburgh. While residing in the capital, she had an opportunity of hearing the ejected ministers preach in private houses; and the powerful impression which their sermons made upon her own heart, as well as the blessed effects they produced upon many others who heard them, created in her mind an esteem for these excellent men, which she found it impossible to feel for the curates, whose ministry was attended with little evidence of the presence and power of God. Such was the contemplative character of her mind, that even then, though only in the fifteenth or sixteenth year of her age, she had reasoned herself into the impropriety, if not the sinfulness, of hearing the curates; not only because of the cold and unimpressive character of their discourses, but also, because she believed that, by the Solemn League and Covenant, Britain was solemnly engaged against prelacy. She thus writes: "After this we were brought to Edinburgh; where, after several months of ups and downs as to comfort, there was access unexpectedly to gospel ordinances in private families, that proved not empty cisterns to me, but were made as the conduit to derive streams from the fountain; for which, O to be helped to praise! and, though a time of persecution, yet the Lord favored his people there with several powerful sermons, in these private meetings, which did engage, to great esteem and affection, to these his sent servants, who were peculiarly countenanced, beyond what I could perceive among others of a different persuasion. This was a privilege Mr. Cumming was instrumental in procuring. Learning then to lay to heart the misery our nation was groaning under, by being reduced to formal, lifeless teachers that then were in our churches, and by the silencing our more faithful ministers, that were removed to corners, it became, from this time, matter of bitterness to me to hear any other than them; having the deep impression of the ties our nation was under to have abolished this woful, episcopal, tyrannical power, that had so sad effects."

Personal dedication to God, in a written form, in which the person gives himself, or herself, up to be the Lord's alone, and for ever, is an exercise which has often been engaged in by the pious young, in the youthful ardor of their religious feelings; and though, if performed in a self-righteous spirit, it may be the means of fostering dangerous delusion, yet, if performed evangelically, in the way of the person's renouncing all dependence

on his own righteousness and strength, trusting to Christ's righteousness alone for salvation, and to God's grace for strength to perform the engagements come under, it may, and has often been, highly profitable to him, both at the time and afterward, encouraging him to cleave to God and his service in difficulties, in peril, and even in death. So much was the heart of this young lady drawn out to God, under the sermons of the ejected ministers, that she resolved, by a solemn transaction of this nature, to make an entire surrender of herself to Him; and, upon her going to the country, where her greater seclusion afforded her more convenience for such an exercise, she engaged in it with peculiar solemnity. "But," says she, "in these corners there was such sweetness found in the preached word out of the mouths of his sent servants (as Mr. Gilbert Hall, that shining light, and Mr. George Johnston), as did lead me to a further solicitude how to close with these great gospel offers, the publication of a Savior to undone sinners being then made sweet; so that I proposed, if the Lord should give opportunity, that I should essay that indispensable duty of covenanting; which, accordingly, I did in the sixteenth year of my age, when brought to the country, at Balcarres,* where I enjoyed more of solitude in a retired lot." The covenant which she had written out, and subscribed with her own hand, has not been preserved; but her whole account of the transaction breathes a spirit strictly evangelical, as well as devout. She declares that she was much countenanced in that work, in the Lord's enabling her to improve the glad tidings of salvation, without which she felt herself to be a lost sinner. She also testifies, that this solemn dedication was the means of her attaining "great settledness and serenity of mind:" and that then she was "taken up more than usually in the exercises of delight and praise to the renowned name of Him who is the blessed rose of Sharon, and lily of the valleys; which made those retirements from a vain world sweet to her for some weeks after." She adds, "The singing of Psalm xlv. was frequently made sweet to me, in those retired walks in Balcarres planting."

After this she resided for a time at Stirling; and she adverts to several private meetings for sermon, at which she was present—some of them in the night, because of the persecution—by which she was strengthened and edified.

Her early scruples about hearing the curates continuing to increase, she very soon altogether withdrew from attending their

* That is, at Balcarres house, the seat of her brother, the earl of Balcarres, in the parish of Kilconquhar, Fifeshire.

ministry; and, though frowned upon for this by some in high places, she had the moral courage to act in conformity with her deliberate convictions of duty, in spite of censures and sneers, and enjoyed the inward satisfaction which always accompanies fidelity to conscience. "Being again," says she, "some time after this, brought to Edinburgh, it was found greatly afflicting to attend on these time-serving formal sermons, which then were authorized by authority, and became matter of bitterness, and was such a grievance as did necessarily oblige me to withdraw from frequenting them, both at Stirling and at Edinburgh; and though ill-looked upon by some then in power, for being scrupulous about this, yet there was more peace in this, from considerations that were considerable to a mind that was solicitous anent clearness."

Lady Henrietta had been early admitted to the Lord's supper, and though she afterward believed that she was then an unworthy partaker, yet this neither cast her into despair, nor led her to neglect the observance of this ordinance in future, but rather served to excite her to diligence in seeking after the qualifications of a worthy communicant. Numerous evidences occur in her diary, of the high veneration with which she contemplated that sacred institution, and of the spiritual comfort and profit she had derived from its observance. In that document, a particular account is given of not less than twenty of these solemn occasions,* at which she was a communicant. About this time she went to Cambusnethan, where Mr. William Violant, whom she describes as "that shining light," was indulged minister, to observe the Lord's supper, though the distance was great from Balcarres, to which she had removed some time before, and she stayed in the house of Sir Thomas Stewart of Coltness, where she met with much kindness, from both friends and strangers.

From Cambusnethan she returned to Edinburgh, where, for a season, through the violence of the persecution, she had no opportunity of hearing the gospel preached. She felt her "silent sabbaths very bitter," though the secret exercises of religion were very comforting to her; and she again set apart some time for renewing her former transaction of self-dedication to be the Lord's, "which Bethel-day was made among the sweetest she ever had on earth." At length, in private houses, she frequently enjoyed "sweet gospel days, notwithstanding the severities en-

* These are one at Wrems, one at Pittenweem, one at Tillicoultry, one at Paisley, one at Cambusnethan, one at Kullalian, one at Dirleton, three at Campbeltown, one at London, one at Delf, and eight at Rotterdam.

joined;" and at these meetings, "which were wonderfully hedged and protected from that avenging persecution," Mr. Alexander Moncrieff and Mr. John Carstairs, "those great and shining lights, were helped marvellously to deliver great truths," and enabled to display "great boldness of spirit, and resolution in the discharge of their Master's work."

About this time she went to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, at Dirleton, and, returning home, she fell into a languishing condition of body; but, on her removal to Balcarres, she gradually recovered. When previously residing at Balcarres, she had attended the curate of the parish, "whose ministry was a heavy burden in the place;" but now, more true to her convictions, she altogether absented herself; and yet, on this account, offensive as her conduct might be to the curate, neither her friends nor strangers frowned upon her. Returning to Inverary, she regularly heard Mr. Patrick Campbell preach once every sabbath, and also derived much spiritual profit from the fellowship and example of some experienced Christians in the parish. She records that, about this time, Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, "that eminent shining light," paid a visit to Inverary, and remained several weeks, during which time his ministry was accompanied with much evidence of the power and presence of God. Shortly after, she and several of her friends, went to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Killallan,* of which Mr. James Hutchison was indulged minister; and, on the close of this occasion, she spent some weeks with the marchioness of Argyll, at her residence at Rosencath, where, for several sabbaths, she had the pleasure of listening to the pastoral instructions of Mr. Neil Gillies, indulged minister in that place.

Leaving the marchioness of Argyll, she returned to Inverary, and was soon after united in marriage to Sir Duncan Campbell, fourth baronet of Auchinbreck, who was descended from the same stock as the earl of Argyll, to whom he was only second in the county of Argyll. He succeeded his uncle, Sir Dugald, who died without issue, soon after the restoration of Charles II.† After her marriage she went to dwell at the residence of Sir Duncan, at Lochgair, a mansion of great size, but which was cast to the ground when the property went to other hands.‡

* Killallan and Houstoun form a united parish, now generally called Houstoun.

† Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, p 62.

‡ New Statistical Account of Scotland, Kilmichael-Glassary, Argyllshire, p 684. The Campbell of Auchinbreck family held their baron-baillie courts at Kilmichael, then a populous village, and a place of considerable importance, not only to the parish, but also in the county.

Here she found her lot "abundantly creditable," and also very comfortable, meeting with "much fond affection and kindness," both from Sir Duncan and from his relations; "which," says she, "with all dutiful affection, will be ever remembered with the greatest gratitude." The only want she appears to have felt in this remote locality, was her deprivation of the preaching of the gospel, "these bounds being then as a heath in the wilderness, as to the means of grace;" for the minister of the parish, like too many of the intruded curates, was a corrupt, insignificant teacher. On some occasions, however, though rarely, by reason of the persecution, she received visits from nonconforming ministers, by whose society and instruction she was greatly refreshed.

Previous to her confinement, she went to Edinburgh, where, on the 30th of January, her son, James, a child whom she devoted to God from the womb, and who afterward succeeded his father, was born. Some weeks after, she and Sir Duncan, with their child, returned to Lochgair; and, notwithstanding the severity with which the persecution then raged, they enjoyed much tranquillity during the most of that year. At this time, the earl of Argyll paying them a visit, invited them to come and stay with him for a few months, at the castle of Inverary. They readily accepted his invitation, and took along with them their infant boy, who was there "nursed with his grandmother with the greatest affection and tenderness."

In July, she and Sir Duncan, with their child, went to Kintyre, with the most of the earl of Argyll's and her mother's families, forming a numerous company. Their society was exceedingly agreeable, and they had an opportunity of attending at the dispensation of the Lord's supper in that place, on two sabbaths in succession.* All of them, but especially Lady Campbell and her mother, were much interested in the services of these solemn occasions; "which," says Lady Campbell, writing after the revolution, "were made a double meal to many; and, indeed, as this meal was doubled to many, so many had a long journey to go in the strength of it, as was sweetly forewarned, and with great utterance and liveliness was told us. I never saw such a sight of young communicants, or more seriousness, the seeds whereof, it is hoped, do remain in that place, that is blessed again with a powerful signalizing ministry." She adds,

* Mr David Simpson was indulged minister at Kintyre, in 1672. He was ejected from his ministry at Southend, after the Restoration, for nonconformity.—Wodrow's History, vol. i., p. 328; and vol. ii., p. 204.

"These two eminent lights soon after were put out, by the removal of Mr. Cameron and Mr. Keith, as a sad presage to the place and to our nation; as, indeed, appeared immediately after, by the growing desolation and trouble that daily increased; to the putting a further restraint on ministers and people, many of whom were imprisoned, harassed, chased to the hazard of their lives, the violating of the consciences of others, and the fearful bloodshed of many; retrenching our liberties, so that it was made a crime to meet, or convene to the worship of the living God, except in such a manner as our nation was solemnly sworn against; laying bonds on ministers not to preach, or people to hear, under such and such penalties, fines, hazards, as were endless to rehearse; things running to such a height, to the introducing of popery itself, if the Lord had not prevented, that there were almost no thinking persons but were under the dread and fear of this approaching judgment. Thus, for several years, was this growing spear of persecution groaned under by many families and persons, which, when called to mind, can not but excite to wonder, bearing witness to this cruel bondage, much like to the case of those in Psalm lxvi. 12, 'Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads; we went through fire and through water; but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place;' for which, oh to be helped to go to thy house with burnt-offerings, that each of us to pay those vows which our lips have uttered and our mouths have spoken when we were in this trouble!"

Lady Campbell's attachment to the cause of nonconformity, as might be expected, created her opposition, remote as was the part of the country where she resided; for in the most remote localities there were always some individuals—the curates, if no others—who made it their business to discover such as were hostile to prelacy, and to entail on them the penalties of persecution. In the year 1684, an attempt was made, owing to the malignity or cupidity of base informers, to banish the worship of God from her house; as appears from her gratefully speaking of the Lord's "mercifully hiding her as in a pavilion, even from the strife of tongues, and his never-to-be-forgotten mercy under the adversaries' bold attack to turn the worship of God out of her family." From this general statement, the particular circumstances of the case can only be guessed at. As it was then perfectly legal for the master of a family to assemble his own domestics for reading the Scriptures and for prayer, Sir Duncan—had the government been regulated by their own laws, which, however, was not always the case—could not have been found

fault with, and punished for performing those duties himself. It may, therefore, be supposed, that he retained in his family a presbyterian chaplain, whose duty it was to lead the devotions at the domestic altar; and that the government being informed of this, Sir Duncan was threatened with prosecution, or actually prosecuted on that ground. The result she does not declare; but, as an evidence of their firmness of purpose, it may be mentioned, that, when the case was pending, and occasioning them no small anxiety, they cordially welcomed into their house at Lochgair, an ejected minister, who unexpectedly paid them a visit, though such hospitality was then in no small degree perilous; and they, moreover, during his stay with them, though at the risk of heavy penalties, gladly converted their house into a little sanctuary, where their domestics and neighbors assembled to hear the words of eternal life at his mouth. "But," says she, "while thus under unaccountable thoughtfulness about the event, and great trouble, the Lord directed one of his faithful and chosen servants unexpectedly to our family, the Rev. Mr. Robert Muir, eminent in his day; and though the time was difficulting, yet Sir Duncan was moved to favor and welcome him, and would not part with him for some weeks; which was made a seasonable refreshing visit to some. These lectures, and family exercise and sermons, were made often as light from the dead, not only instructing to the great conviction of severals, but were made strengthening and comforting to others; and though several did meet together during his being with us, yet never did the least trouble follow, save to part again, which was not easy to many." Mr. Muir, as we shall see in the sequel, had afterward an opportunity of repaying the kindness he at this time received from Lady Campbell and Sir Duncan, when his hosts were brought into circumstances of distress.

In the winter following—that is, about the close of the year 1684, or the beginning of the year 1685—Sir Duncan being unjustly and maliciously accused of uttering expressions reflecting on the government, for which he was in danger of prosecution, she proceeded along with him to Edinburgh, through a great fall of snow, with the design, it would appear, of leaving the country; but, on reaching the capital, they were happily relieved from this threatened trouble; and, staying there for some weeks, they had opportunity, though but seldom, of hearing the gospel preached by some of the nonconforming ministers. At this time, Charles II. died; an event which, severe as the persecution had been under his reign, excited, from the well-known cruelty and bigotry of his

brother James, who succeeded him, the most alarming apprehensions in regard to the future. "In which time," says she, "King Charles's death fell out, which ushered in great agitation in the minds of many, who did foresee and fear what indeed did follow; matters being screwed to such a height, as protestants could not but be greatly alarmed; which unquestionably gave rise to the late earl of Argyll's project from Holland, the Lord seeing it meet to move the heart of severals to bestir themselves in behalf of their religion and liberty, when so largely run down; as did evidently appear by the scaffolding, dragooning, torturing, and barbarous practices among us, so that either our ruin or relief seemed to be at hand."

The summer after this, she and Sir Duncan were residing at Carnassary castle,* which stood on an eminence, at the head of the valley of Kilmartin, anciently called Strathmore, and the ruins of which are still to be seen. While residing here, she enjoyed for some weeks the society of her "desirable sister," Lady Sophia. At the same time she was attacked by a high fever, and in her sickness was visited by her mother, who, on her recovery, prevailed with her to accompany her and Lady Sophia to Stirling, and live there with her and her sister till her health should be more fully recruited.

During the time of her stay with her mother at Stirling, tidings came to the government that the earl of Argyll had touched at Orkney; upon which, as has already been recorded, her "dear mother" was, by an order of the privy council, immediately apprehended, and carried prisoner to Stirling castle, and thence, on a sabbath morning, to the castle of Edinburgh. Her "dear sister," Lady Sophia, was also imprisoned; and many of the most substantial of the Campbell name were seized and made close prisoners in the Canongate tolbooth. Some days after, Sir Duncan, on receiving intelligence of the earl's coming to Campbeltown, and the need he had of aid, willing to hazard his all to promote the design of this undertaking, went, through manifold difficulties, and even at the peril of his life, to join him, with a considerable number of his men,† who, however, continued not

* Carnassary castle was the residence of Mr. John Carsewell, when, after the Reformation from popery, he became superintendent of Argyll: and after his death, which took place in the year 1575, it became the property and occasional residence of the Campbells of Auchinbreck.—New Statistical Account of Scotland. Kilmartin, Argyllshire, pp. 555, 556

† Wodrow says eight hundred.—(History, vol iv., p. 290.) Fountainhall says two hundred. "Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck," says he, "with two hundred men, went to him, under the pretence he was bound by his charter to assist

long together; for they were "scattered," says Lady Campbell, "to the unaccountable grief and sadness of many, who were breathing for a deliverance."

With much bitterness of spirit she took leave of Sir Duncan at Stirling, when he was about to join Argyll, for she dreaded the result; nor was she altogether satisfied as to the expediency of the undertaking, though the laudableness of the object prevented her from making any opposition. "A time," says she, "not to be forgotten was this, and what this parting was when he left me at Stirling. And though it became me not to be so selfish as to stand in the way of a more public concern, when so much seemed to be at the stake, yet I was far from encouraging him in it, because I had not that clearness in it that could have been wished. The seen danger he was exposed to at this time was as the bereaving me of my life, so much was it bound up in him; but the Lord was graciously pleased to support, so that some of those days were more wonderful, and any time spent alone was more than ordinarily countenanced, and these loneliest times were made sweeter than could have been expected, although under the prospect of heavy times to follow." She continues: "The following day, we had the unaccountable, sad, and dismal notice of the ruin of that undertaking, wherein the expectations of many were sadly defeated; but the Lord's time was not come for our deliverance, and that which did greatly aggravate the terribleness of that stroke was the dreadful aspect these circumstances appeared to have, not possible to relate, sufferings of various kinds being from all airths expected, and an increase of our thraldom greatly dreaded."

On the subsequent day, at St. Ninians, she passed, in deep disguise, through several guards, in order to obtain more certain intelligence respecting her nearest friends; and learning that they were in danger, she was greatly distressed. She watched during the greater part of that night, and returned at four o'clock in the morning to Stirling; where, on being informed that Sir Duncan was on the road, her fears regarding his safety were heightened. Taking leave that day of her "dear Jamie," whom "the Lord provided friends to care for," though she left him very destitute, having no relative to whom she could intrust him (her mother and sister being at this time prisoners), she, with much confusion and agitation of mind, set out for Edinburgh, walking and riding alternately. When some miles on her journey, being

him; which can not oblige him against the king, nor defend him for treason."—Decisions, vol. i., p 363.

then on foot, she unexpectedly met, near Falkirk, the earl of Argyll, who was brought that length prisoner on his way to Edinburgh; "which," says she, "was a mournful sight to one who bore him so great affection." He does not, however, appear to have observed her. She was in deep disguise, and did not venture to come near him, but held up in the rear, at some distance, most part of the way, till the horse on which she was riding failed. Judging it more than probable that Sir Duncan was taken, and being informed by several persons on the road that such was the case, she was greatly troubled. But the report of his apprehension was unfounded; for, though searched for in several places, he was wonderfully preserved from falling into the hands of his enemies—a mercy "which, on many accounts, she desired to remember, with great thankfulness and praise."

Before reaching Edinburgh, she was under the necessity of staying all night on the road, and had some difficulty in getting lodgings. Owing to the fatigue of travelling, and to great heaviness and pressure of mind, arising from her own personal concerns, from the calamities of various kinds which had befallen or were about to befall many who were concerned in Argyll's attempt, and from fears respecting her husband, of whose safety she was ignorant, sleep departed from her eyes: but, as the Lord had commanded his loving-kindness in the daytime, so in the night of trouble his song was with her, and her prayer unto the God of her life, "who made this among the sweetest nights that ever she had, or durst have expected, so that sleep was neither missed nor sought after."

Next morning, coming early to Edinburgh, at the opening of the gates, she received the afflicting news of the barbarous treatment the "dear earl" of Argyll had met with in his being brought to the castle; and also heard very painful rumors regarding several of her nearest relations, which again plunged her in distress. When revolving in her mind where to go, she was directed to the lodgings of "a dear, sympathizing friend, Mr. Robert Muir," with whom she "found much favor and kind reception, and whose company, on this afflicting sabbath, was no small blessing to her; and what was I," she adds, "that the Lord should thus regard me, that in most of my greatest troubles he hath been pleased to favor me with his people's society and company? but he is gracious, and his compassions fail not." Ever since Mr. Muir had stayed some weeks with her and Sir Duncan at their house at Lochgair, "his instructions, singular sympathy, and affectionate help," had been of great advantage to them both; "and there-

fore," says she, "I hope and enjoin that it may not be forgot by such of mine as may outlive this acknowledgment; but above all," she adds (for her pious spirit led her to see the hand of God in everything), "is to be acknowledged the wonderful compassion of the high and lofty One, in thus compassionating the exigencies of the indigent, and 'therefore I will be glad and rejoice in thy mercy; for thou hast considered my trouble; thou hast known my soul in adversities,' Ps. xxxi. 7."

On the following day, she had certain information of Sir Duncan's "safety, and marvellous preservation," which greatly relieved her burdened mind concerning him; and she was then in better case to make inquiry after her "dear afflicted mother, who was harshly treated," and who was greatly afflicted in prospect of the cruel death of her husband, the earl of Argyll.

Lady Campbell and the earl of Argyll entertained a high esteem and warm affection for each other. By the Christian excellence of her character she had gained upon his heart, and he always treated her with kindness, as if she had been his own child. She, on the other hand, cherished toward him the tenderness of a daughter. This, as well as sympathy with her mother, made his death a sore stroke to her. On the morning of the day on which he was executed, she obtained an interview with him, though not till he was brought to the council-house. When admitted to him, she was greatly comforted in witnessing his composed, edifying carriage, in circumstances so trying to human fortitude. After endearing expressions, he said to her, "We must not part like those not to meet again." And she testifies that he went thence to the place of execution "with the greatest assurance." As a last memorial of his affectionate remembrance of her, he wrote to her a letter on the last day of his life, and it was probably written in the council-house, immediately after this interview between them, at the same time that he wrote a letter to her sister Lady Sophia and another to her mother. It is as follows:—

"*June* 30, 1685.

"DEAR LADY HENRIETTA: I pray God sanctify and bless this lot to you. Our concerns are strangely mixed; the Lord look on them; I know all shall turn to good to them that fear God, and hope in his mercy. So I know you do, and that you may still do it more and more is my wish for you. The Lord comfort you!—I am, your loving father and servant, ARGYLL."*

* Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 304. Some person had taken a copy of this letter at the time, and by this means it was preserved. Mr. John Anderson, minister of

To the sorrow of Lady Campbell, occasioned by the execution of Argyll, and the condition of her mother, was added the sorrow occasioned by the cruel manner in which many of the Campbell clan were treated, the close imprisonment of her sister, and the rapine and violence committed upon Sir Duncan's property, and that of his friends and tenants. "At this melancholy time," says she, "account came of many of our folks, that were taken and brought in like slaves, so as many prisons were filled; others spoiled of all that they had, who had been in jail all this time, and no way in arms; their houses rifled, and young ones put to flight. Many were harassed, and twenty-three gentlemen and feuars were executed in one day, by that bloody person* who gave orders for it. My dear sister was close prisoner, so as none of us had access to her; our whole bounds and interest laid waste; many put to flight; our house burned,† and many put to great hardships, as were unaccountable to relate; Sir Duncan's uncle [Alexander Campbell of] Strondour, slain at our gate, and [Dugald Mactavish of] Duardary, executed at Bowdraught.‡ Yet," she adds, "O the graciousness of the Lord, who gave a back for the burden, as is wonderful at in looking back on it; as also on the bounty and goodness of the Lord, in the safety of so many in the same circumstances, who were designed to be a sacrifice, but were miraculously preserved."

While, as is stated in the above extract, the castle of Carnassary was burned by the enemy, and burned, too, in violation of a solemn treaty, her other and chief place of residence, Lochgair house, was, with the like perfidy, plundered of all its furniture. Sir Duncan's friends defended that house against the marquis of Atholl's men for some time; but at length they entered into a

Kirkmaiden, in a letter to Wodrow, dated November 6, 1723, speaking of Wodrow's History, says: "I was much surprised when I read the earl of Argyll's letter to my Lady Henrietta Campbell, seeing she had often told me she had lost it long ago; but, it seems, some person had got a copy of it, from whom you have had it."—Letters to Wodrow, MSS. in Advocates' Library, vol. xxi., 4to, No. 133.

* The marquis of Atholl. The whole territory of the Campbells was intrusted to him, when the earl of Argyll fell a sacrifice; and among other acts of cruelty and lawless violence which he committed, he caused to be executed four or five gentlemen of the name of Campbell, after they had received quarter and protection upon their surrendering, and eighteen more at Inverary, without even the formality of a trial. A small, but chaste monument of chlorite, erected on the spot, close to the church, commemorates their tragical death, and, with great moderation of language, the cause in which they fell.—Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 310; and New Statistical Account of Scotland, Inverary, Argyllshire.

† Viz., the castle of Inverary.

‡ This account is confirmed by "a petition of Sir Duncan Campbell, for himself and his distressed friends, tenants, and vassals, in Knapdale, Glassary, and Kelislait," presented to the estates of parliament, after the revolution.—See Appendix, No. XIV.

treaty with them, and surrendered it upon condition that all the furniture, papers, &c., should be preserved, and that they should be allowed to convey them safe to Lady Campbell. But this treaty proved a frail security. Too perfidious to be bound by their own engagements, Atholl's men garrisoned the house and plundered it. The commander of the party, after having taken away and destroyed most of what was in the house, coveting the charter-chest, which was of a very curious construction, broke it open, and turned out the papers on the floor of the chamber where it stood, sending away the chest for his own use. After this reckless spoliation a party of soldiers lay in the house about eight or ten weeks. It is a singular fact, that after the revolution, when Lady Campbell and Sir Duncan returned from Holland, they found these papers lying on that chamber floor, exactly in the same state as when turned out of the charter-chest, though they had then lain exposed nearly four years, the house being in ruins, and open to everybody. On coming home, as the mansion at Lochgair was uninhabitable, they dwelt for some time in another house; in which they had not been long, when Lady Campbell wished to go and see their house at Lochgair, and desired Sir Duncan to send some person to look for his papers. He answered, that he was certain that they were all destroyed; but going up herself to see the condition of the house, she found them all lying in a heap on the floor, and caused them to be put up in several trunks and carried to Edinburgh, where, on examination, it was found that not one paper of value was amissing.*

After the execution of the earl of Argyll, she experienced, for some weeks, much mental anxiety, from the great danger to which Sir Duncan was exposed, of falling into the hands of his enemies. By a proclamation, dated June 24, 1685, for apprehending the leading men who had been concerned in Argyll's attempt, a reward of eighteen hundred merks was offered to such as should deliver up Sir Duncan, dead or alive, to the government; and it was declared treason to harbor, reset, or correspond with him, or any of the persons named in the proclamation.† But, at the risk of incurring the penalties of treason, some had the generosity to shelter and harbor him; and this Lady Campbell piously attributes to the mercy of God, who had inclined their hearts to compassion.

In such a state of matters, she and Sir Duncan resolved to leave Scotland. While he should go to Holland for shelter, she

* Wodrow's Analects, vol. i., pp. 280-282; and his History, vol. iv., p. 310.
† Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 312.

was to go to England, with the view, if possible, of obtaining, from his majesty, the favor of an act of indemnity, securing at once his life and his estates, over both which a deed of forfeiture was impending. His purpose of making his escape, Sir Duncan was enabled speedily to carry into effect. He arrived safely in Holland, on the 14th of August. Meanwhile, having left her child behind her, Lady Campbell and her mother, who determined to accompany her to England, proceeded on their journey; in which they met with several instances of providential preservation, which, with thankfulness, she desired to remember, though the relation of them is omitted in her diary. Many were the conflicting feelings which agitated her mind, in the trying circumstances in which she was now placed; but, like the king of Israel, she always had recourse to God's Word in the time of her affliction, and that was the source whence her comfort was derived. "After this," says she, "being on the road to England, at Durham, on the 9th of August [1685], being the sabbath, and among strangers, and at a distance from those wished-for ordinances that had been enjoyed, when alone, and full of sadness and anxiety, O how sweet was that word made, and powerfully intimated to me with bowels of compassion—Rom. viii. 35, 'Neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nakedness, nor peril, nor sword, shall separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord!'"

Reaching London in safety, she continued there for several months; and during that period, which she calls "an afflictive time to both nations, as may be memorable to after-ages," she and her mother left no means untried to obtain indemnity for Sir Duncan. But from King James—the consummation of tyranny, bigotry, and cruelty, who had declared that it would never be well with Scotland until the south of the Forth, where the covenanters chiefly abounded, was turned into a hunting-field, and who had witnessed the limbs of the presbyterians crushed and mangled in the boot, with exquisite and savage glee—she had little to expect; and the cold reception she met with from men in power, she devoutly contrasts with the benignity and mercy with which the Supreme Ruler of heaven and of earth ever welcomes the humble suppliant, who approaches his throne through Jesus Christ. "Among some sweet hours then," she writes, "though in a very troublesome attendance at Windsor, where great ones of the world were solicited and waited on with no little painfulness and charge, O how did it give occasion to commend the preferableness of his matchless service, who is King

of kings and Lord of lords! who does not scare at petitioners because of their blemishes and importunity! there being no want of leisure at his blessed throne; no destitute case is slighted by him; no wilderness condition in a solitary way doth make petitions burdensome to him, but he satisfies the longing soul, and filleth the hungry with good things; no distress, peril, or sword, separates from his love, nor does he break the bruised reed, or quench the smoking flax; with him the weary and heavy laden find acceptance; no difficulty being too great for him who saveth to the uttermost all that come to God through him."

The sight she had of the court, when at London, was far from exciting in her mind the feelings of envy. Her aspirations were after nobler enjoyments than the pageantry and luxury of a court could bestow. She had chosen the better part, and she thanked God, that, by his grace, he had enabled her to prefer occupying a place among the wronged and injured of his people, to possessing all the wealth and honors of the world. She thus writes in her diary, and the sentiments bespeak the just views she had of the objects of ambition, which become a rational and an immortal being:—"*London, at King's Court.*—Soon after this [that is, after November, 1685], having occasion to see the outward splendor of the court, and bravery of such as sit at ease in the world, and have all that their heart could wish, and are in the height of their enjoyment, all appeared to me to be according to the Lord's reckoning, and was esteemed to be but as shadows and dreams, that do evanish and bear little bulk when put in competition with the least amount or degree of enjoyment of God, in Jesus Christ, and did extort this short meditation: 'O incomparably matchless choice, that can never be suitably esteemed, or enough valued, loved, or delighted in, it being found that there is no true tranquillity, nor sure peace or comfort but in God; once mine and ever mine; there being no change or alteration in his love. And at this time it was made matter of praise, that ever he had discovered to me the preferableness of choosing affliction with the people of God, to enjoying the pleasures of sin for a season. The blessing of them that are ready to perish be for ever upon him, who has discovered and taught the meaning of that blessed promise, 'And every one that hath forsaken houses or brethren, or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life' (Matt. xix. 29); which is seen to be not only full of compensation, but wonderfully beyond any temporal enjoyment that ever was enjoyed elsewhere. His

fellowship, his sympathy, his tender mercy, his matchless love; O incomparable felicity and portion! O to give thanks unto the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever."

At the time that Lady Campbell was in London, the English puritans were greatly oppressed. King James was rigorously executing the severest laws in force against them. Richard Baxter was in prison; John Howe was in exile. Puritan congregations could only meet by night, in private houses, or in waste places; while their ministers were forced to preach to them in the garb of draymen, colliers, or sailors, and to steal into the houses where their hearers were assembled, through windows and trap-doors.* To this distressing condition of the English nonconformists, various allusions are made in Lady Campbell's diary. She states that, while in London, she heard the word preached only in a very private manner, in consequence "of the spirit of violence and persecution which at that time raged in London." On one occasion, she there enjoyed the ordinance of the Lord's supper; but the privacy with which it was observed, and the means taken to prevent discovery, indicate the extreme rigor with which the laws against nonconformity were enforced, It was dispensed in the night-time, in a private house where a select company had assembled for the holy service. The ministers who officiated were two Scotsmen, Mr. Nicholas Blaikie, and Mr. George Hamilton—the former, minister of Roberton at the restoration, from which charge he was ejected for nonconformity; and the latter, minister in the High church of Edinburgh after the revolution. The number of communicants was about forty. Speaking of this sacramental occasion, after the revolution, Lady Campbell says, it "gave occasion for mournful considerations; and though a great privilege to be admitted to [this ordinance], yet now, when looking back on the distress, and barbarous treatment and hazard, that were in those days, which made meeting together about uncontroverted commanded duties to be a crime, this may heighten our notes of praise, and estimation of our privileges, that those restraints have so graciously been removed that now we have such gospel days. This is the doing of the Lord, and wondrous in our eyes."

Very different was the manner in which the Roman catholics were dealt with by King James. While the most eminent of the puritan divines were imprisoned, or in exile, friars and monks crowded the streets of London. While the puritans were interdicted the freedom of the press, the presses of Oxford were

* Macaulay's History of England, vol ii, pp. 204, 214.

throwing off, under a royal license, breviaries and mass-books in thousands. While the puritans could only meet to worship God, in the manner they judged most agreeable to his will, in private houses, by stealth, "the host was publicly exposed in London, under the protection of the pikes and muskets of the foot-guards;" and the popish worship was conducted in their chapels, in the most open and ostentatious manner.* During her stay in the English capital, much of this fell under the observation of Lady Campbell; to whom, as to the great body of the protestant community, it was a just cause of grief, as well as of painful apprehension, though it served to establish her faith in the truth of the protestant doctrines. "One time there" [in London, 1685], says she, "going by a popish chapel, with a very heavy heart, to see such crowdings so avowedly to this idolatrous worship, two or three of us went to the door to see the manner of their worship, who thus were deluded, being told we might, without going in, see them without being seen, which proved otherwise; for, being noticed as strangers to their foppery, after standing a while to observe and wonder at this abomination, to see it set up in a protestant country, we had nearly been knocked down unawares, but narrowly escaped—from which the hazard was seen of venturing upon curiosity—yet blessed be God for this much of instruction, in seeing such a sight as helped to confirm us in the truth of the one Mediator between God and man."

At London, her intercessions in behalf of her husband, Sir Duncan, met with so little success, that, at the very time of her being there, the government were proceeding against him, in his absence, to the greatest possible extremity.—On the 11th of September, 1685, when she had been in London a few weeks, the Scottish privy council ordered the king's advocate to proceed against him, and others, before the justiciary court, for joining with Argyll: and, previously, to examine witnesses in accordance with the king's letter.† On the 12th of October, he and thirty-two Argyllshire heritors were "cited on sixty days, for treason;" and, on the 14th of December, being called at the justiciary court to be forfeited on probation, their case was delayed to the 5th of January, 1686.‡ On the 5th of January that year, when she had been in London nearly five months, he and the Argyllshire heritors, already referred to, were tried on an indictment of rebellion and treason, for their concern in Argyll's insurrection; and, their

* Macaulay's History of England, vol. ii., p. 204.
† Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 320.
‡ Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., p. 370.

case having been remitted to a jury, who brought in a verdict of guilty, they were forfeited in life and fortune.*

At length, finding that all her pains at court in behalf of Sir Duncan were to very little purpose, she considered it needless to wait in London any longer. But, when about to leave the English capital, in March, 1686, she was in some difficulty whether to embark for Holland, or to return to Scotland. Her affection to, and sympathy with her distressed and endeared husband, inclined her to join him in Holland; but against such an intention her mother and others endeavored to dissuade her, judging it would be more conducive to his interest for her to return to Scotland. But at last she resolved to go to Holland, convinced that this was her duty, though she confesses that it was afflicting to her to think of leaving in a strange land, and of not accompanying home, her dear mother, who had been at such pains and toil for her; and that "deference and duty to one of the best of parents, made her not complying with her mother's demand very affecting."

She accordingly parted with her mother in March or April, 1686, to go to some seaport town in England, which she does not name, whence she was to embark for Holland. She was entirely alone, not having even a servant with her, in consequence of the severity of the times. In this place she was detained by contrary winds twelve days, during which time she was lodged in a boarding establishment, where she knew no individual, "save the Christian sweet woman to whose house she had been recommended." But, though removed from friends and acquaintances, she here found favor among strangers, several providential instances of which she refers to, without being further particular. Interested in her case, from the information which, without her knowledge, he had received concerning her, the master of the vessel, unasked, took his wife along with him to accompany her during the voyage. Both of them were extremely kind to her; and the weather being highly favorable, the voyage was the most agreeable that could have been desired.

Landing in Holland at the Brill, she was cordially welcomed by Sir Duncan, who had come to meet her. They went together to Amsterdam, where they had the states' protection, which secured him from the danger to which he would have been elsewhere exposed, in consequence of his forfeiture; and she observes

* Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., p. 389. Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 355. Fountainhall says, that the witnesses against them were the laird of Ellangreg, &c., though under process of treason themselves.

that "though the place was lonely, and our circumstances not without discouragement, yet we were not wholly debarred from gospel means, which was several times refreshing, as the effect of gracious condescension undeserved, which many times supported us." She adds, "In this place, the Lord stirred up friends in a strange land, and particularly some who are yet alive of our nation, who were most stedable and friendly, the sense of which is desired to be borne with the greatest gratitude; and whose conversation, usefulness, painfulness, and ministry since, have many times been strangely countenanced to some, as doth leave a lasting impression to the charging such of mine as shall, as I hope, survive me, to have the endearing sense of it, and, to their power, to requite with all suitable just veneration and esteem, leaving it as my desire not to be unmindful of it, since to such, I shall to my dying day, wish that the Lord may requite them with his special favor, and that grace and peace may be multiplied to them."

The persecution continuing so severe in Scotland, as to present little hope of Sir Duncan being soon able to reside, with safety, in his native country, Lady Campbell returned to Scotland, in June, 1686, with the design of bringing over to Holland their only child, and of settling their little affairs, in order to their more fixed abode in that land of freedom. Leaving Sir Duncan for a time, "with a very sore heart," she went to Rotterdam for a Scottish vessel, which was thence to embark for Scotland. The winds being contrary, she was detained in that city for some time, and on the sabbath she heard sermon in the Scotch church by the minister of the church, Mr. Robert Fleming, whom she terms "that great and shining light in his day." So highly did she estimate the public institutions of religion, that her detention in Rotterdam over the sabbath was rather pleasing to her than otherwise, as it afforded her an opportunity of worshipping God in his sanctuary, a privilege which she the more highly prized from the frequency with which she was deprived of it in her native land. The text from which she heard Mr. Fleming preach was John xi. 40: "Said I not unto thee, that, if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God?"

On the following sabbath, she was on board the vessel, which lay at anchor in the Brill, and heard two sermons preached by Mr. William Moncrieff, minister of Largo, after the revolution* (a son of the excellent Mr. Alexander Moncrieff, minister of Scoonie, who had been ejected for nonconformity after the Res-

* For some notices of Mr. William Moncrieff, see Dr. Fraser's Life of Ebenezer Erskine, p. 209; and his Life of Ralph Erskine, p. 146.

toration), who was coming over to Scotland in the same ship, from these words in Psalm xlv. 2: "Thou art fairer than the sons of men; grace is poured into thy lips;" by which she was much comforted and confirmed. Next sabbath, they were tossed on the ocean by a great storm, which drove them back on the coast of Holland; but, when the seamen were about to cut the mast, the tempest was allayed. The sabbath after they lay at anchor at the Bass, where a considerable number of the presbyterians were then in confinement; and she had "a sweet day of the sunshine of the gospel," Mr. William Moncrieff having preached from these words in Isaiah xxxii. 2: "A man shall be an hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, and as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

On landing at Leith, the severity of the persecution suggested it to her as prudent to disguise herself, to escape discovery; and she came in disguise to the house of her dear friend, Mr. Alexander Moncrieff, the ejected minister of Scoonie, who was now residing, with his family, in Edinburgh. "Here," says she, "I had much kind welcome and sympathy, from some who are now in glory, and others of them yet alive, whose sympathy and undeserved concern is desired to be borne in mind with much gratitude." But any uncertain abode she had was with her dear mother, at Stirling; of whose tender care and affection for all her children, and for her in particular, she speaks, as we have seen before, in the highest terms.* She continued in Scotland eight weeks, during which time she looked after the worldly affairs of Sir Duncan, which had then a very ruined-like and discouraging aspect.

On her way to Holland, with her only child, she encountered a great storm at sea, and was even in "hazard of being swallowed up by the waves;" under which, though she was "in anguish of spirit through excessive fear," she got her "burdens devolved on the blessed Rock of ages." On her arrival, she was "welcomed with much affection and kindness" by Sir Duncan; and they took up their residence in Rotterdam. In this city, our expatriated countrymen enjoyed singular religious advantages. Mr. Thomas Halyburton, professor of divinity at St. Andrews,† who, in May, 1685, when a boy, went with his mother to Rotterdam, whither she was obliged to retire by reason of the hot

* See p. 414.

† Lady Campbell was personally acquainted with Halyburton; and to her his Memoirs, published after his death, were dedicated by his widow.

persecution, thus writes in his memoirs: "On the Lord's day, we had three sermons and two lectures in the Scots church; on Thursday, a sermon there likewise. On Tuesday, one of the suffering ministers by turns preached. There was a meeting for prayer on Wednesday. On Monday and Friday nights, Mr. James Kirkton commonly lectured in his family. On Saturday, he catechized the children of the Scots sufferers who came to him."* Lady Campbell speaks of "the powerful and great means of which she had a constant succession, under dear Mr. Fleming's ministry;" and in her diary there are many entries containing notes of the sermons she heard preached, both on ordinary sabbaths, and on sacramental solemnities, in the Scottish church at Rotterdam, by Mr. Fleming and other exiled Scottish ministers. In addition to other religious services in which they engaged, it was the custom of the English and Scottish ministers who had taken shelter in Holland from the persecution, to meet together once in the week, or more frequently, for solemn prayer, on account of the distressing state of affairs in their native land. Lady Campbell was in the habit of attending these meetings; and she was wont to tell a curious anecdote of John Howe, the celebrated English nonconformist divine,† strongly illustrative of the uncommon fervor of his devotion. The anecdote, which we give in the words of Wodrow, is as follows: "Mr. John Anderson tells me [1726] he had this account from Lady Henrietta Campbell, of the great Mr. Howe. He was a man that was the most mighty wrestler in prayer she ever knew, and gave one instance when in Holland, where he was about 1686. The banished and refugee ministers met weekly, or oftener, for prayer, where Lady Henrietta used to be present. After some had prayed, Mr. Howe's turn came. He continued long, and with such fervor that the sweat streamed down. Mrs. Howe, his wife, knowing his manner, and that it would not divert him in time of it, stepped to him gently, took off his wig, and with her napkin dried the sweat, and put on his wig again! This she was obliged to do twice, if not thrice, and Mr. Howe seemed not to know what was done to him."‡ This exactly corresponds with the description Dr. Calamy gives of Howe's gift of prayer. "He had great copiousness and fluency in prayer," says that writer; "and the hearing him discharge that duty upon particular sudden emergencies, would have been apt to

* Halyburton's Memoirs, part ii., chap. i.

† Howe had gone abroad in 1685, and, after travelling in various parts, settled at Utrecht in 1686.

‡ Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii., p. 303.

have made the greatest admirer of stinted forms ashamed of the common cavils and objections against that which is usually called extemporary prayer."*

In the middle of July, 1688, Lady Campbell was necessarily called to the Hague, there to attend the court several days; having, probably, been invited by William, prince of Orange, and Princess Mary, to come along with Sir Duncan, who shared in the counsels of William, in reference to the contemplated invasion of Britain; the tyranny of James having now become intolerable to the great majority of his subjects, of all parties, with the exception of the papists. She went, though "not without great reluctancy, and fear of the consequences." But "the sight of the splendor of that court," excited in her mind more agreeable feelings than the sight of the splendor of the court of King James; "it being a satisfaction," she remarks, "to see great ones so promising, and even blessing-like to the church and people of God, and that, hitherto had been such a support to many in distress;" and the enterprise, of the result of which, from the failure of Argyll's attempt, she was not without apprehensions, was destined to have a more successful issue, being the means appointed by providence of delivering these lands from the grinding yoke of tyranny and persecution.

Preparations were for some time vigorously made for this undertaking; and when William's intentions became known, they met with the cordial approbation of the great body of the population in Holland. The English and Scottish refugees embarked in the cause with ardent enthusiasm; and the Dutch poured forth their earnest and united prayers to Almighty God for its success. Lady Campbell thus describes the state of public feeling in Holland:—

"About this time [September 16, 1688], the great design came to be above board, of forces coming to Britain, with the then prince of Orange, wherein the Lord did marvellously appear, in animating of hearts to a joint concurrence with this project, so that more than ordinary concern might have been read in the generality of persons, who were well-wishers to the protestant interest; and after preparation made, and joint supplication appointed to be through all the churches in the Seven Provinces, though there wanted not great difficulties to grapple with, because of apparent danger and hazards; yet when accorded to, and time appointed for this undertaking, there was a wonderful resoluteness and forwardness that possessed, in general, all who

* Calamy's Life of Howe, prefixed to the imperial octavo edition of his Works, p. 1

were honored with this undertaking, as if the Lord had endued them with more than ordinary resoluteness and courage, which must be ascribed to his doing only, who moved this design and carried it on for our deliverance; for which, O to be helped for ever to bless his name!"

Sir Duncan was among those who were appointed first to embark; and they attended, in their ships, nearly three weeks before the rest were ready. Previous to his embarkation, Lady Campbell took leave of him with a heavy heart; being now left alone in a strange country, and not knowing but the event might be terrible. "Yet," says she, "there being so much at stake, each appeared to add his mite with more cheerfulness, resolution, and submission, than another; more than, without immediate support, could have been attained. That was made a time of more than ordinary concern, and even of liberty and enlargedness often, which was very supporting, and did much sweeten what otherwise would with great difficulty have been got over."

About a fortnight after the embarkation of their friends, she and several others having been told that some of the ships lying at anchor were lost (a report to which they gave the more credit from the stormy and unfavorable state of the weather), resolved to visit their friends, though at a distance of two days' journey, in order to ascertain whether or not the report was true; that, in case of finding them safe, they might supply them with fresh provisions. Having travelled to the neighborhood of the place where the ships were anchored, they went out to them in a small boat; in doing which their lives were exposed to imminent peril, the boat having been cast in among the fleet in a mighty storm. Missing Sir Duncan, Lady Campbell was greatly discomposed; but, on learning that no harm had befallen him, her mind was calmed, and she, with her fellow-visiters, were safely brought to land, notwithstanding the severity of the storm. She returned to her dwelling at Rotterdam on the Friday, and for some days after experienced much weariness and great indisposition in consequence of the fatigue and anxiety to which she had been subjected.

At length, William's fleet, which consisted of more than six hundred vessels, being prepared for sailing, he took farewell of the states of Holland, at a solemn sitting they had on the 16th of October, on which day also public prayers were offered up for him in all the churches of the Hague; and, accompanied by the deputies of the principal towns to his yacht, he arrived in the evening at Helvoetsluys, and went on board "the Brill"—the

name of the vessel in which he sailed. On the 19th of October, he put to sea with his armament, and "traversed, before a strong breeze, about half the distance between the Dutch and English coasts. Then the wind changed, blew hard from the west, and swelled into a violent tempest. The ships scattered; and, in great distress, regained the shore of Holland as they best might. The Brill reached Helvoetsluys on the 21st of October."*

Lady Campbell describes the magnificent appearance of the fleet, when about to sail; the storm by which it was compelled to return; and the merciful providence observable even in this apparent disaster. "About this time, all the fleet were in readiness to sail, and jointly met to attend King William in this great expedition to Britain; multitudes being gathered together, on steeples, to see this splendid sight, which, in rank and file, went out this evening, as was esteemed a beautiful sight for grandeur, order, and comely fortitude, in this so great a design, that though there were some whose hearts were trembling with them, yet the most were rejoicing, as if the arm of man could have accomplished this marvellous achievement, which, ere the next morning, was seen to be ascribed to a higher hand; this night there being raised so formidable a storm as did wholly scatter all this fleet, so that generally there were few this night who had any concern but were put to their peremptors and sad conclusions, fearing them to be wholly lost (the dear princess and several besides sitting up the most of the night), and many were running to the coasts to observe what shipwreck could be discerned. It was a most terrible night, by both sea and land. But oh, the wonderful condescension of the Lord, who knew better than we did how to deliver, and how to forward his own work, that made this the means of carrying it on; for, had they gone forward to their intended landing, they had met with a great army intended to have routed them! But, besides, several of those vessels having fallen short of provisions, by long attendance, and also they not having landing-boats, all this made it soon after a marvellous providence that they were made by this storm to return without the loss of one man, and with the loss of only one [vessel],† and

* Macaulay's History of England, vol. ii., pp. 476-480.

† Macaulay says that no life was lost, and that "one vessel only had been cast away."—(History of England, vol. ii., p. 477.) Wodrow has the following entry in his Analecta: "Mr. John Anderson tells me that he had this from Lady Henrietta Campbell, who was in Holland at the time—that there were very great measures of a spirit of prayer in Holland, at the time of the prince of Orange's coming off: that it was a very remarkable mercy to his design that he was put back the first time, for the French squadron was at sea, and would certainly have attacked him; and, through some mistake, their boats, and several other things necessary for land-

some horses that were thrown overboard. The ship that King William was in was among the first that in safety returned, to the joy and rejoicing of all Holland, and particularly those of us who had our nearest and dearest relations embarked with him, all returning in safety to Helvoetsluys, where their adode was more than twelve days, till they were wholly recruited again." She adds: "My dear husband was among the first that arrived, and gave account of their safety; the seeing of whom so unexpectedly made me almost at the fainting with the surprise; which was a pleasant disappointment, and ground of thankfulness, that the Lord had been so gracious in disappointing the hopes of enemies and fears of friends."

In the same evening on which Sir Duncan arrived, she went with him and some friends by water to Helvoetsluys, where, from the crowded state of the place, they, like many others, remained together in the harbor, in the yacht, for three or four days, till they found accommodation in a Dutch minister's house, in a country village near by, providing for themselves their own provisions. This village contained at this time many of the Scots and English—not less, it was computed, than several hundreds.

When William and his fleet were ready to put to sea a second time, she and others were allowed to attend their friends to their ships, "which," says she, "was a beautiful sight to see such a number gathered together for the protestant interest, in a time when so great an invasion was made on it and our properties." On the night on which the fleet set sail, which was on the evening of November 1, she was in a state of no inconsiderable agitation and anxiety of mind, "not only from the hazards that appeared to those in whom she was particularly interested, but even from the hazard so public and great a design might be exposed unto, if the Lord did not signally appear for them." It seems to have been about this time that she dreamed the dream recorded by Wodrow, and which we shall here give in his own words: "Mr. John Anderson of Kirknaiden," says he, "tells me that he hath this from Lady Henrietta Campbell: that she went with her husband to the shore-side, when he embarked with the prince, and, after she came back, she slept but little that night: that in the morning after, she had fell to a slumber, and had this remarkable dream, which she communicated to the countess of Sutherland and the princess of Orange, who were much taken with it. She thought she was at the fleet, and they

ing, were left behind them, without which they could have done little, though they had gone forward."—Vol. i., pp. 280–282.

came safe to the coast of England, and at the place where they landed there was a great, high, brazen wall before them. She thought they resolved to land, and when they were endeavoring to get over it, it fell down before them in bibles. She could not but reflect afterward, upon the success of the expedition, upon this as some emblem of that clear knowledge, and the settlement of the gospel, and the use-making of the Scripture in opposition to popery, that followed the happy revolution. This person is a lady of great piety and good sense, and no visionary."*

The day after the fleet put to sea, Lady Campbell, and such others as had been taking farewell of their friends, journeyed to their respective homes, some of them on foot and some of them in wagons, with more hope as to the issue than, since the last disaster, they had been able to entertain.

Not long after this, the prince of Orange's undertaking being crowned with complete success, and James being driven from his throne, she embarked in a vessel bound for England, on her way to Scotland, where she and Sir Duncan had now the prospect of being able to live in peace, and of having restored to them their forfeited estates. But, pleasing as was this prospect, it was not without a pang that she left the land of her exile, to which, as the sanctuary that had sheltered her from persecution, her heart had contracted a grateful attachment; and it was particularly painful to her feelings to part with Mr. Fleming, from whose ministry and social intercourse she had often derived much comfort and edification; so that, to use her own words, "this parting was as the child being bereaved of the breast."

On her arrival at London, she found the cause of William universally popular, and matters very different from what they were in 1685 and 1686, when, during her abode in the capital, she could hear sermon only by stealth, and observe the Lord's supper only during the darkness of the night, in a private house. Now, dissenters could assemble to conduct religious worship in the most public manner, without any to make them afraid. "There were acclamations and rejoicing," she says, "even in

* Wodrow's Analecta, vol. i., pp. 280–282. Wodrow says, in another part of the same work: "Mr John Anderson [May, 1725] tells me several accounts of Lady Henrietta Campbell, which I believe are set down in some of the former volumes: that of her dream about the prince of Orange being driven back, and the wall falling down in bibles: that about a fellow coming in to her asking charity with a drawn dagger; that about the Lord's supplying her straits, after a sweet scripture was borne in upon her by means of the princess of Orange."—(Ibid., vol. iii. p. 196.) The last two anecdotes here referred to are not recorded in the preceding volumes of the Analecta, as Wodrow supposes, and are probably now lost.

the streets for this great deliverance. And, oh, how refreshing was it to find, that the Lord had opened a door so marvellously to gospel privileges, which, at leaving the place [London], there was so little probability of. But what marvellous things are with him who is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working! And as this work was memorable and great, so it did greatly endear the instrument by whom it was carried on."

She speaks, in a similar manner, of the state of Scotland on her reaching Edinburgh. "Our arrival at Edinburgh had its own mixture of great mercy, and of that crowning mercy of being welcomed with access to the purity of gospel ordinances; being the sweeter on our calling to mind the restraint and difficulty that formerly had been seen there in later years, when made the seat of bloodshed and oppression."*

On the triumph of the cause of civil and religious freedom, in which Lady Campbell and Sir Duncan had suffered so much, they were fairly entitled to some compensation, and William, when prince of Orange, having promised to remember them, she reminded Lord Melville, secretary of state for Scotland, of their claims.† Nor was the government of William backward to do them justice, by at least restoring to them their own. Sir Duncan's name appears, among hundreds of other names, in the act passed in the Scottish parliament, July, 1690, rescinding the forfeitures and fines incurred by the covenanters on account of their principles, since the year 1665, and restoring such of them as were then alive, or their heirs and successors, to their goods, fame, and worldly honors, and warranting them to use all lawful means for the recovery of the same. And, on the 8th of July that same year, the parliament, on hearing read Sir Duncan's petition, formerly referred to, in relation to the cruelties, robberies, and oppressions, committed on himself and his tenants, after the suppression of Argyll's insurrection, grant warrant for citing the persons named in the petition as the perpetrators, and the representatives of such of them as were dead, to compear before them within fifteen days after the charge, to answer to the complaint, provided the parliament should be sitting, and otherwise to compear before the commission, appointed by an act of this parliament, entitled "Act for rescinding fines and forfeitures;" the hearing of the parties, and the taking probation upon the points of the complaint, being remitted to the said commission, who were

* Here the diary of Lady Campbell closes.

† See her letter to that nobleman, dated January 6, 1689, among the Levin and Melville papers, p. 44.

to report to the next session of that, or a subsequent parliament.* In the parliament of June, 1693, the case relating to the repairing the damages of the baronet, and all other similar sufferers, is remitted to the lords of the privy council, in order to their sending a recommendation in reference to that matter to his majesty.†

After the revolution, Sir Duncan, intending to reside, with his family, at Lochgair, proposed, in a letter to the synod of Argyll, dated 4th August, 1690, that a church should be planted there; promising to dedicate the tithes he had about that place as a part of the stipend of the minister to be settled, and offering to build a suitable church at his own expense. The proposal was favorably received, but, for reasons unknown to us, it was never carried into effect.‡ Sir Duncan was a commissioner for the shire of Argyll, in the Scottish parliament, for several years after the revolution. He died in November, 1700, as we learn from the records of the Scottish parliament; for, on the 14th of that month, a petition from the freeholders of Argyllshire was read before the parliament craving warrant to elect a commissioner in his room, in respect of his apparently hopeless indisposition, his own demission being read at the same time; and, in the proceedings of the 9th of the following month, he is mentioned as "deceased." It is a singular fact, that, in his last days, Sir Duncan embraced the popish religion. In the petition of the freeholders of Argyllshire, another reason, besides his sickness why they crave warrant to elect a commissioner to the parliament in his place, is, "that several members of the parliament had declared that he owned himself to be a papist." This was a source of deep affliction to Lady Campbell; for "his eternal interest was no less coveted by her than her own, a duty she ever thought due to so near and dear a relation as a husband." But, from a passage in her diary, there seems some reason to believe that, on his deathbed, his sentiments underwent an important change, and that he built his hopes of heaven upon a more substantial foundation than the delusions of popery. After adverting to her solicitude about the welfare of his soul, and the enlargement she obtained in pleading at the throne of grace in his behalf, she adds, "who, I desire to hope, obtained mercy, as a thought of great consequence to some all the days of their life; that in a manner are deputed, while in the world, to go to the grave mourning for what was wrong in him, and yet not to mourn as those that have no hope."

* Acts of the parliament of Scotland. † Ibid.
‡ New Statistical Account of Scotland, Glassary, Argyllshire, p. 694.

Sir Duncan was succeeded by his son James, who was thrice married, and had by his three wives, fifteen children. Sir James died, at an advanced age, in the year 1756.*

Lady Campbell survived the revolution more than thirty years. Whether during that period she continued to keep a register of her spiritual exercise, and of the events of her life, is uncertain. If she did so, no such document is now preserved; and little of her subsequent history is known. It is, however, certain that she maintained a high reputation to the last for Christian excellence and piety. The following anecdote, recorded by Wodrow, places the strict integrity of her character in a very interesting and instructive light: "In the year 1703, this same Lady Henrietta Campbell was with her brother, the earl of Balcarres, at his house. He, with those of his kidney, were then very active in addressing the queen and parliament for a toleration, and they used all means to procure a multitude of hands to their address; and this was one: They made many believe that it was quite another thing that they were subscribing than it was, and read it otherwise than it was really written; and by this means got many well-meaning people to subscribe it. The earl caused his manager of the address bring it to L[ady] H[enrietta], and told her such and such persons had subscribed, and pressed her much to do it; and she said she would subscribe nothing till she heard it. He read it, and it was pretty smooth. She desired it to read herself, not from a jealousy, but really to ponder it. This would by no means be granted, which made her suspect. She found means to get a sight of the address, and she found it perfectly another thing than was read to her. She reproached her brother with this base dealing with poor people. He begged she would not discover, but she told him, unless he would stop it and tear it, she would; and, upon his refusal, she acquainted the minister of the place with it, who, upon the sabbath, did very fully lay out the cheat to the people; who next came in and complained that they were abused, and threatened to send a counter-address, with an account of their treatment to the parliament. This, with the thing's spreading, marred that address effectually; and bred a great breach between the lady and her brother, for two or three years."†

Lady Campbell died about 1721. Mr. John Anderson, minister of Kirkmaiden, in a letter to Wodrow, dated October 24th that year, formerly quoted,‡ alludes to her as being then dead;

* Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, p. 62.

† Wodrow's Analecta, vol. i., pp. 280–282. ‡ See p. 395.

and her death, it is probable, took place not long before, for Wodrow, when the second volume of his "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland" was going through the press, which was in the same year, speaks of her, in referring to the letter which the earl of Argyll wrote to her on the day of his execution, as then alive.*

The particulars relating to her last sickness not being preserved, we have not the satisfaction of receiving, from her dying lips, a testimony to the truth and importance of religion; but what is of greater practical value, we have the memorials of the Christian virtues and graces which she exemplified. The preceding sketch has been almost confined to the first thirty or thirty-two years of her life, there being few materials for illustrating her subsequent history. But what has passed under our notice during that period exhibits, besides some variety of incident, many features of Christian excellence worthy of imitation. The depth and fervor of her early piety can not fail to have struck the reader; and the maturity which the Christian graces attained in her more advanced years, fulfilled the promising appearances of her childhood and youth. Casting in her lot, in the morning of her days, with the persecuted covenanters, she suffered not a little in the cause of the civil and religious freedom of her country; but under all her sufferings on that account which were endured in the prime of life, between the twentieth and the thirtieth years of her age, when she might naturally have expected the largest share of her earthly felicity, she displayed a patient continuance in well-doing, a faith in God's love, and a dependence on his providence, which bore testimony to the sincerity and the strength of her piety. Inspired with supreme love to God, she devoted much of her time to secret prayer, and the study of the Scriptures. On the sabbath, for which she had a high veneration, she accounted it an invaluable privilege to listen to the lessons of piety delivered by the ministers of the Word; and when at any time deprived of this privilege, she spent the hours of that sacred day in the secret exercises of religion, in reading the Scriptures, in spiritual meditation, and in prayer. The observance of the sacrament of the Lord's supper was to her the most delightful service in which she could engage. Careful in observing Divine providence, she contemplated everything in her lot—all her trials, as well as all her mercies—as proceeding from God; and, having chosen him as her portion, she was satisfied with the wisdom of her choice, all the things of the world, when com-

* Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 304.

pared with him, sinking, in her estimation, into utter insignificance. In every relation of life, whether as a daughter, a sister, a wife, or a mother, she acted an exemplary part. Warm and generous in her affections, she was a sincere and attached friend. Amiable in her dispositions, and engaging in her manners, she almost universally met with kind attentions among strangers, as well as among friends; and singularly grateful in her temper of mind, the acts of kindness shown to her under her sufferings and wanderings she never forgot. They were preserved in her memory as if engraven upon adamant; and we find her leaving it, as a dying injunction upon those nearest and dearest to her whom she left behind, to remember and reward such proofs of sympathy and friendship; nor is it unimportant to observe, how her gratitude to man was mingled with her gratitude to God; for, while she refers with delight to the acts of kindness shown to her by man in the time of her affliction, she never fails to trace every such act of kindness to God, who, as she believed, disposed the hearts of men to pity and to befriend her. Such are some of the leading features of the character of this lady, on whom God had conferred such abundant grace, and who is so well entitled to a place among those pious women of Scotland, who, in the face of persecution, kept the commandment of God, and the testimony of Jesus Christ.

GRISELL HUME,

LADY BAILLIE OF JERVISWOOD.*

Grisell Hume was born at Redbraes Castle,† in Berwickshire, December 25, 1665. Her father, Sir Patrick Hume (after the revolution, first earl of Marchmont), was eighth baron of Polwarth of his name, and was descended from a younger branch of the illustrious house of Dunbar, earls of March, whose origin is traced to the Saxon kings of England, and to princes or earls in Northumberland. Her mother was Grisell Kerr, daughter of Sir Thomas Kerr of Cavers. She was the eldest of eighteen children, whom Lady Hume bore to her husband, except two,

* In drawing up this sketch, we are chiefly indebted to the Memoirs of Lady Baillie, written by her eldest daughter, Grisell, Lady Murray, of Stanhope. These, with Memoirs of the Honorable George Baillie, by the same lady, were printed in 1822, under the editorship of Thomas Thomson, Esq., from the original MS., which has been carefully preserved in the family of Jerviswood. These memorials consist partly of information which she had received from her mother, who had a principal share in all that is related, and partly of what she had observed with her own eye. The tenderness of filial piety, the ingenuous truthfulness, the fine feeling, and agreeable good humor with which they are written; and the variety of interesting traits of Scottish simplicity and homeliness of character, which they contain, render the narrative extremely engaging. A celebrated authoress, Joanna Baillie, the modern dramatist of "The Passions," from the enthusiastic admiration of Lady Baillie, with which these memoirs inspired her, has adopted her as a heroine of the highest order in the scale of female excellence, in her "Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters." Lady Murray, the authoress of these memoirs, was born in 1693. In the month of August, 1710, at the age of seventeen, she was married at Edinburgh to Mr. Alexander Murray, the son and heir of Sir David Murray of Stanhope, baronet, by Lady Anne Bruce, daughter of Alexander, earl of Kincardine. But this marriage proved unfortunate. "Mr. Murray's appearance and manners in common society," says Mr. Thomson, "are said to have been prepossessing and specious; but it was soon discovered that, under a pleasing exterior, there lurked a dark, moody, and ferocious temper; or rather, perhaps, what ought to be described as a certain decree of constitutional insanity, which discolored all his views of the conduct and character of those about him, and made him the helpless victim of the most groundless suspicions, and the most agonizing and uncontrollable passions. The parents of the young lady were, at length, driven to the painful necessity of instituting a "process of separation," on the ground that his wife was not in safety to live with him. To this proceeding, Mr. Murray, made the most obstinate resistance, and instituted a "counter process of adherence;" but a formal "decree of separation" was at length pronounced by the commissary court of Edinburgh, on the 5th of March, 1714. Lady Murray continued afterward to live in her father's family. Being the eldest daughter, and her only brother having died in early infancy, she succeeded to her father's estates; but, after her mother's death, she lived in family with her sister, Lady Binning, to whom, and to her second son, the estates were destined, on the death of the eldest sister without children. She died in June, 1759.

† The modern name is Marchmont house, and the present building is modern. It is embosomed in rich plantations; is a plain, but stately mansion, and is approached by one of the noblest avenues in the kingdom. The rooms contain an extensive collection of family and historical pictures.

who died in infancy. She was named after her mother, and, being from infancy an interesting child, was the darling and comfort of her parents.

Her father, who was one of the most distinguished patriots and statesmen of his day, suffered not a little for his zealous appearances in the cause of religion and liberty. In 1674, he went up to London with the duke of Hamilton and others, to lay the grievances the nation suffered from the duke of Lauderdale's administration, before the king. The next year, the privy council having appointed garrisons to be placed in the houses of certain noblemen and gentlemen, in several counties, for the purpose of suppressing conventicles, and having ordained that the respective counties should furnish them with meal, pots, pans, and candle, several shires refused to contribute for the maintenance of the garrisons, and Sir Patrick Hume was commissioned from the shire of Merse to complain to the council. Having remonstrated against this imposition as contrary to law, and appealed to the court of session for redress, he was imprisoned in September that year. In a letter to the council, dated 5th of October, his majesty approves of their imprisoning Polwarth, "as being a factious person," and commands them to declare him incapable of public trust, and to send him close prisoner to Stirling castle, till further orders. Sir Patrick continued in prison for many months. The king's letter, giving orders for his being set at liberty, though still continuing him incapable of all public trust, is dated February 24, 1676.*

Lady Grisell thus began her life during the troubles of the persecution. At the time of her father's liberation from prison, she was little more than ten years of age; and, soon after, those romantic incidents occur in her life which have given her an historical celebrity. From the tact and activity with which, far beyond one of her years, she accomplished whatever she was intrusted with, her parents sent her on confidential missions, which she executed with singular fidelity and success. In the summer of that same year, when Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, the early and intimate friend of her father, was imprisoned† for rescuing his brother-in-law, Mr. James Kirkton, from a wicked persecutor, Captain William Carstairs, she was sent by her father from his country-house to Edinburgh,‡ a long road, to try if, from

* Wodrow's History, vol. ii. pp. 295–357; Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 179; Row's Life of Robert Blair, pp. 562, 565.

† He was imprisoned in June, 1676, and was kept a prisoner for four months.

‡ Lady Murray says that her mother, when sent on this errand, was "at the age of twelve." But, from comparing the date of her birth with the time of Baillie's

her age, she could get admittance into the prison unsuspected, and slip a letter of information and advice into his hand, and bring back from him what intelligence she could. Proceeding on her journey to the capital, she succeeded in getting access to Baillie, though we are not informed in what way. The authoress of "Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters" has imagined the manner in which the little messenger got into Baillie's cell, and the circumstances of their interview. She describes Baillie, while sitting in his dark dungeon, sad and lonely, as hearing something moving softly toward him, and as inquiring, on observing that it quickly stood by his side—

> "'Such sense in eyes, so simply mild!
> Is it a woman or a child?
> Who art thou, damsel sweet?—are not mine eyes beguiled?'"

To which the visitant answers:—

> "'No—from the Redbraes' tower I come;
> My father is Sir Patrick Hume;
> And he has sent me for thy good,
> His dearly-honored Jerviswood.
> Long have I round these walls been straying,
> As if with other children playing;
> Long near the gate have kept my watch
> The sentry's changing time to catch.
> With stealthy steps I gained the shade
> By the close-winding staircase made,
> And when the surly turnkey entered,
> But little dreaming in his mind
> Who followed him so close behind,
> Into this darkened cell, with beating heart, I ventured.'"

The legend then describes her as taking from her breast a letter from her father, and with "an eager, joyful look," presenting it to Baillie; who, after reading it, and shedding blessings on her youthful head, gave her his answer to her father's secret note, and then inquired for those she left behind—

> "In Redbraes' tower, her native dwelling,
> And set her artless tongue a-telling,
> Which urchin dear had tallest grown,
> And which the greatest learning shown,
> Of lesson, sermon, psalm, or note,
> And sabbath questions learned by rote,
> And merry tricks and gambols played
> By evening fire, and forfeits paid."

But in whatever way young Grisell got access to Baillie, and whatever were the circumstances of their interview, she successfully accomplished the purpose of her mission. It is also to be

imprisonment, it appears that she was then only between ten and eleven years of age.

observed that it was in the prison, on this occasion, that she first saw Mr. Baillie's son, and that then and there originated that intimacy and attachment between him and her which afterward issued in their happy marriage. From that time, Grisell, who was the favorite of her parents before, became still more endeared to them; and, reposing in her great confidence, they employed her on many adventures which, in those times, would have been perilous to persons more advanced in years, but in which, by her *finesse* and presence of mind, aided by her tender age, which prevented suspicion, she completely succeeded.

About the month of July, 1678, her father was again made prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh.* But a petition having been presented to the king in his behalf, praying that, in consequence of his indisposition, he might be removed to a more healthy prison, the place of his imprisonment was soon changed from Edinburgh tolbooth to Dumbarton castle, in obedience to a letter from the king to the council, dated 4th of September. He continued there a close prisoner for at least nearly a year, when he was liberated on the intercession of his English relation, and especially of the countess of Northumberland. The order for his liberation, which is contained in a letter from the king to the privy council, dated July 17, 1679,† states that "he had been imprisoned for reasons known to his majesty, and tending to secure the public peace; and," it is added, "now the occasions of suspicion and public jealousy being over, he is ordered to be liberate."‡—"For an imprisonment under such motives," it has been justly observed, "his reputation is not likely to suffer in the eyes of posterity; but if that posterity contemplates the picture of the tyranny which weighed upon Scotland during the duke of Lauderdale's administration, and to which there is no parallel in the English history of that day, it will do justice to the patriotism and public virtue which rose up in opposition to it."‖

* The exact date of his second imprisonment is uncertain; but, that it was about the time stated in the text, appears from the following sentence in "The Grievances of Lauderdale's Administration," which were in circulation about June, 1679 (Wodrow's History, vol. iii., p. 165): "And Sir Patrick Hume hath been now almost a year imprisoned a second time, and nothing is yet laid to his charge."—Ibid., vol. iii., p. 161.

† Lady Murray says that he "was confined fifteen months in Dumbarton castle." She must either be mistaken as to the exact period of his imprisonment, or he must have remained in prison some months after the king issued orders for his liberation. She adds, "and was then set at liberty, without ever being told for what he was put up all that time."

‡ Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 481; and vol. iii., p. 161. The Marchmont Papers, edited by the Right Honorable Sir George Henry Rose, preface.

‖ The Marchmont Papers, preface.

During the time that her father was a prisoner in Edinburgh tolbooth and in Dumbarton castle, young Grisell made repeated journeys from Berwickshire to the place of his confinement, to carry to him intelligence, or to administer to him comfort. On such errands she always gladly went, when sent by her mother, whom affliction and care of the younger children kept at home, and who, besides, was less able to make journeys. Her mother, too, would have been more narrowly watched and more readily suspected than one of her tender age.

When, in October, 1683, her father's friend Robert Baillie was apprehended in London, and sent down a prisoner to Scotland, her father, who was implicated in the same patriotic measures for preventing a popish succession to the British throne, for which Baillie was arrested, had too good ground to be alarmed for his own personal safety. But he was allowed, it would appear, to remain undisturbed in his own house till the month of September next year, when orders were issued by the government for his apprehension, and a party of troops had come to his house on two different occasions for that purpose, though they failed in getting hold of him. Upon this, he found it necessary to withdraw from home, and to keep himself in concealment, till he got an opportunity of going over to the continent.* The spot to which he betook himself for shelter was the family burying-place, a vault under ground at Polwarth church, at the distance of a mile from the house. Where he was, no person knew but Lady Hume, Grisell, and one man, James Winter, a carpenter, who used to work in the house, and lived a mile off, whom they deemed trustworthy, and of whose fidelity they were not disappointed. The frequent examinations to which servants were at that time subjected, and the oaths by which it was attempted to extort discoveries from them, made Grisell and her mother afraid to commit the secret to any of them. By the assistance of James Win-

* Lady Murray says: "After persecution began afresh, and my grandfather Baillie [was] a-ain in prison, her [Grisell's] father thought it necessary to keep concealed: and soon found he had too good reason for so doing: parties being continually sent out in search of him, and often to his own house, to the terror of all in it." Sir Patrick himself, in his Narrative of Argyll's Expedition in 1685, says: "In the month of September last [1684], when order was given to apprehend me, and my house was twice searched by troops sent for that end, so as I was obliged to abscond till I got a convenient way of getting off the isle, you know how it was with me and the manner of my living."—The Marchmont Papers, vol. iii. p. 2) "Hume of Polwarth," says Fountainhall, "being advertised he was to be seized, fled, and after search, not being found, his lady told he had lain two years in prison, on a caprice of Lauderdale's, an I so he did not desire to run that risk of new again, not having a body to endure it: and it was Lauderdale's bringing down the highland host in 1678 which occasioned Polwarth speaking against him, September 11. 1684."—Fountainhall's Notes, p. 104.

ter, they got a bed and bedclothes carried during the night to his hiding-place; and there he was concealed for a month, during which time the only light he had was that admitted by means of a chink at one end, through which nobody on the outside could see who or what was in the interior. While he abode in this receptacle of the dead, Grisell, with the most exemplary filial tenderness, and with the most vigilant precaution, ministered to his temporal wants and comfort. Regularly at midnight, when men were sunk in sleep, she went alone to this dreary vault, carrying to him a supply of food and drink; and, to bear him company, she stayed as long as she could, taking care to get home before day, to prevent discovery.* She had a great deal of humor in telling a story, and during her stay she took a delight in telling him (nor was he less delighted in hearing her tell him) such incidents at home as had amused herself and the rest of the family; and these were often the cause of much mirth and laughter to them both. At that time she had a great terror for a churchyard, especially in the dark, as is not uncommon in young persons even at the age of eighteen or nineteen, from the idle nursery stories they have heard in childhood; but her affectionate concern for her father made her stumble over the graves every night alone, fearless of everything but soldiers and parties in search of him; and such was her dread of them, that the least noise or motion of a leaf made her tremble. The manse of the minister of the parish was near the church; and the first night she went on her pious errand, his dogs (of which he seems to have had more than one, and which, as has been observed, were evidently in favor of the arbitrary party) continued to bark with such incessant violence as put her into the utmost dread of a discovery. In this emergency, necessity, which is said to be fruitful in invention, suggested it to her mother that the most likely means of getting quit of this cause of annoyance was to endeavor, if possible, to make the minister believe that his dogs were mad, and that therefore it was dangerous to retain them. She accordingly sent for the minister next day, and succeeding in producing on his mind the intended conviction, got him to hang them all; and thus this amiable and affectionate daughter continued her midnight walks without further molestation.

There was also some difficulty in getting food to carry to her

* In the inscription upon her monument, given at the close of this sketch, it is said that when Grisell thus ministered to her father, she was "an infant." This is clearly a mistake. From comparing the date of her birth with the time when her father was concealed in the family burying-vault, which was in the latter part of the year 1684, it is evident that she was then a girl of nearly nineteen years of age.

father without exciting the suspicions of the servants; and the only way in which she got it, was by stealing off her plate, at dinner, into her lap, a portion of the meat which had been prepared. Many an amusing story she was wont to tell her own children, after the days of the persecution had closed, about this, and other things of the like nature.* Her father liked sheep's head, and, while the children were eating their broth, she had succeeded in conveying, by stealth, the most part of one into her lap. When her brother, Alexander,† then a boy of about nine years of age, had disposed of his broth, the little fellow looked up in the hope of getting something else to eat, and perceiving, with astonishment, the empty plate, exclaimed, "Mother, will you look at Grisell: while we have been eating our broth, she has eat up the whole sheep's head!" This occasioned much mirth among them all, and when Grisell archly told her father the story the next time she went out to him, he was greatly amused by it, and desired that Sandy might have a share of the next sheep's head. During all this time, having a happy natural temperament of mind, and being under the influence of genuine religion, Sir Patrick showed the same constant composure and cheerfulness of mind which he continued to possess to the close of life. He sought and found comfort from the word of God, and especially from the Psalms of David, which, containing a rich treasure of heavenly instruction and consolation, have often been the means of sustaining and encouraging good men in the time of trial. He had no light to read by, but, having previously committed to memory Buchanan's Latin version of the Psalms, he beguiled the weary hours of his confinement, and derived much

* "I should never have done," says Lady Murray, "if I related, or could remember all the particulars I have heard my mother tell of those times—a subject she never tired of."

† Alexander was born in 1675. Like his mother, brothers, and sisters, he shared his father's exile in Holland. After the revolution, having married the daughter and heiress of Sir George Campbell, of Cessnock, whose estate was entailed upon her and her heirs, he was distinguished as Sir Alexander Campbell, of Cessnock, till the death of his eldest brother, Patrick, in 1710, who, though twice married, had no issue, when he became Lord Polwarth. Having studied the law, he entered on the practice of it as an advocate, and became a lord of session before he was thirty years of age. He was a privy councillor, and a lord of the exchequer in Scotland, and was a member of parliament, first for Kirkwall, and then for Berwickshire. On the death of his father, he became earl of Marchmont, and died in January, 1740. In his religious principles and habits, he resembled his father. "I find in his Bible," says Sir George H. Rose, "in his own handwriting, his name, the date of 'Cambray, 1st May, 1725,' and the following note: 'To be read thrice a year; first, 1st January, second, 1st May; third, 1st September;' and the memorandum to do the thing is accompanied by the plan for doing it, by a division of the Scriptures into portions, marked out by him, through the whole of the volume, for every morning and evening of each period of four months."—The Marchmont Papers, vol. i, Preface, pp. xliii., xliv.

comfort and enjoyment by repeating them to himself.* This version he retained in his memory to his dying day. "Two years before he died," says Lady Murray, "I was witness to his desiring my mother to take up that book, which, among others, always lay upon his table, and bidding her try if he had forgot his Psalms, by naming any one she would have him repeat, and by casting her eye over it, she would know if he was right, though she did not understand it; and he missed not a word in any place she named to him, and said they had been the great comfort of his life by night and day, on all occasions."

As this gloomy vault, in which Sir Patrick had taken refuge, was no fit habitation for the living, his lady and daughter were contriving other places in which he might more comfortably remain concealed. Among other suggestions, it occurred to them that a hiding-place might be formed in their own house, beneath

* While he thus lay, surrounded by the gloomy relics of the dead, Sir Patrick, it seems, was superior to superstitious fears, to which a concern for his safety, as well as the strength of his mind, would doubtless contribute. "While he was sitting, one night," tradition reports, "by a small table, with a light,† engaged in the perusal of Buchanan's Latin version of the Psalms, his eye was suddenly attracted to a human skull at his feet, which, on more minute observation, appeared to move slightly, and at short intervals. Although of strong mind, and convinced that it was either the effect of optical delusion, or that of an imagination powerfully acted upon by the objects around him, still he was not a little perplexed how to settle the question in his own mind; and, continuing to observe it with increasing interest, the motion, at last became so obvious, that the skull seemed as if animated, and left no subterfuge for his incredulity. The knight, however—with a coolness and composure which did credit to his philosophy, and resolved to ascertain, by still more palpable evidence, the actual state of the matter—applied the point of his cane to the ghastly relic, and, by a sudden jerk, turned it over. This done, the nervous suspense was instantly relieved, and a *mouse*, that had been banqueting in the once warm brain of some departed Yorick, sprang from its burrow, and left the knight to exclaim, in words suited to the occasion—

'To what base uses we may return, Horatio!'"

—Beattie's Scotland, Illustrated, vol. i. p. 25. "There is a similar story," says the same writer, "which we have heard somewhere abroad—and known, perhaps, to some of our readers—which states, that in a domestic chapel, belonging to a certain chateau, a mysterious sound was heard nightly, for a considerable time, to the great alarm and annoyance of the inmates, and ultimately discovered to proceed from a *skull*, which performed a rotary march along the floor of the chancel—resting, and recommencing, the movement at short intervals. The construction at first put on this phenomenon is obvious; but the secret spring was not discovered for some time; till the skull becoming stationary, was found, on examination, to contain a rat, which had so greatly increased in bulk, during its residence in the deserted temple of oblivion, that the perch through which it first entered refused the same means of retreat. It was, therefore, during the hard struggle for emancipation, that the refractory skull was thrown into such wonderful attitudes; while the *rat*, it may be added, was suffered, from superstitious motives, to retain possession of his unbalanced tenement, till a rigid fast having succeeded to days of feasting, should enable him to make his exit as he had made his entrance, and leave him once more 'as poor as a church rat.'"

† Lady Murray, as we have stated in the text, says that he had no light, but he may occasionally have had one.

a drawing-out bed, in one of the rooms on a ground floor, of which Lady Grisell kept the key. She, and their confidential servant, James Winter, before-mentioned, labored hard in the night-time in making a hole in the earth, after they had lifted the wooden floor. The way in which they proceeded was by scratching up the earth with their hands, being afraid lest, had they dug it with any instrument, the noise might have created alarm, and led to a discovery. So laborious and persevering was Grisell at this task, that she left not a nail upon her fingers; and, as the earth was dug out, she assisted Winter in carrying it in a sheet, on his back, and in casting it out at the window, into the garden. Winter next constructed a box, at his own house, of sufficient size for her father to lie in, with a bed and bedclothes; and he bored holes in the box for the free admission of air. To accomplish all this was a work of considerable time; but when it was accomplished, the mind of Grisell was greatly lightened, and she thought herself the most secure and happy creature alive. The only fear she and her mother had was, that, as the hole was underground, water might flow into the box; and, to ascertain whether or not this might be the case, they gave it the trial of a month; during which time, Grisell having examined it every day, and finding no water in it, her father ventured home, trusting to this for safety.

But after he had been at home for a week or two, during which time the hole was daily examined as usual, Grisell, one day on lifting the boards, observed the bed to bounce to the top, the box being full of water. At this she was greatly alarmed, and almost fainted, it being then the only place they knew, in which her father could find shelter. Her father, however, with great composure said to his lady and her, that he saw they must tempt Providence no longer, and that he ought now to leave them, and seek refuge in a foreign land. In this resolution he was confirmed by the news which the carrier brought from Edinburgh, that Robert Baillie of Jerviswood had, the day before, been executed at the cross of Edinburgh, and that all were sorry for his death, though they durst not show it. All intercourse by letters being then dangerous, this was the first intimation Sir Patrick and his family had received of the fate of their beloved friend; and it gave a greater shock to their feelings, from its being altogether unexpected. Preparations were immediately made for his departure; and Grisell wrought incessantly, night and day, in making such alterations on his garments as would serve the more effectually to disguise him. It was then neces-

sary to trust their grieve, John Allan, who fainted, when told that his master was in the house, and that he behooved, early next morning, to set out with him, and accompany him into England; pretending, to the rest of the servants, that he was going to Morpeth fair, at which he had got orders to sell some horses. The parting between Sir Patrick and his family was sorrowful indeed; but after he was fairly gone, though deprived of his society, and ignorant of what calamities might befall either him or themselves, they were greatly relieved in mind, and even happy in thinking that he was on the way to the land of safety. On the morning on which he started, he made a narrow escape: a party of troopers sent to apprehend him, having come to the house not long after he had left it, and searched it very closely. Nor was it less providential that his servant, who was riding at some distance behind him, had missed him before crossing the Tweed; for during that time, the party, having probably, when at the house, heard the sound of horses running, suspecting the truth, followed and came upon the servant; but they had left him before he again fell in with his master. Sir Patrick reached London in safety, and then went to France; whence, after a short stay, he proceeded to the Netherlands, and thence to Holland. The course of his road he thus describes, in his narrative of Argyll's expedition: "So soon as I got upon the continent, I stayed but short [time] in France, but spent some weeks in Dunkirk, Ostend, Bruges, and other towns in Flanders and Brabant, where I traversed before I came to Brussels; whither, [as] soon as I heard that he resided there, I went to converse with the duke of Monmouth, but he was gone thence to the Hague; which led me, after waiting some time for him, in expectation of his return, on to Antwerp, and so to Holland."*

Meanwhile, proceedings are instituted by the government against him. On the 13th of November, 1684, the lord advocate was ordered by the council to pursue him for treason. On the 26th of January, 1685, he was denounced a rebel, and put to the horn, and all his lands, heritages, goods, and gear, forfeited

* The Marchmont Papers, vol. iii., p. 2. Lady Murray is incorrect when, in giving an account of his route on the continent at this time, she says that "from London, he went to France, and travelled from Bourdeaux to Holland on foot." Crawford in his Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown and of the State in Scotland, is also mistaken when, in speaking of this same journey, he says, that after getting beyond sea, Sir Patrick "lived a while at Geneva, whence he came down to Holland, where he waited on the prince of Orange." Both Lady Murray and Crawford seem to confound the course of road which Sir Patrick took on the continent on his escape at this time, with that which he took on his escape after the failure of Argyll's expedition. See Note 4 on page 138.

to his majesty's use, for not compearing before the council, to answer to the false charge of "contriving the death of his majesty, and the duke, his brother, overturning the government, converse with rebels, and concealing of treason." And, on the 28th of January, the privy council gave orders to secure his goods and rents, to be made forthcoming for his majesty's use.*

He had not been long in Holland when the news of the death of Charles II. reached him. On this intelligence, the Scottish and English exiles resident there, who had before been concerting measures for the deliverance of their country from tyranny and popery, becoming now more alarmed than ever, from their personal knowledge of the duke of York, who was about to succeed to the throne, matured a plan for the invasion of England, under the duke of Monmouth, and of Scotland, under the earl of Argyll. In this conspiracy, Sir Patrick was a leading man, and he accompanied the earl of Argyll in his expedition to Scotland. After Argyll was taken prisoner, and his forces were completely dispersed, Sir Patrick found an asylum in the house of a particular friend, Mr. Montgomery, the laird of Langshaw, in Ayrshire. It also appears that he was concealed at Kilwinning by "that eminent religious lady," Eleonore Dunbar, aunt to the then earl of Eglinton, for several weeks in an empty house, till he got out of the country.† It was in this retreat that he composed his interesting narrative of the leading events of Argyll's invasion. Leaving Kilwinning, he found an opportunity of safely crossing over to Ireland, first reaching Dublin, whence he embarked for Bourdeaux, a large city in France.‡ Having remained some months in France, he next travelled to Geneva on foot,‖ and, after remaining there for some time, went on foot to Rotterdam, and ultimately took up his residence at Utrecht. In these peregrinations, he assumed the character of a surgeon; and, being able to bleed, he always carried lancets on his person. Even after taking up his residence in Holland, though living under the immediate protection of the prince of Orange, and honored with the

* Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 226. † Ibid., p. 312.

‡ Crawford's Lives and Characters, &c.

‖ That he was at Bourdeaux in France, and Geneva, when escaping from Scotland, at this time, is evident from his letters, printed at the end of Lady Murray's memoirs of her parents. His first letter from Bourdeaux was written November 15, 1685. There is also a letter dated January 13, 1686, another dated two days, and another four days after, all which appear to have been written from that city. There are also two letters dated Geneva, the one on May 17, and the other on June 12, 1686. His letter from Bourdeaux of January 13, shows that he gave himself out there as a surgeon. He signs that letter as Peter Wallace, and it was as Dr. Wallace, that Captain Bund, who travelled with him on foot a part of the way from France to Holland, knew him.

personal friendship of that prince, who, looking on him as a confessor for the protestant religion and the liberties of his country, treated him with a very particular respect, he judged it expedient to continue to keep up his assumed character as a medical gentleman. After his arrival in that country, he sent to his lady his narrative of Argyll's expedition, formerly referred to, which is written in the form of a letter to her, and which, though it was written in Scotland, he had not found, while there, a convenient opportunity of sending to her. This narrative he begins as follows :—

"My dear Heart :* Since I can have small hope of seeing you any more, or enjoying the pleasure of conversing with you, a thing wherein as now I more than ever discern my happiness on this earth did much consist, not knowing how long God will preserve me from the hands of mine enemies, who hunt earnestly after my life, have set a rate upon my head, and done otherwise what they can to cut off from me all ways of escaping their fury; I found myself obliged, on many accounts, public and my own, to spend some time, in giving to the nation, and my friends and my family, some account of the matters I have of late had hand in, and of myself; that the affair chiefly, many worthy persons therein concerned, and I, may not by ignorant, or false representations, be prejudged or discredited; and there is none to whom I can address it so duly as you, or so safely; for though this mock parliament have made it, by their forfaulting me, very dangerous for others, yet you may with somewhat more safety receive a letter from me; also none will take so much care of dispersing the contents as I think you will: besides that there is none I can be more obliged to satisfy than you by it; and for these purposes I recommend it to your care and discretion."†

Sir Patrick's estate having been forfeited to the crown, Grisell, after he had left the country, went to London, by sea, with her mother; whose object, in undertaking that journey, was to endeavor to obtain from government an allowance out of her husband's estate, for herself and her ten children. They waited long in London, and were assisted in their endeavors by many good

* "This paper was addressed to his wife from Holland.—Note, in Rose's Observations in Fox's History. There is a second copy of this Narrative, apparently in the handwriting of Alexander, earl of Marchmont, which is headed as follows:—'Letter to D[ea]r Grizle Kae, from her husband, Sir Patrick Hume, in anno 1685, wryten from Kilwinning where he lurked at the time, by the kind favor of Lady —— Montgomerie, sister to the earl of Eglinton and spouse of —— Dunbar, younger of Baldoon, taken from a copy wryten of his own hand, which is yet amongst his papers.'"—Note of Editor of The Marchmont Papers.

† The Marchmont Papers, vol. iii, p. 2.

friends, from whom they met with much kindness and civility, as Lord William Russell's family, Lord Wharton's, and others, but all she could obtain was, according to Lady Murray, only about one hundred and fifty pounds per annum.* This matter being settled, they returned to Scotland to prepare for going over to Holland to Sir Patrick, who sent for them, and they all went over together, with the exception of Grisell's sister, Julian, whose ill health unfitted her for such a journey. Grisell afterward returned from Holland by herself, to bring over Julian, when her health was in some measure recruited, to join the rest of the family. She was at the same time intrusted with the management of some of her father's business, and got instructions to collect as much of the debts due to him as possible. "All this she performed with her usual discretion and success, though not without encountering adventures that would have completely overwhelmed the resources of most young ladies of her age and rank" in our day. Her sister Julian was still so very weak, as to require the attendance of a nurse during the whole of the voyage, which happened to be very tedious, and in which they encountered a severe storm, the terrors of which were aggravated by the brutality of the captain of the vessel. Grisell had bargained for the cabin bed, and was very well provided in provisions and other necessary things. Three or four other ladies had also agreed with the captain for the same bed; and a dispute arose between these ladies in the cabin, as to who should have the bed, in which, however, Grisell took no part, and a gentleman present bade her let the disputants settle the matter between them; for, said he, "You will see how it will end." Two of the ladies went into the cabin bed, and the rest found a bed as they best could; while Grisell and her sister lay upon the floor, with a bag of books, which she was carrying to her father, for their pillow. They had not lain long, when the captain of the vessel coming down to the cabin, voraciously devoured their whole provisions. He then said to the two ladies in the cabin bed, "Turn out, turn out;" and, stripping before them, lay down in the bed himself. But a terrible storm arising, which required his attendance and labor on deck to save the ship, he had soon to rise, and they saw no more of him till they landed at the Brill.

* Sir Patrick's estate was afterward, by the king's letter, dated —— of —— 1686, gifted to Kenneth, earl of Seaforth, under several reservations mentioned, one of which was, that he be "bound to pay the young Lady Polwarth's jointure, conform to her contract of marriage with the said Sir Patrick Hume, and the additional jointure thereafter granted unto her; both exteuding to three thousand merks Scots money," that is, £166, 13*s.*, 4*d.*, sterling.—The Marchmont Papers, vol. iii., p. 67.

From the Brill they set out the same night, on foot, for Rotterdam, in company with a gentleman who came over at the same time, to take refuge in Holland from the persecution which was raging in Scotland, and who was of great service to them. The night was cold, wet, and disagreeable, and the roads were very bad; Julian, in consequence of her previous ill health, and being only a girl, was not well able to travel, and soon lost her shoes in the mud, upon which Grisell carried her on her back the rest of the way, the gentleman kindly carrying their small luggage. On arriving at Rotterdam, they found their eldest brother Patrick and their father waiting for them, to convey them to Utrecht, where the family resided; and no sooner did she reach home, than, in the midst of her beloved parents, sisters, and brothers, she forgot all her hardships, and felt the utmost contentment and happiness.

They lived three years and half in Holland, and, during that time, Grisell made a second voyage to Scotland, about her father's worldly affairs. Her father, to escape detection, did not stir abroad, and, as has been previously said, still continued to assume the character of a surgeon, passing under the name of Dr. Wallace; though it was well known, by the Scottish exiles and their friends, who he was. Finding their greatest comfort at home, and their house being a place of constant resort to the presbyterian refugees, of whom at that time, there was a great number in Holland, they were particularly desirous of having a good house; and they rented one at nearly a fourth part of their whole annual income. From the smallness of their income, they could not afford to keep a servant, having only, besides themselves, a little girl to wash the dishes; so that the duties of the kitchen, and, indeed, the management of the whole household establishment, devolved on Grisell; for which, from her active and industrious habits, she was well qualified, and by which she proved a great blessing to her parents, brothers, and sisters. During the whole time of their residence in Holland, a week did not pass in which she did not sit up two nights engaged in some necessary household occupation. "She went to market, went to the mill to have their corn ground, which it seems is the way with good managers there, dressed the linen, cleaned the house, made ready the dinner, mended the children's stockings and other clothes, made what she could for them, and, in short, did everything." Her sister Christian, who was a year or two younger, had no turn for business, but had good talents for music, and was full of vivacity and humor. Out of their small income, her parents bought, at a

trifling price, a harpsichord, which turned out to be an excellent instrument; and in the musical performances of Christian, who both played and sung well, her father and mother, and the rest of the family, who were fond of music, found an agreeable relaxation in their vacant hours. Grisell had the same talents for music as her sister, and was equally fond of it; but the management of household affairs devolving on her, she had less leisure for indulging in that amusement. The performance of these domestic offices was to her, however, a labor of love; and so far was she from envying or upbraiding her sister, who was exempted from the toil and drudgery to which she had to submit, that many jokes used to pass between them about their different occupations. Nor had she any good ground for wishing to exchange occupations with her sister. "'It is more blessed to minister, than to be ministered unto,' said the most perfect character that ever appeared in the human form. Could any young person, of ever such a listless and idle disposition, not entirely debased by selfishness, read of the different occupations of Lady Grisell Baillie and this sister of hers, nearly of her own age, whose time was mostly spent in reading or playing on a musical instrument, and wish, for one moment, to have been the last-mentioned lady, rather than the other?"* Every morning, before six o'clock, Grisell lighted her father's fire in his study, after which she awoke him, for he was always a good sleeper; a blessing, among others, which she inherited from him. She then prepared for him warm small beer, with a spoonful of bitters in it—a beverage which he continued to take every morning, as soon as he got up, during the whole of his life. She next got the children dressed, and brought them all into his room; where he taught them the different branches of education, the Latin, French, or Dutch languages, geography, writing, reading, or English, according to their ages; and his lady taught them such departments of learning, and such accomplishments, as belong to the province of the female teacher. In this useful and interesting way, were Sir Patrick Hume and his lady employed during the whole period of their residence in Holland; their outward circumstances being such, that they could not afford to put their children to school. Grisell, when she had some spare time, took a lesson with the rest in French and Dutch, and also amused herself with music. "I have now," says her daughter, Lady Murray, "a book of songs, of her writing, when there; many of them are interrupted, half writ, some broke off in the middle of a sentence."

* Joanna Baillie's Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters, Preface, p. xxxii.

Whether this collection, which is probably now lost, consisted of songs altogether of her own composition or not, it is not said. But a song of her composition, which affords a favorable specimen of her talents in this species of writing, has been long in print, viz.: "Were na my heart licht I wad dee," and it may gratify the reader to see a copy of it here:—

"There was ance a may, and she loo'd na men,
She biggit her bonny bower down in yon glen;
But now she cries dool! and a-well-a-day!
Come down the green gate, and come here away.
But now she cries, &c.

"When bonny young Johnny came o'er the sea,
He said he saw naething sae lovely as me;
He hecht me baith rings and mony braw things;
And were na my heart licht I wad dee.
He hecht me, &c.

"He had a wee titty that loo'd na me,
Because I was twice as bonny as she;
She raised such a pother 'twixt him and his mother,
That were na my heart licht I wad dee.
She raised, &c.

"The day it was set and the bridal to be,
The wife took a dwam, and lay down to dee;
She mained and she grained out o' dolour and pain,
Till he vowed he never wad see me again.
She mained, &c.

"His kin was for ane o' a higher degree,
Said, What had he to do with the like of me?
Albeit I was bonny, I was nae for Johnny:
And were na my heart licht I wad dee.
Albeit I was bonny, &c.

"They said I had, neither cow nor calf,
Nor dribbles o' drink rins throw the draff,
Nor pickles o' meal rins throw the mill-ee:
And were na my heart licht I wad dee.
Nor pickles, &c.

"His titty she was baith wylie and slee,
She spied me as I came o'er the lea;
And then she ran in and made a loud din:
Believe your ain een, an ye trow na me.
And then she ran in, &c.

"His bonnet stood aye fu' round on his brow;
His auld ane looked as weel as some's new;
But now he lets t' wear ony gate it will hing,
And casts himself dowie upon the corn bing.
But now he, &c.

"And now he gaes daundrin about the dykes,
And a' he dow do is to hund the tykes;
The live-lang nicht he ne'er steeks his e'e;
And were na my heart licht I wad dee.
The live lang nicht, &c.

"Were I young for thee, as I ha'e been,
We should ha'e been gallopin down on yon green,
And linkin it blythe on the lily-white lee;
And wow gin I were but young for thee!
And linkin it, &c."*

"This," as has been justly said by a writer in the Scots Magazine, "is very good; at once simple, lively, and tender."†

The same writer expresses a hope that the book of songs in Grisell's handwriting, to which Lady Murray refers as being in her possession, may yet be recovered, and that it might afford further specimens of her poetical talents; or, if not altogether of her own composition, might furnish some valuable additions to the lyric treasures by which Scotland has been so peculiarly distinguished. He then adds, "We are enabled to subjoin one unpublished fragment of this description—supposed to be Lady Grisell's composition, from circumstantial evidence. It was lately discovered, in her handwriting, among a parcel of old letters, and enclosed in one of them, written about the time of her father's forfeiture to her brother Patrick, then serving with Mr. Baillie in the prince of Orange's guards. The first two of the stanzas are copied from this MS. The others (in brackets) are subjoined, as an imperfect attempt to complete the song in a similar style, but with a more direct reference to the situation of Lady Grisell and the family of Polwarth at that disastrous period."

"O the ewe-bughting's bonnie, baith e'ening and morn,
When our blythe shepherds play on their bog-reed and horn;
While we 're milking they 're lilting baith pleasant and clear—
But my heart 's like to break when I think of my dear!

"O the shepherds take pleasure to blow on the horn,
To raise up their flocks o' sheep soon i' the morn;
On the bonnie green banks they feed pleasant and free—
But, alas! my dear heart, all my sighing's for thee!

"[How blythe wi' my Sandy out o'er the brown fells,
I ha'e followed the flocks through the fresh heather-bells!
But now I sit greeting amang the lang broom,
In the dowie green cleuchs whare the burnie glides down.

"O wae to the traitors! an' black be their fa',
Wha banished my kind-hearted shepherd awa!
Wha banished my laddie ayont the wide sea,
That aye was sae lael to his country and me.

"But the cruel oppressors shall tremble for fear,
When the true-blue and orange in triumph appear;
And the star of the east leads them o'er the dark sea,
Wi' freedom to Scotland, and Sandy to me."]‡

* Ritson's Scottish Songs, vol. i., p. 128; and Chambers's Scottish Songs, vol. ii. p. 321.

† Scots Magazine, New Series, for 1818, pp. 35, 36.

‡ Ibid., pp. 435, 436.

From these lively specimens of Grisell's lyric compositions, as well as from the whole of the preceding narrative, it was evident that, in addition to her other good qualities, she was characterized by a buoyant animation of spirit, combined with a guilelessness of soul which gave a great charm to her character, and made her universally beloved. In her history, and, indeed, in that of all her family, whose good humor and harmless pleasantry made their society so agreeable and so greatly courted, we perceive how erroneously presbytery and the covenant have often been represented as deadly enemies to innocent hilarity, and our presbyterian ancestors as the personification of austerity and moroseness.

To her eldest brother Patrick, who was nearest to her own age, and who was brought up with her, Grisell was more strongly attached than to her other brothers or sisters. He and George Baillie (the son of Robert Baillie the martyr), her future husband, who was deprived of his father's estate which had been forfeited, and who was then in Holland, having been also obliged to take refuge in exile, served for some time as privates in the prince of Orange's guards, till more honorable and lucrative situations were provided for them in the army, which was done before the revolution. Grisell, who was always very neat in her own dress, felt an honest pride in seeing her brother neat and clean in his; and it being the fashion, in those days, to wear little point cravats and cuffs, she sat up many a night to have them and his linens in as good order for him as any in the place. His dress was, indeed, one of the heaviest items in their expenses.

Narrow and precarious as was the income of Sir Patrick and his family, they were distinguished for their kind-hearted hospitality. His house, as has been said before, was much frequented by such of his countrymen, as, like himself, had taken refuge from persecution in Holland. And seldom did the family sit down to dinner, without having three, four, or five, of these refugees with them to partake of their humble repast. But Providence so remarkably blessed them in their basket and in their store, that they wanted for nothing which they really needed. And virtue being associated with adversity, they felt contentment and happiness; a state of mind which was much promoted by their contrasting the comfortable retreat they had found on a foreign shore, with the suffering condition of many of their presbyterian friends at home. "Many a hundred times," says Lady Murray, speaking of her mother, "I have heard her say, she could never look back upon their manner of living there, without thinking it a mir-

acle; they had no want, but plenty of everything they desired, and much contentment, and [she] always declared it [to be] the most pleasant part of her life; though they were not without their little distresses; but to them they were rather jokes than grievances." Sir Patrick being a scholar, the professors and learned men of Utrecht were often visitants at his house, and the best entertainment he could give them was a glass of alabaster beer, which was a kind of ale better than the common.

In exile, he continued to watch over the state of affairs in Scotland, and discovered in William, prince of Orange, of whose talents and character he entertained the highest admiration, the future deliverer of his country. He had penetration enough to see, that the object aimed at in James VII.'s schemes of toleration for dissenters, was under the disguise of benefiting them, to afford relief to papists, and ultimately to pave the way for the establishment of popery. Accordingly, in June, 1668, he addressed from Utrecht a well-written and powerfully-reasoned letter, to his friend Sir William Denholm, who had been in Argyll's expedition, to be communicated to the presbyterian ministers of Scotland, to put them on their guard against an insidious plan which was in agitation, to induce them to petition in favor of King James's deceptive measure for a toleration. "All I shall add," says he in the close, "is to wish protestants to see to it and not to be gulled by their enemies, not to misjudge their friends, and to be ever ready to do or to suffer, as God shall call them to it, for their interests of so high moment: *pro Christo et patriâ dulce periculum.*"*

At length the time of Britain's deliverance drew near. James VII. having, by his violent and infatuated policy to establish arbitrary power and popery in England, roused the indignation of the English people, William, prince of Orange, to save the liberties of Britain, made preparations for invading it. Grisell's father shared in the counsels of William; and, along with his son Patrick and George Baillie, accompanied him in his enterprise when the fleet was ready to sail. As was natural, she and the rest of the family felt deeply interested in the success of this undertaking. At first they were afflicted with anxious and misgiving thoughts as to the issue, when William's whole fleet was scattered and driven back by a violent tempest. Having heard of this melancholy news, she herself, her mother, and her sister, "immediately came from Utrecht to Helvoetsluys, to get what information they could. The place was so crowded by people

* The Marchmont Papers, vol. iii., p. 98.

from all quarters, come for the same purpose, that her mother, she, and her sister, were forced to lie in the boat they came in; and, for three days continually, to see coming floating in, beds, chests, horses, &c., that had been thrown overboard in their distress. At the end of the third day, the prince, and some other ships came in; but no account of the ship their friends were in. Their despair was great, but in a few days was relieved by their coming in safe, but with the loss of all their baggage, which, at that time, was no small distress to them."*

When the fleet, on the damage made being repaired, set out again, the solicitude of Grisell, her mother, and the rest of the family, for its success, was more intense than ever. To hear of those embarked having safely landed in England, was the greatest joy they could picture to their minds. Of this they had soon the satisfaction of hearing; but the joy which such tidings, in ordinary circumstances, would have given them, was swallowed up by the sorrow into which they were plunged by the unexpected loss of Grisell's sister, Christian, who, on the very day on which the welcome news reached them, died suddenly of a sore throat, caught from her exposure in the damp, open boat, at Helvoetsluys. To Grisell, who was of strong and tender affections, the loss of "the sister of her heart" was a great affliction. "When that happy news came," says Lady Murray, "it was no more to my mother than any occurrence she had not the least concern in; for that very day her sister Christian died of a sore throat; which was so heavy an affliction to both her and her mother, that they had no feeling for anything else; and," adds Lady Murray, "often have I heard her say she had no notion of any other cause of sorrow but the death and affliction of those she loved; and of that she was sensible to her last, in the most tender manner. She had endured many hardships, without being depressed by them; on the contrary, her spirits and activity increased the more she had occasion for them; but the death of her friends was always a load too heavy for her."

Happily, the prince of Orange's undertaking was crowned with success. In England, all parties rallied around him—a very merciful providence for Scotland, which, wasted by a persecution of twenty-eight years, was now lying under the iron wheel of despotism, crushed in spirit, and more hopeless of deliverance, in so far as her own intrinsic power was concerned, than at any previous period of her history. But England, in saving herself, saved Scotland. When matters were all settled

* Lady Murray's Narrative.

in England, Grisell's brothers and sisters were sent home to Scotland, under the care of a friend; while she herself and her mother came over with the princess of Orange to London. The princess, now about to ascend the British throne, attracted by the engaging character and the peculiarly prepossessing personal appearance of Grisell,* wished to retain her near her person, as one of her maids of honor. But though this was a situation for which Grisell was well qualified, and to which many of her age would have been proud to have been elevated, she declined the appointment, preferring to go home with the rest of her family.

The reader has already been informed of the youthful attachment which sprung up between her and George Baillie, within the walls of his father's prison; and also that Baillie was a refugee in Holland at the time when she and her father's family were resident in that country. In their exile, their affection for each other increased, and they had their marriage always in view; though, from the circumstances in which they were then placed, neither of them having a shilling, they deemed it unwise to make known their intentions to her parents, and were at no small pains to conceal their mutual passion from them. In the midst of her parents' troubles, she had offers of marriage from two gentlemen of fortune and good character, in her own neighborhood, in Scotland, who had done nothing to incur the resentment of the government; and her parents, thinking these to be favorable opportunities for her comfortable settlement in life, pressed her to marry one or other of these gentlemen. "She earnestly rejected both, but without giving any reason for it, though her parents suspected it; and it was the only thing in which she ever displeased or disobeyed them. These gentlemen were intimate and sincere friends to Mr. Baillie and her to the day of their death, and often said to them both she had made a much better choice in him; for they made no secret of having made their addresses to her. Her parents were ever fond of George Baillie, and he was always with them. So great an opinion had they of him,

* Her personal appearance is thus described by her daughter: "She was middle sized, well made, clever in her person, very handsome, with a life and sweetness in her eyes very uncommon, and great delicacy in all her features; her hair was chestnut: and, to her last, had the finest complexion, with the clearest red in her cheeks and lips that could be seen in one of fifteen, which, added to her natural constitution, might be owing to the great moderation she had in her diet throughout her whole life." Lady Murray adds: "Pottage and milk was her greatest feast, and by choice she preferred them to everything, though nothing came wrong to her that others could eat. Water she preferred to any liquor, and though often obliged to take a glass of wine, she always did it unwillingly, thinking it hurt her, and did not like it."

that he was generally preferred to any other, and trusted to go out with her, and take care of her, when she had any business to do. They had no objection but the circumstances he was in; which had no weight with her, for she always hoped things would turn out at last as they really did; and, if they did not, she was resolved not to marry at all." Having, after the revolution, been put in possession of his father's estate, which had been gifted to the duke of Gordon, Baillie made known to her parents the engagement between him and her; and they were married at Redbraes castle, on September 17, 1692. At that time, her father (his political and personal troubles being now over) was in high favor with King William, and was enjoying in security that wealth and honor to which his sufferings in the cause of religion and liberty so well entitled him.*

The fruits of Grisell's marriage with George Baillie were a son, Robert, born January 23, 1694, who died young; and two daughters—Grisell, who was married August 26, 1710, to Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope, Bart., M. P., and died without issue, June 6, 1759, aged sixty-seven; and Rachel, born February 23, 1696, married to Charles, Lord Binning (eldest son of Thomas, sixth earl of Haddington), and mother of Thomas, seventh earl of Haddington, George Baillie of Jerviswood, and other children.†

Lady Grisell's marriage with Mr. Baillie was unusually happy. She indeed proved to him, in the words of the poet—

> "A guardian angel o'er his life presiding,
> Doubling his pleasures, and his cares dividing."

* On the new order of things introduced at the revolution, he was nominated a member of the new privy council in Scotland, and in December, 1690, was created a Scottish peer by the title of Lord Polwarth. In 1692, he was appointed principal sheriff of Berwickshire, and, in 1693, one of the four extraordinary lords of session. In 1696, he was made lord chancellor of Scotland, the highest office in that kingdom; in less than a year after, he was created earl of Marchmont; and, in 1698, he was appointed lord high commissioner to represent the king's person in the session of parliament which met at Edinburgh in July that year. It is interesting to know that, in prosperity, this nobleman did not forget those who had befriended him in adversity. "There is a family tradition which relates that, being obliged, in consequence of political persecution, to quit Redbraes house and cross the country, a little above Greenlaw, he met with a man of the name of Broomfield, the miller of Greenlaw mill, who was repairing a *slap* or breach in the mill caul. Sir Patrick, addressing him by the occupation in which he was engaged, said, 'Slap, have you any money?' upon which Broomfield supplied him with what was considered necessary for his present exigency. Sir Patrick, it is added, was obliged to pass over into Holland; but when he came back with King William, did not forget his former benefactor in need. It is not stated what return he made him, but the family was settled in a free house as long as they lived, and ever after retained the name of *Slap*."—New Statistical Account of Scotland.

† Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii., p. 81.

Equally ardent and tender was his affection toward her, in whom he found combined the qualities of the "virtuous woman" whom Solomon's mother so happily describes, and whose "price is far above rubies." On her he left the sole charge of domestic affairs, and even in reference to matters of graver importance he placed great confidence in her judgment. "None could better judge," says her daughter, "than herself, what was most proper to be done upon any occasion; of which my father was so convinced, that I have good reason to believe he never did anything of consequence through his whole life without asking her advice. She had a quickness of apprehension and sagacity that generally hit upon the fittest things to be done." Her daughter adds: "Though she had a quick and ready wit, yet she spoke little in company, but where she was quite free and intimate. She used often to wonder at a talent she met with in many, that could entertain their company with numberless words, and yet say nothing."

In 1703, Lady Baillie lost her dear mother, who died at Edinburgh, October 11, that year. On her dying bed, her mother, who retained her judgment to the last, was surrounded by all her children. At this scene, Lady Baillie, in the agony of her grief, had hid herself behind the curtain of the bed, so that her mother, in looking round upon them all, did not see her, upon which she said, "Where is Grisell?" Lady Baillie immediately came near her mother, who, taking her by the hand, said, "My dear Grisell, blessed be you above all, for a helpful child have you been to me."—"I have often heard my mother," says Lady Murray, "tell this in floods of tears, which she was always in when she spoke of her mother at all." Great was the sorrow of the earl of Marchmont, and of the whole family, on the death of this excellent wife and mother. During life, she had experienced great variety in her outward condition. But, in every situation, she was distinguished by unpretending piety and unspotted virtue, united with great sweetness, composure, and equanimity of temper. So well disciplined had been her mind by adversity, that, when exalted to wealth and honor, none of her acquaintances, from the highest to the lowest, ever found that these had created any change in the temper of her mind. To her virtues and amiable qualities her husband has borne a very affecting testimony in an inscription he wrote on her bible, which he gave to his daughter, Lady Baillie:—

"Grisell Lady Marchmont, her book. To Lady Grisell Hume, Lady Jerviswood, my beloved daughter. My heart, in remem-

brance of your mother, keep this bible, which is what she ordinarily made use of. She had been happy of a religious and virtuous education, by the care of virtuous and religious parents. She was of a middle stature, of a plump, full body; a clear, ruddy complexion; a grave, majestic countenance; a composed, steady, and mild spirit; of a most firm and equal mind, never elevated by prosperity, nor debased or daunted by adversity. She was a wonderful stay and support to me in our exile and trouble, and an humble and thankful partaker with me in our more prosperous condition; in both which, by the blessing of God, she helped much to keep the balance of our deportment even. She was constant and diligent in the practice of religion and virtue, a careful observer of worship to God, and of her duties to her husband, her children, her friends, her neighbors, her tenants, and her servants: so that it may justly be said, her piety, probity, virtue, and prudence, were without a blot or stain, and beyond reproach. As by the blessing of God she had lived well, so by his mercy, in the time of her sickness and at her death, there appeared many convincing evidences that the Lord took her to the enjoyment of endless happiness and bliss. She died, October 11, 1703, at Edinburgh, and was buried in my burying-place, near the Canongate church, where I have caused mark out a grave for myself close by hers, upon the left side, in the middle of the ground.

"MARCHMONT."

From her tender years, Lady Baillie had been a constant help and support to her father's family; and even after she became the mother of a family herself, she was still useful to them in many respects. From the time that her brother Alexander, Lord Polwarth, went abroad in 1716 (in consequence of his appointment, the year before, to be envoy extraordinary to the courts of Denmark and Prussia), and all the time he was at Copenhagen and Cambray, she had the whole management of his affairs, and the care of the education of his children. It may also be mentioned, as an evidence of the care she continued to take of her father, that, during the last years of his life, which he passed at Berwick-upon-Tweed, she went to Scotland every alternate year to see him; and the infirmities of old age unfitting him for taking the trouble of looking after his own affairs, she examined and settled his steward's accounts, which were often long and intricate. "Very unlike too many married women," says Joanna Baillie, "who, in taking upon them the duties of a wife and mother, suffer these to absorb every other; and visit their father's

house seldom, and as a stranger, who has nothing to do there but to be served and waited upon. If misfortune or disease come upon their parents, it is the single daughters only who seem to be concerned in all this. She who is a neglectful daughter, is an attentive wife and mother from a mean cause."* When in London, Lady Baillie regularly wrote every other post to her father, or to her sister, Lady Julian, who then lived with him, and watched over his declining years with affectionate care; sent him the newspapers, and any new book or pamphlet which she thought would interest him. Amid the infirmities of old age, the good man retained all the kindly cheerfulness of his earlier days; and this made his society delightful to the youngest of his descendants—the means both of improvement and of enjoyment. To join the useful with the agreeable in social intercourse, and indeed in the whole business of life, was a principle upon which he seems studiously to have acted; and hence the device which is constantly found in his books and manuscripts:—

"'Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.' H. D. A."†

Even on his death-bed he could not resist his old propensity to joking. Sitting by his bedside, not many hours before he expired, Lord Binning observed him smiling, and said, "My lord, what are you laughing at?" To which the dying earl answered, "I am diverted to think what a disappointment the worms will meet with, when they come to me, expecting a good meal, and find nothing but bones!" He was much emaciated in body, and indeed he had always been a thin, clever man. None of his family were then in Scotland, except his daughter Lady Julian, who attended him, and his son-in-law, Lord Binning, who no sooner heard from Lady Julian of her father's illness, than he hastened to visit him, and continued with him till his death. He expired without a groan, and seemed to rejoice in the prospect of his departure. Lady Baillie had not the satisfaction of seeing him under his last illness. On hearing of his death,‡ she was deeply affected, though, from his advanced age, it was an event which could hardly take her by surprise.

She met with another domestic affliction, which she deeply felt, in the death of the amiable and accomplished Lord Bin-

* Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters, p. 270.

† The last three letters are a contraction for Horace's "De Arte Poetica." Sometimes he writes the quotation more briefly, thus:—

"'Omne tulit punctum.' H. D. A."

—The Marchmont Papers.

‡ He died in 1724, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

ning,* the husband of her daughter Rachel, in 1733. Having fallen into ill health, he went to Italy, for the benefit of the climate, and, having lived at Naples for some time, he died there on January 30, that year, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, having borne his sufferings with the utmost patience, resignation, and even cheerfulness and good humor. To this nobleman she was as strongly attached as if he had been her own child, and she and her whole family accompanied him to Italy. They resided in Naples about sixteen months.

On the death of Lord Binning, they went to Oxford, for the education of his children,† Thomas, afterward seventh earl of Haddington, and his two brothers. For Lord Binning's children, Lady Baillie had a strong affection. She was not without ambition of their rising to distinction in the world, "and omitted nothing she could devise to further them this way; but yet, whenever she spoke about them, the great thing she expressed herself with most concern about was that they might become virtuous and religious men."‡

While resident in Oxford, she met with a trial, in the death of Mr. Baillie, which, perhaps, inflicted a heavier blow on her heart than any of the past afflictions of her life. He died there, on sabbath, August 6, 1738, after an illness of only forty-eight hours, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He had lived an eminently pious and exemplary life, and his latter end was peace. During the whole time of his illness, he was employed in breathing out prayers to his God and Savior, for his own salvation, and that of his family. He departed with a calm, serene countenance, and with scarce a groan. His body was sent home to be interred in his own burying-place, at Mellerstain; attended, according to his own orders, which Lady Baillie was careful to have executed, only by his near relations, near neighbors, and his own tenants. Under this bereavement, it was difficult for her to bear up. From the peculiar tenderness of her feelings, she was always extremely susceptible to the emotions of sorrow on the loss of friends. But when, in her old age, she was bereft of the excellent companion to whom she had been so long united, whom

* Like Lady Baillie Lord Binning possessed an elegant talent for song-writing. He was the author of *Pastoral Ballads*. His ballad beginning "Did ever swain a nymph adore," has long been well known.—Douglas's Peerage, vol. i, p. 684 Ritson's Collection of Scottish Songs, vol. i, p. 73

† He had "committed and recommended to Mr. Baillie's care the education of his children, and said he needed give no directions about it, since he was to do it. What he wished most earnestly was to have them good and honest men, which he knew would also be Mr. Baillie's chief care."—Lady Murray's Narrative.

‡ Lady Murray's Narrative.

she called "the best of husbands, and delight of my life for forty-eight years;" and as to whom she often declared, "that they never had a shadow of a quarrel or misunderstanding, no, not for a moment;" it is not surprising that she was almost overwhelmed by the stroke, and that hers was a sorrow which could not altogether be assuaged on this side of the grave. The account which Lady Murray gives of her mother's sorrow under this loss is very touching. "When she lost him, her affliction was so great that it threw her into a dangerous fit of illness, which, with joy, she would have allowed herself to sink under, had she not thought her life was still necessary for the happiness of her family; as Sir Alexander Murray then threatened, by long letters writ to us, to give us a great deal of trouble and disturbance, which could not well take place unless he outlived her. . . . She stayed near two years longer at Oxford, as long as it was thought fit for her grandsons, though the most melancholy, disagreeable place she could be in, far from friends, and no business to amuse, or take off her thoughts from her heavy loss; so that the sedentary life she led, which she had never been used to, again threw her into a long and dangerous fit of illness, in which her life was despaired of by every one." And after stating that her mother and the whole family came, in 1740, to London, and thence immediately to Scotland, Lady Murray adds, "Everything at home so continually renewed her grief, that scarce a day passed without her bursting out in tears; though she did her utmost to command herself, not to give us pain, yet it often overcame her. . . . . One day, looking round and admiring the beauties of the place, she checked herself, burst out in tears, and said, 'What is all this to me, since your father does not see and enjoy it!' Such reflections she often had, and neither amusements nor business could put them out of her thoughts. As I almost always put her to bed, I can declare I never saw her lie down but with a deep groan, and generally tears, not soon to be pacified; nor could she be persuaded to take another room, choosing everything that could put her in mind of him. She had some hundreds of his letters, he having been often at London, absent from her for many months at a time, and never missed writing one single post. She had carefully preserved them all, and set about reading of them; which put her into such fits of grief and crying, quite sunk and destroyed her, that we thought it would kill her. She one day said she was ashamed to be alive, after losing one that had writ her such letters, and with whom she could have been contented to live on the top of a mountain, on bread and

water; and had no pleasure in anything but for his sake. Happy, said she, had it been for her, if she had constantly read over his letters, and governed her whole actions by them. She intended sealing them up in a bag, and bade me see they were buried in the coffin with her. I begged to read some of them, which she allowed me; and I earnestly entreated they might not be buried, but preserved for the sake of his posterity, and they are now in my custody. In nothing I ever saw did I find so much to instruct, to admire, to please; they are a true picture of his heart; full of the most tender and condescending affection, just remarks and reflections, true goodness, submission to Providence, entire resignation and contentment, without cant, superstition, severity, or uncharitableness to others; constant justness to all, and frugality in his private affairs, for the sake of his family."

In September, 1744, it being thought proper that her grandsons should go to London, she resolved that she herself and her whole family should go with them; her object being, as they were just entering into the world, to watch over them, and aid them by her counsel and experience; though she owned it to be her desire, as was most natural, to end her days in quiet. At the same time she felt persuaded that she should not return, and desired her children, in the event of her dying there, to bring home her body to be buried beside that of her husband.

"The rebellion of 1745 was a great affliction to her; the distress of her country and friends went near her heart, and made great impression on her health and spirits. Nobody could be more sensibly touched with the desolation of this poor country; yet she never expressed herself with bitterness nor resentment against the authors of it, and could not bear to hear others do so. She said it was the judgment of God upon us, and too well deserved by all ranks; therefore we ought to submit to it, and endeavor to avert it by other methods than railing and ill will at those who were the instruments of it." Her religion was eminently free from a censorious and uncharitable spirit toward others. Lady Murray, after stating that her mother "was much devoted to piety, and the service of God," adds, "People who exercise themselves much this way, are often observed to contract a morose way of thinking concerning others, which she had no tincture of. Her religion improved her in charity, and patience for other people's failings, and forgiveness of injuries; and, no doubt, was one great source of that constant cheerfulness she was so remarkable for."

While in London, she seldom went abroad, except to visit Lady Stanhope. But, in her own children and grandchildren, she enjoyed the most agreeable society at home; and she also found much pleasure in the frequent visits paid to her by her old friends and acquaintances, as well as by several new ones, who thought no time better spent than in her company. At last, the time drew near when she must go the way of all the earth. An epidemical cold being prevalent in the English capital, she caught the disease, which, after hanging about her for some time, terminated fatally. She was, however, confined to her bed only a few days, and there was no aberration of mind, to the last. Two days before her death, her family being all in the room beside her, she said, "My dears, read the last chapter of the Proverbs; you know what it is." "To have her grandsons happily married," says Lady Murray, "lay near her heart; and I imagine it was with regard to that she said it. I think it is a very strong picture of herself; and if ever any deserve to have it said of them, she does." Some may imagine, that thoughts respecting the happy marriage of her grandsons was scarcely exercise appropriate for a deathbed. But this would be to take a very imperfect and contracted view of the Christian exercise appropriate in such circumstances. No doubt the greatest questions to every man and woman when about to enter eternity, and appear at God's judgment-seat, are, "Am I at peace with God?" "Have I obtained that renewed heart which is indispensable to admission into heaven?" "Am I trusting, not to my own good works, or virtues, but exclusively to the Divine righteousness of Christ; an interest in which is equally indispensable to admission into heaven?" But while all true Christians will, in the prospect of death, give their chief thoughts to these subjects, they may, at the same time, in perfect consistency with this, feel an interest in whatever contributes to the well-being, both temporal and eternal, of their friends whom they are to leave behind them in the world; and to this a happy marriage relation, which is greatly conducive to the promotion of both virtue and piety, unquestionally contributes. The next day Lady Baillie called for Lady Murray, to whom she gave directions about some few things; and expressed it as her desire to be carried home and interred beside her dear husband; but said, that perhaps it might be too much trouble and inconvenience to them at that season. She therefore left it to Lady Murray to do as she pleased; "but," says she, "in a black purse in my cabinet you will find money sufficient to do it." This money she had kept by her for that

purpose, that whenever her death took place, her children might be able, without being straitened, to carry her mortal remains to Scotland, to be deposited in the same resting-place with those of her husband. Having said this, she added, "I have now no more to say or do;" tenderly embraced Lady Murray, and laid down her head upon the pillow, after which she spoke little. True Christians, of strong and warm affections, have often anticipated with delight, the recognition of their beloved pious friends and relatives in heaven, expecting to derive, from this source, no small portion of their future felicity. Lady Baillie always expressed her assurance, that she and Mr. Baillie, who had so long lived together on earth, as heirs of the grace of life, would meet together and know one another in a better world; and she often said after his death, that without that belief she could not have supported herself. This reflection was cheering to her even when dying. "Now, my dear," said she to Lady Murray, "I can die in peace, and desire nothing but to be where your father is." She died on December 6, 1746, surrounded by her whole family, who showed a lively sense of what they lost when she breathed her last. According to her desire, her body was conveyed from London to Scotland; and, on Christmas day, December 25, which was her birth-day, was laid by the side of her husband in the monument of Mellerstain. She was buried in the same manner in which, according to his own orders, she herself had directed *his* funeral—near relations, near neighbors, and her own tenants, only, being present.

Lady Baillie had been universally respected while living, and she died universally lamented. In her death, many lost not only a friend, but a benefactor; for she was very charitable to the distressed; remembering what she herself had suffered; nor was her beneficence confined to those of her own way of thinking.* The esteem in which she was held, was testified by the many letters of condolence, which, on the event, her family received from all quarters. Lord Cornbury, writing to Lady Hervey on her death, says: "Indeed, I am sorry that we shall see our good old friend no more. I am sorry that we shall partake no more in the society of that hospitality, that benevolence, that good humor, that good sense, that cheerful dignity, the result of so many virtues which were so amiable in her, and what did so much honor to humanity; and I am very sorry for what those

* "The very last week of her life she sent a servant to Newgate to inquire after one she heard was there in distress, and to give him some relief, though she had never seen him, but knew his friends."—Lady Murray's Narrative.

must suffer at present, whom she had bred up to have affections, and who had so justly so much for her.' Lady Baillie in truth, possessed a combination of qualities not often to be met with in the same person; and which would have adorned the most exalted station. "It appears to me," says Joanna Baillie, "that a more perfect female character could scarcely be imagined; for, while she is daily exercised in all that is useful, enlivening, and endearing, her wisdom and courage, on every extraordinary and difficult occasion, gave a full assurance to the mind, that the devoted daughter of Sir Patrick Hume, and the tender helpmate of Baillie, would have made a most able and magnanimous queen."* The inscription engraven on marble upon her monument, which was written by one who knew her well, Sir Thomas Burnet, one of the judges of the court of common pleas, and youngest son of Bishop Burnet, summarily records the leading and most singular events of her life, and gives a full, comprehensive, and withal a just view of her character. This inscription, with which we shall conclude our sketch, is as follows:—

HERE LIETH
The Right Honorable LADY GRISELL BAILLIE,
wife of GEORGE BAILLIE of Jerviswood, Esq.,
eldest daughter
of the Right Honorable, PATRICK, Earl of Marchmont;
a pattern to her sex, and an honor to her country.
She excelled in the character of a daughter, a wife, a mother.
While an infant,†
at the hazard of her own, she preserved her father's life;
who under the rigorous persecution of arbitrary power,
sought refuge in the close confinement of a tomb,
where he was nightly supplied with necessaries, conveyed by her,
with a caution far above her years,
a courage almost above her sex;
a real instance of the so much celebrated Roman charity.
She was a shining example of conjugal affection,
that knew no dissension, felt no decline,
during almost a fifty years' union;
the dissolution of which she survived from duty, not choice.
Her conduct as a parent
was amiable, exemplary, successful,
to a degree not well to be expressed,
without mixing the praises of the dead with those of the living;
who desire that all praise, but of her, should be silent.
At different times she managed the affairs
of her father, her husband, her family, her relations,
with unwearied application, with happy economy,
as distant from avarice as from prodigality.
Christian piety, love of her country,
zeal for her friends, compassion for her enemies,
cheerfulness of spirit, pleasantness of conversation,
dignity of mind,

* Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters, Preface, p. xxvi. † See p. 433, Note.

good breeding, good humor, good sense,
were the daily ornaments of a useful life,
protracted by Providence to an uncommon length,
for the benefit of all who fell within the sphere of her benevolence.
Full of years and of good works,
she died on the 6th day of December, 1746,
near the end of her 81st year,
and was buried on her birthday, the 25th of that month.

LADY CATHARINE HAMILTON,

DUCHESS OF ATHOLL

Among the "devout and honorable women not a few" in our country, who, in former times, adorned a high station by their exalted piety and their zeal for God, the subject of the present notice is entitled to a prominent place. It is chiefly from her diary* that we derive the information we possess concerning her, and it is mostly a record of her Christian exercise and experience; so that few incidents in her history are now known. Her life, indeed, appears to have been of a regular and little varying tenor, hardly connected with any of those signal events and conjunctures which give to biography much of its attraction; and a sketch of it does not, therefore, admit of a varied and striking narrative. But it may, notwithstanding, be interesting and instructive to the serious reader, to peruse a few illustrations of her eminently devout and Christian character. To those ladies who have already engaged our attention, she was similar in spirit and in sentiments: and she could look back to many of her ancestors, on whom God had conferred the highest of all nobility, the titles of which "are not written in old rotten or moulded parchments, but are more ancient than the heavens." She commenced her diary about the year 1688, in the twenty-fifth year of her age, and continued it down to the period of her death. From the commencement, it displays remarkably sound views of evangelical truth, and much maturity of religious experience; and throughout, it breathes a spirit singularly amiable, and fervently pious. As many parts of it are very much alike, instead of giving it entire, it will be sufficient to select a few passages as a representation of the general character of the whole.

* Her diary is printed in the Christian Magazine, for 1813, to which it was communicated by the late Rev. Mr. Moncrieff, minister of the secession Church in Hamilton.

Catharine Hamilton was the second daughter of William, third duke of Hamilton, and Anne, duchess of Hamilton, of whom a notice has already been given. She was born at Hamilton palace in 1662, and in 1683 was married to John Lord Murray, eldest son of the first marquis of Atholl, afterward first duke of Atholl, in the twenty-first year of her age. She enjoyed the great blessing of an eminently pious mother, who anxiously endeavored to imbue her young mind with divine truth and the fear of God. Under this religious training she greatly profited; and she appears to have been from her earliest years of a serious and contemplative turn of mind. At an early period she had acquired an extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, and an accurate knowledge of the distinguishing truths of the gospel. Nor did this knowledge merely float in the head; it deeply impressed her heart, resulting in early proofs of her genuine piety. Near the beginning of her diary there is the following entry:—

"O my soul! remember Friday the 18th of November, 1681, and Thursday the 24th, wherein the Lord thy God was pleased to give thee sweetest consolation in himself, and some assurance of his reconciled countenance at Hamilton."

This was in the nineteenth year of her age, two years previous to her marriage. But her husband, in a note on this passage, states that he had heard her say that she had given herself up to God some years before the time referred to. Thus, ere she had reached womanhood, she had surrendered herself to God, and the whole of her subsequent life evinced the entireness and the sincerity with which the surrender had been made. Christ she then chose as her Savior, God as her portion, the Divine glory as her chief end, the Divine law as her infallible guide; and from her God and Savior she sought and found grace and strength to proceed in the Christian course. It is indeed interesting to see a young lady in exalted station thus escaping the fascinations of worldly pleasure and gayety, with which the young are so apt to be entangled, and making the concerns of the soul and of eternity, which the young are so prone to defer to a future season, the chief object of her attention:—

> "Lady, that in the prime of earliest youth
> Wisely hast shunned the broad way and the green,
> And with those few art eminently seen,
> That labor up the hill of heavenly truth,
> The better part with Mary and with Ruth,
> Chosen thou hast."*

In her diary the allusions to the period of the persecution are

* Milton.

few and only casual, but they plainly indicate her detestation of the ferocious intolerance of that period, and her sympathy with those good men who, for standing up in defence of their religious rights and liberties, were banished to foreign climes, or pined in dungeons, or whose blood was shed on scaffolds. Speaking of the forfeiture of the estate of the earl of Argyll, which took place in the close of the year 1681, and of the marquis of Atholl, who raised and headed some of the troops which were afterward led against the earl, having accepted and retained some of his forfeited lands, she says, "I was always convinced that it was a most unjust forfeiture that of the late earl of Argyll, and so was grieved that my husband's father should have any part of it given to him." At the same time she records, with much satisfaction, that her husband had no hand in the oppression of the Argyll family, and would never consent to share in the spoils. "My husband," says she, "had no part in it [the forfeited estate], and did at the time disapprove of his father's meddling with it, and would never, though he pressed him to it, take anything of it."

After the persecution had closed, she took a deep interest in the prosperity of the presbyterian church; and knowing that the gospel is "the power of God unto salvation," she was particularly concerned that the parishes of Scotland should be supplied with devoted evangelical ministers. Lay patronage having been abolished at the revolution, her husband had not the power of presenting ministers to vacant parishes; but as the heritors of each parish, being protestants, and the elders, were to propose a suitable person to the congregation, to be either approved or disapproved by them,* heritors and elders, it is obvious, had great influence in the settlement of ministers; and she was extremely desirous that her husband should use this influence in procuring the settlement of pious and able gospel ministers. To prevail on him to do this, her prayers and counsel were not wanting; and, by the blessing of God, they had the desired effect. Writing at Falkland, May 9, 1691, in reference to the settlement of a minister in that place, she says: "O Lord, help me always to remember thy goodness to me. Thou hast many times prevented me with thy mercies, and disappointed my fears; and now again, lately, I have had another proof of it. Thou only knowest what a burden it was to me, the fear I was in that my husband should have obstructed a good minister being settled in this place; and now, glory to God that has given me to see him the main, nay,

* The reasons of the congregation, if they disapproved of the person proposed, were to be laid before the presbytery, which was to judge of them.

I may say the only instrument of bringing a godly minister, the Rev. Mr. John Forrest, to this place. O Lord, grant he may in the first place reap the benefit of his ministry to himself, and bless it in a special manner to *him*, that he, finding the good of it, may yet be more instrumental in bringing in good ministers to the places he has interest in."

Falkland at that time was a very irreligious and profane place. During the persecution, though there were in it a few intelligent and pious persons, who refused to conform to prelacy, and to whom Mr. John Welwood and other proscribed ministers frequently preached privately in some of their houses, yet the great body of the population had no scruples in conforming to prelacy; so that when the curate of the parish dispensed the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, a great multitude assembled, and he could boast, what many of his brethren could not do, of the large number on his communicants' roll.* In this place, where "Satan had his seat in much peace,"† where ignorance and profanity so greatly abounded, it could not be expected that the people would set much value upon the gospel, or that they would feel anything like a general desire for the settlement of an evangelical and devoted minister among them. It was therefore a very merciful providence that others, who better understood and appreciated the worth of an efficient gospel ministry, successfully exerted themselves in procuring for them this great blessing.

At this time, the subject of our notice was residing at Falkland palace, which was a favorite retreat of James VI., probably on account of his attachment to hunting, for which the adjacent forest afforded excellent opportunities, but which, after his accession to the crown of England, ceased to be a royal residence, though it was visited by Charles I. and Charles II. In 1658, it fell into the hands of the Atholl family. From the entries in her diary, Lady Murray appears residing there from January, 1689, till May, 1691.

During this period her husband was threatened with a consumption, and his health continued for more than a year in a very precarious state. This caused her deep anxiety; and her reflections in regard to his condition, evince the struggle she felt between natural affection and submission to the will of God. Writing at Cupar, sabbath, May 17, 1691, after adverting to his illness, she adds, "Thou knowest that I have this day promised if thou wilt be pleased to spare and recover him, to endeavor, through thy strength, to live more watchfully and holily; but,

* Diary of Jean Collace, Wodrow MSS., vol. xxxi., 8vo, No. 7. † Ibid.

ah! Lord, how unable am I for anything that is good, if thou assist me not. True is thy word which thou hast said, holy Jesus! that without thee we can do nothing, John xv. 5. But I shall be able to do all things, even the hardest, if thou assist. Therefore, this day, with all my soul I beg of thee, that thou wilt give me entire submission to thy holy will and pleasure, whatever it shall be: that even if thou shouldst see fit to take away the desire of mine eyes, I may lay my hand on my mouth and be silent, since it is thy doing, who canst do nothing wrong. And be with me in the midst of my troubles, and support me under them, as thou hast been graciously pleased to do this time and heretofore, or which I desire, from the bottom of my soul, to bless and magnify thy name, who canst abundantly make up the loss of all earthly comforts. Be thou, then, in place of all unto me, blessed Jesus! and let never any idol be in my heart when thou oughtest to be in the chief room. But thou hast not only allowed of a lawful love to my husband, but commanded me to have it. Therefore, it is lawful, and my duty, to pray for him. Spare him, O Lord! for Christ's sake, and bless him with long life in this world, that he may glorify thee in his generation, and be an instrument of doing good to the people among whom thou hast set him, and be a blessing to his family. O God, hear me! and grant unto me, for Christ's sake, O grant, that the shaking of this rod over my head may be a mean to bring me back to my duty, which it will be, if thou grant thy blessing with it, which I beg for thy Son's sake, for whose sake alone I desire to be heard."

She afterward records her gratitude to God for her husband's recovery to health.

Having resolved, in the summer of 1697, to go to Hamilton to visit her mother, and to enjoy the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which was to be celebrated there on the 19th of July, she spent the sabbath preceding at Edinburgh, where her husband, now earl of Tullibardine,* then was. She was careful, at all times, to sanctify the Lord's day, but this being the sabbath preceding that on which she purposed to commemorate the Lord's death in the sacrament of the supper, she endeavored in a particular manner, by meditation and prayer, to have her mind brought into a suitable frame for the solemn service which she had in prospect. "Edinburgh, Sunday, July 12, 1697. O my soul, bless God the Lord that ever he put it into thy heart to seek him, for he hath promised that those that seek him shall find him.

* He was created earl of Tullibardine, Viscount Glen Almond, and Lord Murray, for life, July 27, 1696.

This day I was reading the 16th chapter of John, verses 23, 24, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you,' &c. O gracious promises! Then I began to think what it was I would ask of God. The thought that immediately occurred to me was, Jesus Christ to dwell in my heart by faith and love. Methought, that if God would put it in my offer to have all the universe, with all the glory, honor, riches, and splendor of it, I would rather have Christ, to be my King, Priest, and Prophet, than have it all. O that he would always rule in me, and conquer all his and my enemies—my corruptions, temptations, and sins, I mean—and always assist and strengthen me to serve him faithfully and uprightly. Now, blessed Jesus, thou who hast said, 'Whatsoever we ask in thy name, the Father will give it,' this is my petition and my request: fulfil thy word to me. Thou art faithful that hast promised: therefore I desire to believe and trust that thou wilt perform. O never forsake me, nor leave me to myself. Lord, I do believe and hope that thou wilt, through the riches of free grace, and thy meritorious satisfaction, redeem and save me from eternal death and damnation; but I beg not only so, but to be redeemed from the power of sin, corruption, and vain imaginations. Oh! they are strong and stirring. O wilt thou not subdue them! Lord I desire to obey thee, and to be of good cheer, and believe that, as thou hast overcome the world, so thou wilt overcome my sins, in thy own due and appointed time. And now, Lord, thou knowest I am designing, if thou shalt permit, to partake of thy holy supper. O, prepare me for it, and let me not be an unworthy receiver. Do thou *there* meet with my soul, and renew thy covenant and faithfulness unto me, and enlarge my heart and soul, and give me supplies of grace and strength to serve thee. Oh! I have often played the harlot, and gone astray with many lovers, Jer. iii. 1. Yet thou sayest, Return again unto me, and often, as in this chapter invitest me to return. O Lord, I come unto thee, for thou art the Lord, my covenanted God. Thou knowest that, this day, I know not of any fraud or guile in this declaration. If there be, Lord, search me and try me, and discover it unto me, and take it away, and cleanse me from all mine iniquities. O let this be my mercy this day."

By the observance of the Lord's supper at this time, she was much refreshed and comforted. On the Wednesday after, she solemnly calls upon her soul not to forget to render to God thanksgiving and praise, for having dealt so bountifully and mercifully with her. "Thou hast been pleased," she says, "to give me at

this time, what thou wast graciously pleased to do, the last two times I communicated, namely, a promise in Scripture, which thou madest me formerly believe in, and rest quietly upon, which was the 16th verse of the fifteenth chapter of John: 'I have chosen you, and ordained you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain; that whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father, in my name, he may give it you.'. . . . A little before going to thy table, thou knowest what darkness and confusedness I had, though still, blessed be thy holy name! there remained the hope and confidence of thy being reconciled to me through the blood of the Lamb, represented to me at thy table, as shed for my sins; but thou wast most graciously pleased before I went to thy table, to make me go there with solid peace and satisfaction, firmly believing that thou calledst me, and that I had a right to go there. Also when I was at thy table, it was said by thy minister—I doubt not by thy guiding and directing Spirit—What is your request, and what is your petition? Then it occurred again unto me what I had done before, when reading the 23d and 24th verses of the sixteenth of John, to entreat Jesus Christ to dwell in my heart by faith, and never to leave me, nor forsake me; and there [at the Lord's table] I did, thou knowest, O Lord, with the sincerity of my soul, accept of the Lord as my covenanted God, and did most earnestly entreat the assistance of thy Holy Spirit and strength to be with me for ever, that I may never go out of thy way, but be helped to live uprightly and holily all the days of my appointed time."

Hamilton was a place endeared to her by many sacred as well as tender recollections. Not only was it her birthplace, the dwelling-place of her infancy, and her parental residence; but God there first visited her soul in mercy—an event the most important in her history, when viewed in the light of eternity. In after-life she looked back to this period with feelings of the deepest gratitude to God; and Hamilton was to her ever after a consecrated spot. "This was the place," says she, after recording her experience of the goodness of God to her on that sacramental occasion, "where thou first lookedst upon me in mercy, and saidst unto me when I was in my blood, Live, about sixteen or seventeen years ago. But, oh!" she adds, "I have been often a trangressor and revolter since; but thou wast faithful, and didst not break thy covenant with me, nor alter the thing that had gone out of thy mouth, Psalm lxxxix. 34, but rather performedst thy promise, verses 31, 32, 'That if I should break thy statutes, and keep not thy covenant, thou wouldest visit my transgressions

with the rod, and mine iniquity with stripes, but thy loving-kindness thou wouldest never take away from me, nor suffer thy faithfulness to fail.' Blessed be thy holy name, thou art the same yesterday, to-day, and for evermore, on which I rest. Amen, amen."

In the beginning of September, 1697, she and her husband left Edinburgh for London. On sabbath, September 5, they rested at Alnwick, the seat of the duke of Northumberland; and, on Saturday, the 18th of that month, they arrived at Kensington, where they remained the greater part of a year. During the time of her residence at Kensington, though, from her living at court, her obstacles to retirement and meditation were increased, there is ample evidence from her diary that much of her time was spent in reading the Scriptures, in spiritual meditation, in self-examination, and in prayer.

At the commencement of a new year it was her practice, in a particular manner to review her past life; to take an account of the manner in which she had spent the year that was gone, never to be recalled; to mark the rapidity with which she was advancing in the journey of life, and to embrace God anew, as her God for time and for eternity. On the first day of the year 1698, when in the thirty-sixth year of her age, she thus writes: "I have this day renewed again my covenant with my God, though in great weakness, yet, I hope in sincerity. I have given up myself, soul and body, to be at his disposal, as he sees meet. O that he would be pleased to give me new strength to serve him in newness of life this new year, and that as days are added to my natural life, so grace may be added to my spiritual. O that with the old year, which will never return again, I may have left off my old, sinful, crooked, and worldly ways, and never return to them again. Lord, thou who searchest the heart, and triest the reins, knowest that this is more the desire of my soul than all gold or silver, or honors or pleasures upon this earth. Therefore, O deny me not the earnest request of my soul this day, and fulfil that scripture thou broughtest to my mind this morning in prayer, 'I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee,' Heb. xiii. 5."

On the first day of a subsequent year, 1699, which was sabbath, she thus writes at Huntingtower: "This day I have been reflecting how I have spent the last year, and alas! I find great cause to mourn, for I have been very earthly-minded and carnal, and, with Martha, cumbered about many things, and have much neglected the one thing needful. Lord, pardon me, for Jesus Christ's sake; I desire to repent and be humble. O that thou

mayest help me to spend this year better, if thou sparest me. But I find all my resolutions ineffectual unless thou assist me; but if thou wilt put to thy helping hand, and give me the lively influences of thy Holy Spirit, duties will not only be easy but pleasant to me. I have been endeavoring, though, alas! in much deadness and weakness, to renew my covenant with thee; and this day I desire to confirm all that I have ever done before, to resign myself and all that is mine to thee. Holy Lord, accept of me, and give me sincerity and truth, and say thou that thou acceptest of me."

Huntingtower (formerly called Ruthven castle), at which these reflections were written, was another place where she and her husband sometimes resided. This castle, which is in the parish of Tibbermuir, is a very ancient building, though it does not appear ever to have been a place of great strength. It was formerly the seat of the Gowrie family, and the place where James VI. was some time confined by the earl of Gowrie and others, in the enterprise usually called the *Raid of Ruthven;* but the castle, with the adjoining barony, became the property of the Atholl family, by a marriage with the Tullibardine family, who had received it from James VI., after the earl of Gowrie had lost it in consequence of his conspiracy. It is now the seat of a calico-printing establishment.

To the spiritual welfare of her children, Lady Tullibardine's pious emotions, wishes, and prayers were, in an especial manner, directed. When, in May, 1698, the earl went to Oxford with their eldest son, John, purposing to leave him there at school, should it be found a suitable place for carrying on his education, she records her earnest desire not only that her son might be accomplished in every kind of secular learning, but that, as God had distinguished him by a high birth in this world, he would also confer upon him the higher distinction of being holy in character, and a promoter of true godliness. "I could not remember," she adds, "that I had dedicated him in the womb so much to God as I had done the rest; but this day [sabbath, May 22], I have resigned him, and all the rest of my children, wholly to be the Lord's. O accept of the gift, so far as they are mine to give; they are thine by creation, O let them be thine by adoption, regeneration, sanctification, and redemption. Fulfil to me, O Lord, the 127th and 128th psalms, that my children may be thy heritage, and the fruit of my womb thy reward: that thus I may be blessed out of Zion, that thus I may be blessed of those that desire to fear thy name, and that I may see the good of thy Je-

rusalem, and peace upon thy Israel. And O forget not my absent husband, the father of these children, whom I have given up unto thee, and make him say amen to the bargain; and be thou his God, and my God, and the God of our seed, from henceforth, from this day, and for ever, amen. And to thee, holy Father, blessed Redeemer, and sanctifying Spirit, be the glory and praise of all."

In June this year she returned to Scotland with the earl, who went north to attend the Scottish parliament;* and during their stay at Edinburgh, their lodgings were in the abbey. They next went to Huntingtower; and from the dates in her diary, she appears residing there from November 1698, to May 1701.

From her diary we are at no loss to discover her warm attachment to the presbyterian church of Scotland. But while espousing from conviction the presbyterian cause, she held her principles in a spirit of charity and forbearance. Hers was not a religion which would deny the validity of a Divine ordinance, because not administered in the way she judged most agreeable to the Word of God, or which would deny the Christianity of all who did not belong to the church of which she was a member. So high were the Scottish episcopalians of that day on the doctrine of episcopal succession, as to deny that presbyterian ministers were lawful ministers; maintaining that without episcopal government there could be no regular ordination of ministers, and consequently holding that all the services of the presbyterian ministers as such were so many irregular nullities. Even some of the more wild among them went so far as to declare, that those who were not of the communion of the church of England were in a state of damnation, and left to the uncovenanted mercy of God.† But these opinions the duchess justly regarded as extreme and untenable, and the remarks she makes on them, while indicating her entire want of sympathy with such extravagant sectarianism, and her regret that it should be obtruded on the church, to create division and offence, are yet marked by great mildness of temper. "Dunkeld, April 4, 1706: I was this day reflecting upon the sad divisions of this church: and now it is become a doctrine preached up by the episcopalians, that the presbyterians are not lawful ministers, and that what they do is not valid, so that those they baptize are not baptized; and that the people owe them no obedience in their ministerial authority. I was made to think it was a matter of great lamentation, and presaged very sad things

* Carstairs's State Papers, p. 381.
† Wodrow's Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 202, 400.

to this nation, and the more that it was so little laid to heart, and that there is so great a neglect, to say no worse, of the gospel which is preached so powerfully among us."

The duchess was seized with her last illness at Hamilton palace, whither she had gone on a visit to her mother, about the close of the year 1706, and she died there in January, 1707, in the forty-fifth year of her age. Her husband, to his great grief, was absent during the closing scene, having been attending the last parliament of Scotland, at Edinburgh, and not having been apprized of her dangerous condition in sufficient time to be able to reach Hamilton, to see her in life, the symptoms not having assumed a decidedly alarming aspect till shortly before her death. But by her mother, the duchess of Hamilton, and other sympathizing friends, she was waited upon with all manner of affectionate tenderness and care. To the last she retained the full possession of her faculties, and as her life had been eminently holy, so her latter end was peace. She had long been under the training of her heavenly Father, and now she maintained a tranquil resignation to his sovereign will. Her confidence as a guilty sinner—for such she felt herself to be—in the great propitiation, and in God's everlasting covenant, remained unshaken throughout the mortal conflict, producing the sure anticipation of future blessedness, and enabling her to triumph over all the terrors of the last enemy.

Not much more than two hours before her death, the medical gentleman who attended her, finding the vital powers fast sinking, informed her friends present of her dangerous situation. This was on the 9th of January, a little before ten o'clock at night. Mr. Findlater, one of the ministers of the parish of Hamilton, being immediately sent for, to administer to her religious comfort, and to pray with her, hastened to the palace; and, at the request of the duke of Atholl, he wrote a short account of the circumstances attending her death. When he came into the room, an attendant told her that Mr. Findlater was present, to whom, being in a state of great prostration, she answered, "Tell him I can not speak; desire him to pray." After prayer he spoke to her a few words encouraging her against the terror of death, from the nature of God's covenant with her, and her interest in it. She then regretted her want of strength to speak, that she might show what interest she had in the covenant, and what God had done for her soul. She owned that she had frequently renewed her covenant with God, and given her consent to it, and that now this was her greatest comfort. Her want of strength to declare

to those about her, so fully as she desired, her experience of the goodness of God, and her calm and brightening hope of endless felicity, was indeed her greatest grief. This she regretted not only to Mr. Findlater, but also to her nurse who attended her, to whom she called frequently a little before her death, "O pray, pray that I may have a little ease, that I may declare God's goodness to me." Having withdrawn for a short time to the next room, Mr. Findlater returned to her chamber, and, thinking she had become more oppressed, asked her how it was with her. She answered, "Very weak—and dying." But she knew in whom she had believed, and seemed to comfort herself with these words, which the minister quoted, and which she repeated after him, "My flesh and my heart faileth: but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever." She then desired him to pray. He asked her what he should pray for to her; what was that one thing she would seek from the Lord, above all things. "Pray," said she, "but for as much strength as that I may declare the goodness of God to me;" straining herself apparently, and speaking with a more elevated voice than formerly. He asked her whether she desired to live, or to die and be with Christ, which was best of all. She said, "*That* is best of all indeed." In time of prayer he heard her repeat some words of scripture after him; particularly when mention was made of the covenant being ordered in all things, and sure, she said, "*That* is all my salvation and all my desire;" which, says Mr. Findlater, "were the last words she spoke in my hearing. Though her body was greatly pained," he adds, "yet her soul seemed full of the joy of the Lord, which is unspeakable and full of glory." He again left her chamber a second time. During his absence, her mother, seeing her weak, asked her if she had anything to say to her. She answered—and the answer shows how unabated affection for dear surviving earthly friends may mingle with the calm resignation that bids farewell to life, and with the joy arising from the certain prospect of everlasting blessedness—"Dear mother, be kind to my Lord," which were the last words she spoke, as the duke feelingly records. When Mr. Findlater came into her room the third time, she could speak none, and in a moment or two after he had again prayed with her, she fell asleep in Christ, about a quarter of an hour after twelve o'clock at night.

The duke of Atholl was much affected by the death of his beloved wife, of whose great worth he was deeply sensible, and it enhanced his sorrow that he enjoyed not the melancholy satisfaction of seeing her on her deathbed. At the close of her diary

he thus records the mournful dispensation : "It hath pleased the great and only wise God, who doeth what he sees fit in heaven and in earth, to take from me, to himself, my dear wife, Catharine, duchess of Atholl, and in her my chiefest earthly comfort. She died at Hamilton between the ninth and tenth of January, 1707, between twelve and one o'clock, Friday morning. I was at that time in Edinburgh, attending the last parliament of Scotland, and was not timeously advertised of her dangerous condition, so that I wanted the satisfaction of being with her in her last hours, which was an extraordinary great addition to my irreparable loss. Mr. Findlater, minister of Hamilton, was sent for but two hours before her death, till which time the doctor that was with her did not declare she was in any danger. I desired Mr. Findlater to put in writing what she had said concerning the state of her soul ; which shows that she died in the same holy disposition and frame in which she had lived."

As the duke highly esteemed and loved the duchess while she lived, so he continued to cherish her memory after she was gone. From several parts of her diary, there is reason to believe that he was not neglectful of the most important interests, and that his religious impressions were very much owing to her prayers, counsel, and example. He greatly valued the memorials of her Christian experience and exercise contained in her diary, which she expressly left as a dying legacy to him, in the hope that he might profit by it ; and the solemn and affectionate thought of her virtues and graces, now when she had entered eternity, enforced with new power the motives to religion. He now seemed, as it were, to hear her in that document, speaking to him from the eternal world, bidding him make the salvation of the soul the one thing needful, and follow in the path which had conducted her to immortal happiness. Even ten years subsequently to her death, he employed himself in transcribing a copy from the original, written with her own hand, prefixing to the copy the following notice : "This book, with some other papers written by my dear wife, were left by her to me just before her death. She recommended them to me by a paper she caused me to write at that time, calling them her treasure, which she desired I might make good use of. — Dunkeld, March, 1717. "ATHOLL."

In politics the duke was shifting, but he continued to his death warmly attached to the government and worship of the church of Scotland. "He was a most zealous presbyterian," says Douglas, "and, after he joined the cavaliers, still courted and preserved his interest with the presbyterian ministers, professing

always to be firm to their kirk-government, hearing them always in their churches, and patronizing them much more than those of the episcopal persuasion, which induced many of the tories to doubt his sincerity."* His continuing to adhere steadily to the presbyterian church, after joining the cavaliers, was so inconsistent, that it could hardly fail of rendering him an object of distrust to the party which he joined. But the inconsistency is easily explained, when we take into account that he was probably not a stranger to true religion. Circumstances prevailed in making him desert the whigs, among whom he very likely saw not a little of the selfishness, corruption, and want of principle, which have often disgraced politicians of all classes; but the religious element kept him close to the church of Scotland, to which almost all the piety of Scotland was at that time confined. In the former case, he may be said to have acted according to early educational influence; in the latter, according to the happier influence which his duchess had exerted upon him while she lived, and which her memory continued to exercise upon him after her death.

* Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 150.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—(p. 49.)

Letter of Mr. Robert M'Ward to Lady Ardross.

[This letter, which is in vol. lx., folio, No. 31, of the Wodrow MSS., is in M'Ward's handwriting, and he describes it "A double of a line to the Lady Ardross when I was in prison, and she was to leave the town."]

"Worthy Madam: All that I can do (neither can I do that to purpose), is only to acknowledge a debt to your ladyship, which I am not able to pay; but I know you were pleased upon such an account to concern and interest yourself in that business, as, when I can not requite it, He who takes notice of less, and will not suffer a cup of cold water to want its reward, will remember this your labor of love, and make it a fruit which shall abound to your account. I hope, madam, however your affairs have, by calling you hence, deprived your ladyship of the occasion and me of the advantage of your interceding with men in my behalf, yet ye will not forget to deal with God in my behalf, that now, when it comes to the swellings of Jordan, I may not sink nor succumb, and desert a cause upon which [I] am obliged not only to venture my life, but some way soul also, which is by sealing that poor testimony with my blood, if he call me to it, though he should suffer me to die in the dark, and never say to my soul he could save me."

No. II.—(p. 96.)

The Marchioness of Argyll's Interview with Middleton, after the Condemnation of her Husband.

In another part of his Analecta (vol. i., p. 73), Wodrow records a few additional facts in reference to this interview. "December 6, 1705. As to what goes before November 11, Mr. Robert Muir gives the very same account that he had from Mr. James Drummond, the Lady Argyll's chaplain, with this variation, that the king told Middleton while yet a gentleman at Breda, that he behooved, when he went over to England (it was a very little before his restoration), he behooved to be his commissioner in Scotland, [to] get these three things done. And he told him this would anger the nobility, and refused, till for three days the king looked down on him; and when he asked him the reason,

he said he would still do so till he went in with his former proposal, which he did. And, therefore, says he, to the Lady Argyll, 'I can do you no service.' And he told her that purposely he had shifted speaking to her; and that he kept spies on her servants when they came to the abbey, so that, when they called for him, he was still not to be found; and at this time she had surprised him. This, Mr. Drummond heard her tell frequently."

No. III.—(p. 100.)

Marchioness of Argyll, and her Son the Earl of Argyll.

Her son, the earl of Argyll, afterward became a great courtier, took the declaration abjuring the covenants, and in other respects complied with the evil courses of the time. This was deeply regretted by his mother, and the best friends of the Argyll family, who were ready to exclaim, "*O tempora! O mores!*" But she never lost hopes of his returning to his father's principles, as appears from a letter of Mr. James Stirling, minister of Barony, Glasgow, to a brother minister whose name is unknown, dated Glasgow, May 5, 1722, in which he says: "I was yesterday visiting Mr. John Stewart's eldest son, who I truly fear may be dying. His mother, Mrs. Stewart, told me a passage which she had from her honest father, John Ritchie, which I suppose ye may have known, and she said he told it to her several times, that he was very intimate with that choice elect lady, my lady marchioness of Argyll. He was one day with her in her chamber, and he said very freely to her, 'Madam, I apprehend that your son the earl of Argyll's going on in such a way, with the court of this time, will be grieving to your ladyship.' The sun was shining then very brightly in that chamber where he and my lady was, and she answered John Ritchie thus: 'John, I am as clear[ly] and fully persuaded as ye now clearly see the sun shining in this chamber, that my son will have a saving change wrought upon him before he die, and that he will return to his father's way, and that he will be brought to suffer for it.' Mrs. Stewart said to me that her father told her this, that I now write to you, many times—as good as twenty times—and that her father was very great with 'that noble prince' (as worthy Mr. John Carstairs used to call him), the marquis of Argyll. I heard once something like this, but never got such a document for it as I got yesterday."*

No. IV.—(p. 128.)

Letter of Mrs. John Carstairs to her Husband.

The letter which it was intended to insert here having appeared in the "Christian Instructor" for 1840 (p. 55), is omitted to make room for some original papers.

* Letters to Wodrow, vol. x, 4to, No. 170, MSS. in Advocates' Library.

No. V.—(p. 147.)

Suspected Corruption of Clarendon's History.

Wodrow, writing in 1731, says: "Mr. J. Hamilton tells me that he had what follows from the duchess of Hamilton's own mouth; the old duchess I mean, the heir to the family; and so, I think, it may be depended on. He says Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs were published a little before Clarendon's History, first printed 1710, at Oxford; that it was then generally believed that the edition of Bishop Guthrie was much altered from the bishop's papers, by the influence of the gentlemen of Oxford, who had the publishing of Clarendon in their hands; that when he was talking of this with the duchess, and the approaching edition of Clarendon, her grace told him that when she was at court, after the restoration; when the earl of Clarendon was writing his History, he came and visited her, and told her that he knew her father very well, and took him to be one of the honestest men of his acquaintance. He added, her father had been abused and very ill used by the party writers, before and since his death; and that now he was writing a history of those times, he was willing to do the duke all the justice in his power, and desired her to furnish him with any papers which might give light to his actings. Accordingly, when she came down to Scotland, her grace called for Dr. Burnet, and implored him to rummage all the papers in Hamilton that related to her father, and to lay out what he reckoned might be of use to the earl; and she sent up by an express a large bundle of papers, relative to her father, to England. That, next time she went to court, a year or two after, the earl of Clarendon came and waited upon her at London, thanked her for the papers she had communicat to him, and returned them all safe. He told her he was now perfectly satisfied as to her father's character, and that he was as honest a man as breathed, and would give it fully and fairly to the world; only, there remained one particular about which he was not yet so clear as he could wish. The duke's enemies alleged that he brought over ten thousand stand of arms from Holland, and seemed to vouch it; they pretended further, that he himself had a design on the crown, to accomplish which he got these arms. This, the duchess said, touched her very nearly, and she immediately resolved to send a servant express to Hamilton, and ordered a new search to be made at Hamilton, particularly for anything that related to ten thousand stand of arms; and, very happily, the servant brought her the original commission, under the king's own hand, to bring so many stand of arms for his service! This the duchess immediately sent to the earl. When he saw and read it, he came back with it to her grace, and said: 'Now, madam, I am satisfied in every point; and I believe and am assured your father was one of the best, sincerest, and honestest persons, of that time; and I will give him, as is my duty, a just and fair character to the world.' This passed before Clarendon was published. Expectations were great enough when the

earl's History was a-printing. As soon as it came down, the duchess got it and read it. When Mr. Hamilton saw her after she had got the printed Clarendon, he asked her how she liked it. She answered, with some concern: 'I have read it, and I and my family are greatly abused in it; and, I apprehend, this is the fruit of the earl's MS. its lying twenty years in the hands of the gentlemen at Oxford'—and she verily believed that the earl's original History was grossly vitiated."*

No. VI.—(p. 282.)

Indictment of Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey.

The justiciary court having met at Edinburgh, on the 17th of January, 1681, the judges on the bench being Lords Richard Maitland of Duddop, justice-clerk, James Foulis of Colintoun, Robert Nairn of Strathurd, David Balfour of Forret, David Falconer of Newtoun, and Roger Hog of Harcars; the two martyrs were brought to the bar, and their indictment was read, an extract of which, from the records of the justiciary court, we here subjoin:—

"*Intran.*
"Isabel Alison,
"Marion Harvey, } Prisoners,

Indicted and accused. That where notwithstanding by the common law, the law of nations, laws and acts of parliament of this kingdom and constant practice thereof, the rising, joining, and assembling together in arms of any number of his majesty's subjects, the entering into leagues or bonds with foreigners, or among themselves, without and contrary to his majesty's command, warrant, and authority, and the abetting, assisting, receipting, intercommuning, and keeping correspondence with such rebels, supplying or furnishing them with meat, drink, &c., are most detestable, horrid, heinous, and abominable crimes of rebellion, treason, and lese-majesty, and are punishable with forfaulture of life, lands, heritages, and escheat of their moveables; and by the 129th act, 8th parliament, King James VI., the royal power and authority in the person of the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, over all estates spiritual and temporal, within this realm, is ratified, approven, and perpetually confirmed, and it is thereby statute and ordained that his highness, his heirs and successors, by themselves and their council are, and in time to come shall be, judges competent to all persons his highness's subjects, of whatever estate, degree, function, or condition they be, of spiritual or temporal, in all matters wherein they, or any of them shall be apprehended, summoned, or charged to answer to such things as shall be speired at them by our sovereign lord, or his council, and that none of them that shall happen to be apprehended, called, or summoned to the effect aforesaid, presume or take upon hand to decline the judgment of his highness, his heirs, and successors, or their council,

* Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iv., pp. 299–301.

under the pain of treason. And by the 10th act, 10th parliament, King James VI., it is statute and ordained, that all his highness's subjects content themselves in quietness and dutiful obedience to his highness and his authority, and that none of them presume nor take upon hand publicly to disclaim, or privately to speak or write any purpose of reproach or slander to his majesty's person, estate, or government, or to deprave his laws and acts of parliament, or misconstrue his proceedings, whereby any misliking may be moved betwixt his highness, or his nobility, and loving subjects in time coming, under the pain of death, to be execut upon them with all rigor, as seditious and wicked instruments, enemies to his highness and the common weal of this realm. And by the 12th act of the same parliament of King James VI., it is statute and ordained that in time coming no league nor bonds be made among his majesty's subjects of any degree upon whatsomever color [or] pretence, without his highness's and his successor's privity, and consent had and obtained thereto, under the pain to be holden and execut as movers of sedition. And by the 2d act, 2d session of his majesty's first parliament, it is statute and ordained, that if any person or persons shall hereafter plot, contrive, or intend death or destruction to the king's majesty, or any bodily harm tending to death or destruction, or to deprive, depose, or suspend him from the style, honor, and kingly name of the imperial crown of this kingdom, or any others his majesty's dominions, or to suspend him from the exercise of his royal government; and shall, by writing, printing, or other malicious and advised speaking, express and declare such their treasonable intentions, after such persons being, upon sufficient probation, legally convict thereof, shall be deemed declared and adjudged traitors, and shall suffer forfaulture of life, lands, and goods, as in the cases of high treason: NEVERTHELESS, it is of verity that ye, the said Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey, have presumed to commit and are guilty of the said crimes, in so far as ye have oft and diverse times receipt, maintained, supplied, intercommuned, and kept correspondence with Mr. Donald Cargill, Mr. Thomas Douglas, Mr. John Welsh, the deceased Mr. Richard Cameron, the bloody and sacrilegious murderers of the late archbishop of St. Andrews, and sundry other notorious traitors: have heard the said ministers preach up treason and rebellion, and they and their associates having formed and devised a treasonable paper, called the Fanatics' New Covenant, whereby they covenant and bind themselves to overthrow his majesty's power and authority, most treasonably asserting that the hands of our king and most part of the rulers have been against the throne of the Lord, the purity and power of religion and godliness, and have degenerat into tyranny, have manifestly rejected God, his service and reformation as a slavery, have governed contrary to all laws, Divine and human, exercised tyranny and arbitrary government, oppressed men in their consciences and civil rights, used free subjects (Christians and reasonable men) with less discretion than their beasts; most horridly and treasonably declaring the king's government to be but a lustful rage, exercised with as little right,

reason, and with more cruelty than in beasts, and the king himself, and the governors under him, to be public grassators and public judgments, which all men ought as earnestly to labor to be free of as of sword, famine, or pestilence raging among them; declaring themselves obliged to execute God's judgment upon them, and that to uphold them is to uphold Satan's kingdom and to bear down Christ's; most solemnly, avowedly, and treasonably (therefore) rejecting the king's most sacred majesty, their gracious sovereign, a native prince, and those associat with him from being their rulers, declaring them henceforth to be no lawful rulers, and that they neither owe nor should yield any willing obedience to them; and also declaring themselves as much bound in allegiance to devils as to them, they being (as they most treasonably say) the devil's vicegerents and not God's; and likewise the said monstrous traitors having published an execrable declaration at the market cross of Sanquhar, upon the 22d of June last, whereby they most treasonably disown their sovereign and native prince, whom they call Charles Stewart, who hath been tyrannizing on the throne of Scotland, and government thereof forfaulted (as they treasonably pretend) several years since by his perjury and breach of covenant with God and his church, and other reasons therein mentioned; most treasonably, therefore, denouncing and declaring war against their sacred sovereign (whom they call a tyrant and usurper) and all the men of his practices, as enemies to the Lord Jesus Christ, his house and covenants, and against such as have strengthened him, sided with him, or any ways acknowledged him in his usurpation and tyranny, civil and ecclesiastic; as also the said traitorous rebels having entered into and subscribed a treasonable bond of combination against their sacred sovereign, wherein they openly and avowedly disown him as a perfidious covenant-breaker, usurper of the royal prerogatives of Jesus Christ, and encroacher upon the liberties of the church, a stated opponent to Jesus Christ himself (the Mediator), and to the free government of his house, as the said covenant declaration, and bond of combination, containing therein sundry other treasonable articles and clauses, in themselves at length purport; the which horrid and treasonable papers, abominable and unchristian expressions, principles and opinions above-mentioned therein contained, ye, the said Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey, have judicially, in presence of the lords justice-clerk, and commissioners of justiciary, owned and adhered to, the same being read to you, because (as ye say) ye see nothing in them against the Scriptures, and have most treasonably declined the king's majesty's authority, and the authority of the lords justiciary, because (as ye most falsely and treasonably say) they carry the sword against the Lord. And ye, the said Marion Harvey, have most treasonably approven of the execrable excommunication used by Mr. Donald Cargill against his sacred sovereign at Torwood, upon the —— day of [Sept.] last, and likewise owned and approved of the killing of the archbishop of St. Andrews as lawful, declaring that he was as miserable a wretch as ever betrayed the kirk of Scotland; of the which treasonable crimes above mentioned, ye, and ilk ane of you, are actors,

art and part, which being found by an assize, ye ought to be punished with forfaulture of life, land, and goods, to the terrors of others to commit the like hereafter."

No. VII.—(P. 302)

Apprehension of Hume of Graden, and the Scuffle in which Thomas Ker, of Heyhope, was killed.

This scene is particularly described (but who the writer was we are unable to determine) in a paper among the Wodrow MSS., entitled, "A true account of the cruel murder of Thomas Ker, brother to the laird of Cherrytrees, according to the relation of some who were present, which I find among my father's papers, as follows: I come now to the tragical passage of our dear friend's murder, Thomas Ker, Cherrytrees' brother. Graden Hume, being with my Lord Hume, at dinner, was speaking somewhat freely to him, and after dinner, my lord takes him aside, and tells him he might take him if he would, and that the king had sent an express to Colonel Struthers to apprehend all vagrant Scots that were in Northumberland. Whereupon Graden, without taking leave, came straight to Crookum, where were Thomas Ker, young Bukum, Henry Hall, Alexander Hume, and Hector Aird (who were then sheltering, the persecution being now so hot in their bounds), and presseth them to go from that place, and not to stay all night; which they did, though late. But Graden, being wearied, lies down in their bed, and at midnight the party comes and apprehends Graden, and carries him first to my Lord Hume, and from thence to Hume castle. Our friends, hearing of it, send to advertise some more friends for his rescue; and they go to Crookum, where the tryst was set to wait the party's coming that way. However, there came none but whom I have named, and after they had stayed a little at the place, they are advertised that the party was gone another way, which put them to consult what to do next. In the meantime comes there one telling them Struthers is at hand with his party. They, not judging it could be so, thinking he had been gone with Graden, Ker comes to the door, and while he is walking there, smoking his pipe, he discovers the party, and immediately calls his friends to draw their horses, and draws his own first, resolving not to be taken, but thought to have taken a by-way, thinking Struthers would have passed them. However, when Ker mounts, one Squire Martins, Sir John Martins, the mayor of Newcastle's son, Struthers' nephew, would by all means challenge our friend, contrary [to] the rest, their inclination, and coming up to Ker, asked who he was. He answered, he was a gentleman. He says, 'Be taken, dog.' Ker says, 'Where is your order?' Upon which he drew his pistol, and shot Ker in the belly. Immediately Ker fired, and shot him dead through the head; and after, Ker, finding himself deadly wounded, ran upon the party, and fired his other pistol, and then drew his sword, and fought while he was able to sit on horseback, and then dropped down, yet wrestled on his knees, and prayed,

while the rest were fighting, till his breath was gone. Our friends fought while they were able. Alexander Hume is run through the body; Henry Hall is shot through the arm: all sorely wounded, but hopes of their recovery. The English, some mortally wounded, and two killed, with two of their best horses, valued at 100 pieces. Our friends, being disabled, retired, and the enemy durst not pursue them. Struthers comes to Ker while his breath was hardly out, and he and all of them run their swords in him, and takes by the heels and trails him through the puddle, and then flings him on a dunghill. They would not let bury his corpse, till a party of friends went in and brought it away. This is the truest account of it I can learn."*

No. VIII.—(P. 314.)

The Fiery Cross† carried through the Shire of Moray, in 1679.

That the design in carrying the fiery cross through the shire at this time was to prevent the heritors and militia from going out to assist the king's host, was an allegation which, after the closest investigation, remained unproved. To protect the country from the M'Donalds seems to have been the sole object of those with whom its mission originated on that occasion, though they may have been misinformed as to the hostile intention of the M'Donalds. But of this the reader may judge for himself, from the evidence collected on this subject by the commissioners of the privy council at Elgin, some years after, and which is as follows:—

"February 3, 1685.

"In presence of the earls of Errol and Kintore, and Sir George Monro.

"Alexander Brodie, of Lethin, being solemnly sworn, upon his great oath, depones he received a letter from his daughter, the Lady Grant, about the time of the going out of the king's host, informing him of the M'Donalds coming down upon the country, and that the laird of

* Wodrow MSS., vol xxxii., folio, No. 175.

† The use of the fiery cross by the highland chieftains, for summoning their clans to a place of rendezvous upon any sudden or important emergency was common in the olden time. It was also called *Crean Tarigh*, or the *Cross of Shame*, because disobedience to what the symbol implied, entered infamy. One of the ends of the horizontal piece was either burnt or burning, and a piece of linen or white cloth stained with blood, was suspended from the other end: and then the signal was delivered from hand to hand, till it had passed through the whole territories of the clan, which it did with incredible celerity. "At the sight of the fiery cross, every man from sixteen years old to sixty, capable of bearing arms, was obliged instantly to repair in his best accoutrements to the place of rendezvous. He who failed to appear, suffered the extremities of fire and sword, which were emblematically denounced to the disobedient, by the bloody and burned marks upon this warlike signal"—Sir Walter Scott. On June 9, 1685, by order of the privy council, this signal was sent through the west of Fife and Kinross as nearer to Stirling, that all betwixt sixty and sixteen might rise and oppose Argyll and his forces.—Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i., p. 364. This is, perhaps, the last instance in which the fiery cross was sent round by the command of the government. It often made its circuit, by the direction of the highland chieftains, during the rebellions of 1715 and 1745.—Brown's History of the Highlands, vol. i., p. 129.

Grant was gone through the country among his friends to advise what to do; and depones that being called to a burial at Auldearn, he showed the letter to the gentlemen present, and thereafter, at a meeting of the gentry of the shires of Moray and Nairn, it was resolved to send Captain Stewart express to the earl of Moray, to advise what to do; and this is the truth, as he shall answer to God; depones the earl of Moray sent an answer, and the militia was ordered to come out with all diligence. "ALEXANDER BRODIE.

"ALEXANDER TULLOCH, of Tannahies, being solemnly sworn, ... depones, at the time the heritors were called out to the king's host, the time of Bothwell bridge, there came a fiery cross through the country from the west, which surprised the people, and put them in a fright, as if Mr. M'Donald were coming to invade the country, which was altogether false, and supposed by the loyal party to be done of purpose by the disaffected, to impede the heritors from going to the king's host. "ALEXANDER TULLOCH.

"JOHN CUMMING of Logie, being solemnly sworn, depones, when he was busy convening the militia, and furnishing them with ammunition, there came an alarm of a fiery cross through Moray, as if it were to be invaded by the M'Donald's, which, he apprehends, was to interrupt the king's service, and hinder the militia and heritors to go out to the king's host, there being no such thing as M'Donalds invading the country: Depones it was reported to have come from the highlands and from Strathspey. "JOHN CUMMING.

"GEORGE KAY, procurator-fiscal of Moray, being sworn, upon oath, depones he saw the fiery cross, that came through Moray, the time of the going out of the king's host, as the same came to Elgin: Depones it was a fiery stick, kindled at both ends, and set upon a pole, and carried in a man's hand, and so affrighted the country, and the town of Elgin, that they kept a guard of thirty men nightly: Depones the name of the person who carried the fiery cross from this, is [John] Proctor, as he remembers, but knows not who brought [it]; Depones the bearer of the cross alarmed the country with the invasion of the M'Donalds, but never anything followed thereupon, nor did the M'Donalds come down: Depones the cross came from Strathspey or the braes of Moray, from the west, as they were informed; and this is the truth, as he shall answer to God. "GEORGE KAY.

"SIR ALEX. INNES of Carlestoun, depones he heard of a fiery cross that came through Moray the time they were going to the king's host, and that Robert Innes, por. [portioner] of Urquhart, took it out of the man's hand that brought it there, and waved it before the minister, fore [before] the time of sermon: Depones he heard it came from Calder, or Lethin, or Old Brodie, and he heard the other night, that Lethin took out a paper at that time, which he said was a letter from Strathspey, which informed him that the M'Donalds were coming down upon the country: Depones the M'Donalds were not near the country, nor

near those places from which the alarm came, but all was designed of purpose to fright the country, and hinder them to go out to the king's host, as he heard. "ALEXANDER INNES.

"Elgin, February 4, 1685.

"In presence of the earls of Errol and Kintore, and Sir George Monro.

"JOHN PROCTOR, tailor in Elgin, depones he was the man that carried the fiery cross from this town to Urquhart, and that he got it from the magistrates, and that the man that brought it did alarm the country, as if the M'Donalds were presently coming down to slay them; all which so affrighted the town that they kept strong guards: Depones he heard it came from the highlands and Strathspey, and that it was designed, as has been since believed, to hinder the people to go out to the king's host: Depones it came from the kirk of Birney; and this is the truth, as he shall answer to God: Depones he can not write.

"ERROL.
"KINTORE.
"G. MONRO.

"ALEXANDER KINNAIRD of Culbin, depones . . . that about the time they were going out to the king's host, there was a report and alarm raised, as if the M'Donalds were coming down to invade the country; whereupon there was a meeting of the gentry convened at Auldearn, among whom his father was one, and that there Lethin took out a letter which, he said, came from Strathspey, which informed him that the M'Donalds were coming down; whereupon the gentlemen took care for their security, and his father closed up his papers in a stone wall: Depones about that time there came a fiery cross through the country, which gave them the same alarm, and that there was no such thing as the M'Donalds coming down, but all was done on design to keep the people from going out to the king's host.

"ALEXANDER KINNAIRD.

"THOMAS KINNAIRD, elder, of Culbin, being solemnly sworn, depones that there was a meeting of the gentry convened at Auldearn by Lethin, at which most of the gentlemen in that part of the country were present, and there Lethin produced a letter which, he said, had come from Strathspey, from Grant, which informed him that the M'Donalds were coming down to invade the country, and there he proposed and advised that the gentlemen should stay at home and guard the country, and not go out to the king's host: Depones the letter was read, and he remembers there was this expression in it, that M'Donald said he should dine at Brodie, and sup at the seaside; which affrighted the country; and that, at the same time, there went a fiery cross through the country, which gave the same alarm: Depones he himself, and several of the gentry present, opposed the motion of staying at home, and that, having secured his papers in a stone wall, he and his son and several of his servants went out against the rebels: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God. "THOMAS KINNAIRD.

"Francis Wiseman, one of the bailies of Elgin, being solemnly sworn, depones that the very sabbath before the people went out against the rebels, there came a fiery cross from Birney to Elgin, and that it was talked that it had come from Knockandoch to Birney, and that it alarmed them that Mr. M'Donald was presently coming down upon the country, which so frighted them that they kept strong guards about the town: Depones it came to Elgin in the hands of a servant of John Dikeside's as he was informed: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God. "Francis Wiseman.

"John Innes of Dikeside, in Birney parish, depones that the time the heritors were going out to Bothwell bridge against the rebels there was a fiery cross that came through the country, to alarm the country, as if the M'Donalds were coming down to take all away, which so affrighted the people, that it put a stop to the going out of the gentry and militia against the rebels for eight days: Depones the cross came down from Gedloch, by a servant of John Leslie's of Middletoun, to him, and the deponent gave it to Peter Kynes, his servant, who carried it in to the provost of Elgin: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God. "John Innes.

"Mr. John Cumming, minister at Birney, being solemnly sworn, depones that the time the people were making ready to go against the rebels, there came a fiery cross through the country, from Rothes to the parish of Birney, and they said it came from Strathspey to that, and that the alarm went that M'Donald was in the braes of Badenoch with men in arms, or thereabout, and that the laird of Grant was making ready, and raising men to oppose him; and depones, this so affrighted the country, that they were afraid to leave their houses to go out to the king's host, as he judged: And this is all he presently remembers, and the truth, as he shall answer to God.

"John Cumming, minister at Birney.

"Mr. John Leslie, minister at Rothes, depones there came a fiery cross from the parish of Dallas to the parish of Rothes, the time the heritors were going out against the rebels, which strangely alarmed the country, as if M'Donald were coming with a thousand men to invade the country, and it was a falsehood, and was looked upon by honest men to be done of purpose and design to retard the king's service: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God. "John Leslie.

"Archibald Grant of Balmhoin, solemnly sworn, depones he lives in Knockandoch parish, and that the time the heritors and militia were convening to go out against the rebels at Bothwell bridge, there came a fiery cross from Kirkdals, which is in Knockandoch parish, down the country, to his house, and from that to Rothes, and down to the sea: Depones the cross went from house to house, and was changed from hand to hand, to give the quicker alarm, and that the report went with it that M'Donald was in the hills coming down to invade the country, which strongly affrighted the people, and retarded their going out

against the rebels, but the deponent himself went to serve the king's host, against the rebels: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God. "ARCHIBALD GRANT."*

No. IX.—(p. 314.)

Desired Extension of the Indulgence to Morayshire.

THOUGH no active measures were taken at Edinburgh by the commissioners referred to in the text, for the extension of the indulgence to Morayshire, the entertainment of the question by the presbyterians in the north, was displeasing to the government, and the commissioners of the privy council which met at Elgin, in 1685, made particular inquiries as to this matter. The depositions of such as were examined in regard to it, extracted from the records of their proceedings, may be interesting to the reader. They are as follows:—

"Elgin, Feb. 10, 1685.

"In presence of the earls of Errol and Kintore, and Sir George Monro.

"SIR HUGH CAMPBELL of Calder, being solemnly sworn, depones that about July 10, 1679, he being come to Brodie to visit his uncle, he can not say whether he was called or came accidentally, his uncle being then unwell, he used to come oft and visit him: Depones when he came there he found several gentlemen, such as Grant, Grange, Lethin, Kinsterie, Milntoun, Windiehill, young Innes, and Donald Campbell, the deponent's brother, and some others, to whom and to the deponent Brodie told that he was informed that the king's majesty had granted an indulgence to those be-south Tay, and that if it were known that any there had a mind to have the like indulgence, it might be obtained. It was spoke of whether a petition might be drawn to that purpose, but the deponent said it was against law, and was not to be done. The next thing was thought on was to send a gentleman or two to Edinburgh, to see what was in the matter, and whether such a thing was feasible, and it was proposed that young Innes and Donald Campbell should go. But they excusing themselves at that time, Brodie desired Grange to go; but he declined it, or to do any anything by himself, although he seemed to have some other affairs at Edinburgh. Whereupon Brodie pressed the deponent to go with him, in respect he knew he was to go very shortly, however; which, at Brodie's desire, he condescended to do, and to give him his advice, when upon the place, if he could see that anything could be done without giving offence. Whereupon there was a letter written, and left blank upon the back, that Grange and the deponent might fill up any person's name there they should think fit, if they saw any ground to think that their desires could be granted. The letter was but short, narrating what we heard, and desiring to inform himself whether an indulgence might be obtained; and the only argument as he remembers proposed in the letter

* Warants of Privy Council.

was that none of the subscribers had ever been at any field-conventicle, and had never joined in arms, and never should join in arms with any person who had, or should take arms against the king's person, or authority: Depones likewise, that the deponent does not mind how much money should have been collected for the expense of any who should [have] been employed in case the affair could have been prosecute, but the deponent well remembers that Donald Campbell, his brother, did collect five hundred pounds Scots, and some little odds, which money, with the letter above mentioned, was given to the laird of Grange; and within a few days after the deponent and he came to Edinburgh, Grange asked the deponent what to do with the letter, and he advised him to destroy it, which was accordingly done; and when Grange came home, leaving the deponent at Edinburgh, he left the five hundred pounds, and odd money, with the deponent, to be given to his brother, who was not then arrived at Edinburgh, and accordingly the deponent held compt with his brother anent it. This is all he remembers of the affair, according to his present knowledge and memory, as he shall answer to God: Depones the letter was subscribed (for what the deponent knows) by all that were present, and that the deponent himself did contribute no money: Depones Mr. Robert Martin came to the deponent, and dealt with him, that he might be employed to negotiate to obtain the indulgence, but the deponent absolutely declined to employ him, but caused destroy the letter relating to it, as is above said. "H. C. of Calder.

"Ludovick Grant, of that ilk, being solemnly sworn, depones he was at Brodie eight or ten days after their return from Bothwell or thereby, where there were present Calder, Grange, Lethin, Innes younger, and other gentlemen, and a letter was drawn and signed by them, but not direct on the back, but to have been backed for any of the statesmen should be thought most fit, that they might deal for procuring the indulgence to be extended to this country, and the letter was given to Calder and Grange, who carried it south, and the affair was referred to their management: Depones there was money to have been given to Calder and Grange, for their expense in going to Edinburgh. And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.

"Ludovick Grant.

"Thomas Dunbar of Grange, being solemnly sworn, depones that Innes younger told the deponent, about the 12th of July, 1679, that there was an indulgence granted to the west and south of Scotland, and within a few days thereafter he had occasion to be at my Lord Brodie's house seeing him, where there was Innes younger, Calder, Grant, Kilravock, Lethin, Milntoun, and Donald Campbell; and being discoursing anent the indulgence, old Brodie told that he had got some advertisement that there was indulgence granted, and thought, if we moved any such thing, we might have the like favor granted to us: whereupon the gentlemen above named resolved that they would draw a letter; which accordingly was done, the contents whereof were in

these terms: That forasmuch as his majesty had been graciously pleased to grant indulgence to the south and west parts of Scotland, and who had been in actual rebellion against his majesty, and kept field conventicles, the like whereof had never been in these parts of Scotland, and we hoped there never should be such practices found among us, that therefore their lordships would be pleased to try if his majesty would be pleased to extend his gracious favor to this place of the country. This letter was left blank upon the back as to the address, till it should be considered whether it should have been addressed to my lord chancellor or my lord secretary. Young Innes and Donald Campbell were desired to go south with the letter. Donald Campbell could not go at that time, and Innes would not go without him. Whereupon the laird of Calder and the deponent being going, however, the letter was given to them, that they might try what might be gotten done in the matter; and they having come to Edinburgh, he thinks before the 20th of July, found that there was no place for moving in that matter, but rather that the indulgence granted was like to be retracted, they did not move at all, less or more, but tore the letter, and came home how soon they had done their business: Depones Mr. Robert Martin would be intruding himself upon the employment, but they gave him none: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.

"THOMAS DUNBAR.

"FRANCIS BRODIE of Milntoun, being solemnly sworn, depones that about the beginning of July, 1679, being at Brodie at a meeting where there were present Grant, Grange, Calder, Innes younger, Kilravock, and some others (but remembers not if Pitgavenie was there), there was a letter drawn which he conceives was direct to the chancellor, or lords of privy council, and a warrant or instructions given to young Innes and Donald Campbell, to go south, to deal and negotiate that this country might participate of his majesty's favor and indulgence granted to those in the south and west of Scotland; and money was to have been given for their expense as he heard, but himself gave none: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.

"FRANCIS BRODIE,
"ERRGL,
"KINTORE,
"G. MONRO."*

No. X.—(p. 350.)

Sense in which the Covenanters refused to say "God save the King."

THOUGH it is incorrect to affirm that Margaret Wilson refused to save her life by saying "God save the king," yet many of the covenanters no doubt refused to say this even to save their lives. It would, however, be to take a very superficial view of the case, to ascribe this to a foolish obstinacy. They were quite ready to use the words in the

* Warrants of Privy Council.

spirit of that exhortation of Paul: "I exhort, therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty" (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2). The sense in which they declined to say "God save the king" was the sense put upon the words by their persecutors—a sense which implied an acknowledgment not only of the king's civil supremacy, which all the presbyterians, with the exception of the Cameronians, were ready to make, but also of his ecclesiastical supremacy, an acknowledgment which none of them could consistently make, as, according to their principles, this would have been sacrilegiously to yield to him that headship over the church which Christ claims as his exclusive and inalienable prerogative. When, in August, 1684, John Campbell of Over-Welwood, in Ayrshire, was imprisoned in Glasgow, Windram asked him if he would pray for the king. Campbell answered that he both did and would pray that the Lord would enable him to live a godly life here, and bestow upon him a life of glory hereafter. "That is not enough," said Windram; "you must pray for King Charles II. as he is supreme over all persons and causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil." Campbell replied that in his opinion that was "praying for him as the head of the church, which belonged only to Christ; and he reckoned it arrogance in any creature whatsoever to claim it."—Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 49.

No. XI.—(p. 377.)

Countess of Argyll's Sympathy with the Covenanters.

In illustration of this lady's benevolent sympathy with and favor for the persecuted presbyterians, we may here insert the two following letters, addressed to "Mr. Robert Miller, merchant in the exchange at Edinburgh," which refer to some individual not named, who was evidently suffering for nonconformity, and in whom she felt deeply interested:—

LETTER I.

"STIRLING, *September* 8, 1683.

"LOVING FRIEND: I received yours, for which I heartily thank you. I was both satisfied and grieved to read all you sent me. My heart felt what he was suffering, as much as any alive; for I both love and respect that person, and, were it fit for me, would go far to do him any good. But I hope in Him [that he] who is merciful, and hath a care of his own, and also of the innocent, will show his sovereign power, and not only preserve him, but bring him through this his trouble, and reward all does [who do] him good. I spoke to my Lady Arroll for him, and I think it were not amiss his sister Mary came in, and spake to her and the Lady Largo, and tell her all that belongs him remembers their kindness to their father, and that even he expects they will

do him good in what is in their power. I was much for Mary's going to England. I wish she could go yet, and that your affairs would allow you. I shall not offer to desire it absolutely; but since you go once a year, I would be in your debt five pounds, so you could go and assist him, and take Mary with you; and she being a woman and a sister, might venture where it were not fit to you to go. I should write with her to some, and you would be able to advise her, and do things she could not do. I went and spoke to the advocate ere he went, and he and his lady promised to do Mr. W—— all the service they could; and her woman, Mrs. Carintoun, promised to mind them. So the sooner any go, it were the better. Let your cousin Mary know of all that you sent to me; and if you kept the cipher of them, let her see them and advise with her lady, who I am sure will not hinder her to go, and I doubt not will assist him, and I think so should all that concerns him for whom he is innocently suffering, only because he served him he is suspected. The great God direct well all that may contribute for his relief and advantage. I expect to hear by the bearer from you: so adieu!

"P. S.—The enclosed I would have you to send with some sure hand to Fife, to my Sophia. If you will be pleased to speak to George M'Kenzie, or his man, to send any of my son's servants to you, that is going to Fife, he will do it."

Letter II.

"Loving Friend: Since your own affairs takes you not where I wished you to go, I will not take on me to send you. But if you had been to go, I would have been content with all my heart to have been, as I said, five pounds in your debt, so you could have served your worthy cousin, and been useful to him at this time. Had I had the money beside me when I wrote, I had sent it you; and had I money, or could get my own, I could have sent one with a better sum, if it could contribute to his good, for whom I have a real kindness; for the Lord, I hope, will be in place of all to him, and let the world see his innocence and faithfulness. If I have time, I will write to your cousin Mary. I have time to say no more but ——."*

No. XII.—(p. 384.)

A Letter of the Earl of Argyll to his Lady, in Ciphers.

This letter was probably written after he heard that the conspiracy was discovered; and it abounds in mute ciphers. It is as follows:—

* These two letters are printed from copies obligingly communicated by David Laing, Esq., Signet Library. There is a letter written by the same lady to Mr. Robert Douglas, dated London, August 21, 1669, in vol. xxvi., folio, No. 112 of the Wodrow MSS. But this letter I have not seen. The volume in which it is to be found is probably in the possession of the very Rev. Principal Lee.

"32 67 48 45 25 43 24 51 26 41 44 36 51 40 43 44 69 28 37 26 54 56
48 57 53 52 39 44 56 27 47 44 29 48 57 39 50 53 57 58 22 53 53 40 50
48 52 58 57 64 54 59 56 54 53 57 44 57 68 58 47 56 48 42 44 51 69 21
56 44 43 57 51 40 43 44 28 54 56 53 54 53 58 48 58 48 53 52 20 53 45
44 59 44 56 62 67 58 47 48 52 40 32 51 48 46 47 58 57 44 42 59 56 44
39 41 56 40 52 43 60 48 58 47 53 59 58 40 41 53 61 64 58 47 44 52 58
53 43 44 40 50 44 60 48 58 47 41 48 56 42 57 41 59 58 48 58 48 57 52
53 58 58 40 50 49 48 52 46 60 48 50 43 53 44 48 58 64 60 47 50 58 48
57 74 40 54 44 52 44 43 52 44 44 43 97 52 53 58 47 48 52 43 44 56 41
59 58 57 47 53 59 50 43 45 59 56 58 47 44 56 44 51."

The above letter deciphered, and mutes pointed out:* m stands for mute:—

m m m Duke m Monmouth m m m m m m m
"32 67 If 25 D 27 M 26 be 36 made 69 28 prison39er, 27 he 29
m m m Carstairs
is 39 lost 22 to all intents and purposes. 68. Thrice Mr. 6921 Red†
m m m m m Scotland
made 28 proposition 20 of every 67 thing 32 might secure 39 Brand
battle England
without a box, and then to deal with Birch; but it is not talking will do it; and what has happened need not hinder, but should further them."‡

No. XIII.—(P. 394.)

Extracts from a Letter of the Countess of Argyll, to her Son, Colin, Earl of Balcarres.

The letter from which the following extracts are taken, was written by the countess to her son, after his marriage, at an early age, to Mademoiselle Mauritia de Nassau, daughter of Louis de Nassau, count of Beverwaert and Auverquerque, in Holland,‖ by Elizabeth, countess of Horn. The particulars of the marriage have more than the interest of romance. The young Mauritia had fallen in love with Colin, who was extremely handsome, at his first presentation at the court of Charles II.; and, ere long, the day was fixed for their marriage. "The prince of Orange, afterward William III., presented his fair kinswoman, on this joyful occasion, with a pair of magnificent emerald ear-rings, as his wedding-gift. The day arrived, the noble party were assembled in the church, and the bride was at the altar; but, to the dismay of the

* As, by the alphabet made use of in this letter, 40 stands for the letter a, 41 for b, and so on till you come to 64, which stands for &; the way to distinguish the mutes from the significant ciphers is, to observe whether any two figures fall within the compass of the alphabet from 40 to 64. Thus, the figures 32, 67, at the beginning of the letter, are mutes, 32 being a number below the first cipher, and 67 a number above the last.

† This alludes to a plan which Mr. Carstairs had formed for surprising the castle of Edinburgh.

‡ Carstairs' State Papers, p. 107.

‖ Natural son of Maurice, prince of Orange.

company, no bridegroom appeared! The volatile Colin had forgotten the day of his marriage, and was discovered in his night-gown and slippers, quietly eating his breakfast! Thus far the tale is told with a smile on the lip, but many a tear was shed at the conclusion. Colin hurried to the church, but in his haste left the ring in his writing-case; a friend in the company gave him one—the ceremony went on, and, without looking at it, he placed it on the finger of his fair young bride. It was a mourning-ring, with the morthead and crossed bones. On perceiving it at the close of the ceremony, she fainted away; and the evil omen had made such an impression on her mind that, on recovering, she declared she should die within the year, and her presentiment was too truly fulfilled.

"It was in the joy of seeing Colin established, to all appearance, so happily for life, that his mother addressed him an admirable letter of advice, moral, religious, political and domestic. No subject is left untouched, of which a mother would be anxious to impress right ideas on a son."

She thus writes in the beginning: "Because the interest of the soul is preferable to that of the body, I shall first desire you to be serious in your religion, worshipping your God, and let your dependence be constantly upon him for all things; the first step in it is to believe in God, that he made and upholds the universe in wisdom, in goodness, and in justice; that we must adore, obey him, and approve of all he does. The fear of God, says Solomon, is the beginning of knowledge; he is a buckler to all that walk uprightly. Dedicate some certain time every day to the service of your glorious Maker and Redeemer; in that, take a survey of your life, shorter or longer, as the time will permit; thank him for making you what you are—for redeeming you, giving you his Word and Spirit, and that you live under the gospel—for all the faculties of your soul and body—that you are descended of Christian parents—for your provisions—for all you have in possession. Read, pray; consider the life and death of your blessed Savior and Lord, and your heart will be warmed with that love that is beyond expression, that meekness and humility that endured the contradiction of sinners against himself. Strive to conform to him; no fraud, no guile, no evil-speaking was found with him, for all the injustice and wicked backbiting he met with; he was kind, doing always good. He forgave, was patient in enduring injuries, was charitable. My dear son, the great work to which we are called is to be partakers of his holy, harmless nature; true religion stands in imitating of him and converse with him. 'Truly,' says the apostle John, 'our fellowship is with the Father and the Son.' David says, 'Evening, and morning, and mid-day, will I pray to Thee.' We have directions and examples in the Holy Word for what we should do; and we are told to watch and pray that we be not led into temptation (they are oft most afraid of them that are most resolved and best acquainted to resist them); to implore his help for supply of grace and strength, or of what we need; and to encourage us to it, he says none shall seek his face in vain. He

gives us his Holy Word that we may daily read out of it Divine lessons; it is a lantern to our feet to walk cleanly, and sure it is for instruction and direction in righteousness; read often of the life and death of your Savior; read the book of Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes; often the Epistles, not neglecting the other Scriptures; for other books, I would have you read those most that will make you know the Scriptures and your duty; and yourself must make conscience of your duty to your particular relations."

To his prince she inculcates loyalty and reverence; to his country, love and protection; reminding him, however, that public characters are unhappy, except in times when virtue is loved for its own sake. "Strive," says she, "to enrich your mind with virtue, and let it be attended with the golden chain of knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly kindness, and charity." Possessed of these, "though you were bereft of all the world can give you or take from you, you are justly to be accounted happy."

Friendship she holds as the choicest earthly blessing, but she gives her son important cautions and advices on the subject. "Where the fear of God is not," says she, "and the practice of Christian virtues, that friendship can not stand long; there is certainly a secret curse in that friendship whereof God is not the foundation and the end. Let not the least jealousy of your faithful friend enter into your mind, but whatever he do, think it was well intended; in some cases it is better to be deceived than distrust."

Yet "though friendship be the greatest solace of life, it proves not always firm enough to repose the soul absolutely upon. The fixedness of all things here below depends on God, who would have us to fix all our peace and contentment, even this we enjoy in the creatures, on himself. There is great reason for it. It's much if our friend's judgment, affection, and interest, long agree; if there be but a difference in any of these, it doth much to mar all, the one being constrained to love that the other loves not; one of you may have a friend whose favor may make great breaches, an Ahithophel or a Ziba; our Savior had those who followed him for interest, that did soon forsake him, and turned his betrayers and enemies. If one of you be calmer nor [than] the other, and allows not all the other does out of humor, this causes mistakes. As a man is, so is his strength. A virtuous, faithful friend, whose ways are ordered of God, who is of a sweet, equal, cheerful humor, not jealous, not easily made to break the friendship he hath made on good grounds, which is understood to be kindled from heaven, is certainly the greatest jewel on earth. But if God so dispose of it, that your friends, though the nearest relations on earth, change to you, strive to be constant to them, and to overcome all with patience. Let meekness smooth over all their passions, espouse their interest, pursue them with kindness and serviceableness of all kinds, seek reconciliation on any terms, amend what they think amiss. Let ingenuity be in all your words and actions; put on charity, which is the bond of perfection, which suffereth long, is kind, envieth not; forbear upbraiding

or repeating what you have done to oblige them, but look on what you do for your friends, and their acceptance of it, as that wherefore you are most indebted to them; from those you are engaged to in friendship strive to be content with frowns as well as smiles; bear all their infirmities, considering they must bear yours.

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"To be kind to your sisters is not only the earnest desire of your mother, who lodged you all in her womb; but what is far more, it is commanded you by the Spirit of God to add to your faith and virtue, 'brotherly kindness.' 'A brother,' says Solomon, 'is born for adversity.' If it be enjoined us to bear this kindness to all that love God, our Lord and Father, far more are you to bear it to your sisters, who are both lovers of God, and your own sisters also. 'A brother loves at all times,' saith Solomon. They have you now for their father; be kind to them as he was, and live as you would have yours to do after you are gone. God, I hope, will requite your brotherly care and kindness with a blessing to you in your own. St. John saith, he that loves his brother (I may say sisters also) lives in light, and there is no occasion of stumbling in him. Good Abraham said to Lot, 'Let not strife be betwixt thee and me, and thy servants and mine, we are brethren.' Our Savior has told us, 'A family divided can not stand;' and saith the Spirit of God, 'How pleasant it is to see brethren to dwell together in unity!' A threefold cord is not easily broken; how pleasant, how easy it is to live in love, and to do our duty to all! Their virtue, I hope, will make you love and trust them."

To regard his wife as the dearest friend of his bosom ("Believe it," she says, "no man is happy but he that is so in his own house,"), to educate his children in the fear and love of God, in truth and knowledge, telling them "of the virtues of those who have been before them, that they may do nothing base or unworthy that looks like degenerating from them," "to maintain an orderly and religious household, shunning whisperers and flatterers, that sail with all winds;" to be kind to his servants in their vigor, and careful of them in age and sickness; to love, rather than hate his enemies; and, to extend his charity beyond the external duties of a Christian toward the poor and afflicted, to the regulations of his opinions with regard to others, questioning his own, rather than their judgment; learning of his Savior to be meek, and remembering that "God was not in the thunder or the fire, but in the calm, still voice;" to be modest in society abroad, and to look on the careful management of his affairs at home as a duty—these, and many other incidental duties, are enforced with affection as tender as the language is energetic.

"Your good grandfather, Lord David," she concludes, "thought that day misspent he knew not some new thing. He was a very studious and diligent man in his affairs. You that have such a closet [library], such gardens, and so much to do within doors and without, need not think the time tedious, nor be idle; it is the hand of the diligent maketh rich. The good man orders his affairs with discretion;

it is the diligent that is the only person fit for government; Solomon saith, his thoughts tend to plenteousness, and he may stand before kings.

"My care hath been great for you and your family, and you may see by this, I will be always, my dear son, your kind mother,

"ANNA ARGYLL."*

No. XIV.—(P. 408.)

The Sufferings of Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck.

THE account in the text is confirmed by a "petition of Sir Duncan Campbell for himself and his distressed friends, tenants, and vassals, in Knapdale, Glassary, and Kelislait," presented to the estates of parliament after the revolution. Referring to his having taken up arms with the earl of Argyll, in 1685, "in defence of the protestant religion, and in opposition to popery and arbitrary power," the petition states that the "petitioner having, from his sense of the justice and necessity of the said earl, his undertaking, and for the defence of the country, cause man and garrison his house of Carnassary; the same was besieged, and a treaty for surrender being in dependence, the deceased Lauchlane M'Laine, of Torlisk, Lauchlane M'Laine, of Coll, —— M'Laine, of Ardgour, —— M'Laine, of Kenlochalin, —— M'Laine, of Lochbuy, Donald M'Neil, of Collachie, Archibald M'Lauchlane, of Craiginterave, and —— M'Kerchnie, in Kintyre, conjunctly and severally, with their barbarous accomplices, did in the first place cause hang Dugald M'Tavish, liar of Dunardarie, at the said house of Carnassary, and immediately after the surrendering thereof, did barbarously murder Alexander Campbell, of Strondour, the petitioner's uncle, and without any regard to any conditions of faith given, they did fall upon and wound above twenty of the soldiers of the garrison, plunder and carry away out of the said house threescore horse led [*i.e.*, laden] of goods and pleuishing, and after all these cruelties and robberies, the said deceased Lauchlane M'Laine, of Torlisk, with his above-named followers and accomplices, did set fire to the said house of Carnassary, and burn it to ashes, and after all, your petitioner's estate being annexed to the crown, the rents thereof were intromitted with, and uplifted by William Stewart, of Craigtown, as having commission from the lords of the treasury, since the year 1685, to Martinmas, 1689, and the same are yet in his hands; and during this space, the said friends, tenants, and vassals, were, by the arbitrary exactions of the deceased viscount of Strathallan, and Sir John Drummond, of Machonie, oppressed, leased, and damnified in certain great sums of money: likeas, the said Donald M'Neil of Collachie, and Archibald M'Lauchlane, of Craiginterave, did intromit with and take up out of the parishes of Knapdale, Kelislate, Glassary, and Ariskeodnish [*i.e.*, Kilmartin], the number of 2000 cows, belonging to the petitioner, his friends and tenants; and the said M'Kerchnie, in Kintyre, did seize upon the haill

* Lives of the Lind says, vol. ii., pp. 120–128.

goods and plenishing within the petitioner's house of Lochgair, wherethrough the petitioner, his said friends, tenants, and vassals, are disabled, leased, and damnified in the sums of money and avails following: viz., by the burning of the said house of Carnassary, in the sum of £20,000 Scots; by the taking away of the said goods, as will appear by a particular list, in the sum of £20,000 money foresaid; by his lying out of his estate intromitted with by the said William Stewart in the sum of £24,000 money foresaid; by the said arbitrary exactions of the said viscount Strathallan and Sir John Drummond, of Machonie, in the sum of £12,000 money aforesaid; and by the said Donald M'Neil, and Archibald M'Lauchlane, of Craiginterave, their intromitting with and taking up of the said 2000 cows, in the sum of £40,000 money foresaid; and by the said M'Kerchnie, his taking away of the plenishing of the house of Lochgair, in the sum of £2000 money foresaid; extending in haill the said sums, to the sum of £118,000 Scots money foresaid."*

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, July 8, 1690.

THE END.

B-Coll Anderson
And Ladies of the covenant.

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